PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VII

523 c—612 b

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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AND

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PREFACE

The text rests on a collation from photostats of all MSS. known to us.[a] With Bernardakis we silently correct such forms as ἀκρόχολος and ἀβέλτηρος. We have departed from all the MSS. in aspirating Ἱσμηνός and related words (*cf.* the note on 606 F). The best and oldest MSS. write ἄχρι, μέχρι, ἐρινύς, and ἔμπλεω (accusative singular masculine and feminine). We have therefore eliminated ἄχρις, μέχρις, ἐριννύς, ἔμπλεων, and the like from the text. Before consonants we retain the movable ν wherever the MSS. allow us to do so, and we follow their nearly unanimous usage in the treatment of elision and the accentuation of ἐστι.

Several superior figures and letters are used in the textual notes : 1 indicates the reading of the first hand, 2 of the second, and so forth[b] ; c a correction by the first hand, ac the reading before such correction ; ras a reading produced by erasure, aras the reading before erasure ; t a reading in the text, ss a

[a] See our papers "The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch, *Moralia*, 548 A—612 B," *Classical Philology*, vol. xlvi (1951), pp. 93-110; and "The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch, *Moralia*, 523 C—547 F," *ibid.* vol. liii (1958), pp. 217-233.

[b] The superior letters vet and e indicate each an early hand whose relation to the rest we have not ventured to determine. X^{d} is the diorthotes of X.

superscribed reading, mg a reading in the margin; and s a reading taken from a part of the MS. supplied by a later hand. A list of MSS. cited follows; the dating is that of the catalogues and later literature.

A 1671 in the national library at Paris; A.D. 1296.
B 1675 in the national library at Paris; 15th century.
C 1955 in the national library at Paris; 11th–12th century.
D 1956 in the national library at Paris; 11th–12th century.
E 1672 in the national library at Paris; written shortly after A.D. 1302.
F 1957 in the national library at Paris; end of the 11th century.
G 182 in the Barberini collection at the Vatican; 11th century.
H 283 in the Palatine collection at Heidelberg University; 11th–12th century.
I Excerpts in MS. 11360-63 in the royal library at Brussels; 14th–15th century.
J C 195 inf. (881) in the Ambrosian library; 13th century.
K 1309 in the Vatican library; 14th–15th century.
L 69, 13 in the Laurentian library; 10th century.
M Formerly 501 in the library of the Synod at Moscow; 12th century.
N Formerly 502 in the library of the Synod at Moscow; 12th century.
R 4458 in the Mazarin library at Paris; 14th century.
S 264 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
U 97 in the Urbino collection at the Vatican; 10th–11th century.

V 427 in the library of St. Mark ; 14th century.
W 129 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna ; 11th–12th century.
W[R] 45 in the Riccardi library. It is cited for the missing pages of its original, W.
X 250 in the library of St. Mark ; 11th and 14th century. The *De fato* is contained in the later portion.
Y 249 in the library of St. Mark ; 11th–12th century.
Z 511 in the library of St. Mark ; 14th century.
ℑ Excerpts from the *De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* in Johannes Diaconus' commentary on Hermogenes *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* in MS. 2228 at the Vatican (14th century).
a Q 89 sup. (689) in the Ambrosian library ; 15th century.
b 18967 in the royal library at Brussels ; 15th century.
e 199 in the Vatican library ; 14th century.
f 26 in the collection of the Conventi soppressi at the Laurentian library ; 14th century.
h 5612 of the Harleian collection in the British Museum ; 15th century.
i 56, 4 in the Laurentian library ; 15th century.
k 80, 28 in the Laurentian library ; 15th century. The *De cupiditate divitiarum* is found in MS. 80, 29, also designated k, of the Laurentian. Both were once parts of the same MS.
l 56, 5 in the Laurentian library ; 14th century.
m E 10 sup. (271) in the Ambrosian library ; 16th century.
n 350 III E 28 in the national library at Naples ; 15th century.

p 178 in the Palatine collection at the Vatican; 15th century.
q 1010 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
r 41 in the Rehdiger collection at Wrocław University; 16th century.
s 1012 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
v 46 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna; 15th century.
w 36 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna; 15th century.
y 1009 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
α C 126 inf. (859) in the Ambrosian library; A.D. 1294–95.
β 1013 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
γ 139 in the Vatican library; written shortly after A.
ε 4690 in the national library at Madrid; 14th century.
ζ Excerpts in MS. X I 13 of the Escorial; 14th century.
μ 80, 21 in the Laurentian library; 15th century.
π 80, 22 in the Laurentian library; written (except for folios 12ʳ-13ʳ) by Filelfo.
σ 248 in the library of St. Mark; A.D. 1455.
ς Excerpts in MS. Φ III 11 of the Escorial; 16th century.
υ 98 in the Urbino collection at the Vatican; 14th century.
φ 145 in the Este library at Modena; 15th century.

Ald.[2] indicates conjectures found in the margins of certain copies of the Aldine. A copy in the Angelica (SS. 6, 17) and one in the Vatican (I. 23) ascribe many of these to Leonicus, Donatus Polus, and Victorius. Our own conjectures are indicated by "nos."

To the translations of the entire *Moralia* listed in

vol. i (pp. xxviii-xxxi) may be added that of Victor Bétolaud.[a] The essays in the present volume have all been rendered into Italian by various hands.[b] Six have been rendered into English by A. R. Shilleto,[c] four into Spanish by Diego Gracián,[d] three into Dutch by J. H. Glazemaker,[e] two each into Dutch by J. J. Hartman[f] and A. J. Koster,[g] and

[a] *Œuvres complètes de Plutarque: Œuvres morales et œuvres diverses.* 5 vols. (Paris, 1870).

[b] *Alcuni Opusculetti de le cose morali del Divino Plutarco* (Venice, 1543). Tarcagnotta translated the *De cupiditate divitiarum*, Massa the *De vitioso pudore.* In the Seconda Parte (Venice, 1548) of a later edition Tarchagnota translated the *De invidia et odio*, the *De sera numinis vindicta*, and the *De exilio.*

Opuscoli Morali, di Plutarco (Venice, 1598). Marc' Antonio Gandini translated the *De sera numinis vindicta*, *De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando*, *De exilio*, and *De genio Socratis* ; G. M. Gratij the *Consolatio ad uxorem.*

Opuscoli morali di Plutarco, volgarizzati da Marcello Adriani il giovane. 6 vols. (Florence, 1819–1820). In the edition we possess (Milan, 1825–1829) the *De genio Socratis* is by Gandini, the *De fato* by F. Ambrosoli.

[c] *Plutarch's Morals :* Ethical Essays (London, 1898). Not included are the *De cupiditate divitiarum*, *De fato*, and *De genio Socratis.*

[d] *Morales de Plutarco* (Alcalá de Henares, 1542). Included are the *De invidia et odio*, *De cupiditate divitiarum*, *De vitioso pudore*, and *De exilio.*

[e] *Verscheide Zedige Werken van Plutarchus* (Amsterdam, 1661). Included are the *De vitioso pudore*, *De invidia et odio*, and *De cupiditate divitiarum.* For other early Dutch translations of the *Moralia* (many, like this, from Amyot), see M. Boas in *Het Boek*, vol. v (1915), pp. 1-10, 85-95, 229-240.

[f] *De Avondzon des Heidendoms* (Zutphen, 1910–1912). The *De vitioso pudore* and *De sera numinis vindicta* are translated entire.

[g] *Plutarchus : Bloemlezing uit de Moralia* (Amsterdam, 1954). Included are the *Consolatio ad uxorem* and the *De sera numinis vindicta.*

two each into German by O. Apelt[a] and K. Ziegler.[b]

Our thanks are due to the University of Chicago and the trustees of the Loeb Classical Library for defraying expenses, to Professor M. Pohlenz and Dr. J. Mau for the loan of photostats, and to F. J. Whitfield, W. C. Helmbold, A. D. Nock, D. A. Russell, R. T. Bruère, and Hans Petersen for friendly help in various forms. Our greatest obligation we are debarred from expressing.

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[a] *Plutarch, Moralische Schriften*, Zweites Bändchen (Leipzig, 1926). Included are the *Consolatio ad uxorem* and *De fato*.

[b] *Plutarch Über Gott und Vorsehung, Dämonen und Weissagung* (Zürich, 1952). Included are the *De sera numinis vindicta* and the *De genio Socratis*.

THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE BOOKS of the *Moralia* as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

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	Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat (Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν) . .	17D
	De recta ratione audiendi (Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν) .	37B
	Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur (Πῶς ἄν τις διακρίνειε τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου) .	48E
	Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus (Πῶς ἄν τις αἴσθοιτο ἑαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ)	75A
II.	De capienda ex inimicis utilitate (Πῶς ἄν τις ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ὠφελοῖτο)	86B
	De amicorum multitudine (Περὶ πολυφιλίας) .	93A
	De fortuna (Περὶ τύχης)	97C
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	Consolatio ad Apollonium (Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον)	101F
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Bellone an pace clariores fuerint Athenienses (Πότερον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατὰ σοφίαν ἐνδοξότεροι) 345c
V. De Iside et Osiride (Περὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος) 351c
De E apud Delphos (Περὶ τοῦ ΕΙ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς) 384c
De Pythiae oraculis (Περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἔμμετρα νῦν τὴν Πυθίαν) 394d
De defectu oraculorum (Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων χρηστηρίων) 409e
VI. An virtus doceri possit (Εἰ διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετή) . 439a
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XV. Fragments and Index

ON LOVE OF WEALTH
(DE CUPIDITATE DIVITIARUM)

INTRODUCTION

The governing ideas of the essay *On Love of Wealth* are Aristotelian, though the source is ultimately Plato. Thus Plutarch quotes fragments of Aristotle (527 A) [a] and of Theophrastus (527 B). In the *Politics* (i. 8-9, 1256 b 26—1257 a 14) Aristotle distinguishes natural wealth, which consists of what is necessary to life or useful for the society of a city or household,[b] from non-natural wealth, which consists of money and is unlimited.[c] It is on this distinction between the useful or necessary on the one hand and the superfluous

[a] The fragment (no. 56 Rose) is based on the *Euthydemus* (280 B 5—281 E 5), where the distinction between not using wealth and using it, and between using it well and ill is drawn.

[b] This distinction between what is necessary to life and what is useful for the good life is probably implied in Plutarch's " necessary " and " useful." Plutarch does not dwell on the distinction, as this might have diminished the effect of his denunciation of unnecessary and superfluous wealth. In the *Politics* (vii. 5. 1, 1326 b 32-39) Aristotle points out that the standard for " utility " of possessions can be so restricted as to lead to meanness and so expanded as to lead to luxury.

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, ii. 373 D 9 f., ix. 591 D 6–E 5 and [Andronicus] περὶ παθῶν (p. 19 Kreuttner ; von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 397, p. 97. 18) : φιλοχρηματία δὲ ἐπιθυμία ἄχρηστος ἢ (Wachsmuth wrongly excises ἄχρηστος ἢ : *cf.* 524 F, 525 B, F) ἄμετρος χρημάτων. Both Aristotle (1256 b 33 f.) and Plutarch (524 E) quote in this connexion the same verse of Solon. The variant in Plutarch (ἀνθρώποισιν for ἀνδράσι κεῖται) is ancient (*cf.* Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, pp. 270 f.) ; Plutarch is no doubt quoting from memory.

on the other that Plutarch builds his argument.[a] He has been influenced by several points in the discussion of liberality in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (iv. 1-3, 1119 b 21—1122 a 17), whether directly or through the medium of some lost Peripatetic writing. Thus Aristotle makes the prodigal better than the illiberal man (1121 a 18–b 14; 1122 a 13-16); compare Plutarch, 525 F—526 A.[b] In Aristotle illiberal men are of many kinds, some abstaining from the property of others, some not (1121 b 17—1122 a 13)[c]; Plutarch distinguishes the avarice of the ant from that of the beast of prey (525 E-F). We may further note that Aristotle (1121 b 12) calls illiberality incurable[d]; Plutarch explains the case, but prescribes no regimen (524 D). Natural wealth is spoken of in the *Eudemian*

[a] He does not ignore such uses of wealth as benefiting friends or munificence to one's country (525 C-D); these uses are however not stressed, but made incidental to the description of the miser's life.

[b] Contrast Plato, *Republic*, viii. 550 C—562 A, where prodigality, as producing the democratic man, is implied to be worse than love of wealth, which produces the oligarchic man, and *Laws*, v. 743 B 4. Aristotle's limiting of the meaning of "prodigal" (1119 b 30—1120 a 4) and his rating of the prodigal above the illiberal man are doubtless corrections of Plato. In 527 A Plutarch says that the misuse of money is more injurious and shameful than the failure to use it. The idea is that of the *Euthydemus* (280 D 7, E 5-6), and doubtless came from the same lost work of Aristotle as the fragment. Here Aristotle and Plutarch had the prodigal sensualist in mind.

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, v. 743 B 5-8.

[d] Aspasius (*In Ethica Nicomachea Quae Supersunt Comm.*, p. 102. 3 f. Heylbut) on the passage interprets "hard to cure." The idea is found in Plato, *Laws*, v. 743 D; see also Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 9 (24). Galen (*De Affectuum Dignotione*, chap. x. 5) makes the insatiable desire for money incurable after forty or at the utmost fifty.

Ethics (iii. 4. 3-5, 1231 b 38—1232 a 10); here we also find the word ἀποβολή as the opposite of acquisition (1231 b 29 f., 38; *cf.* ἀποβάλλοντας in Plutarch, 524 A), and the point that the prodigal falls short of necessities (1232 a 9; *cf.* Plutarch, 524 A).[a]

Plutarch does not of course confine himself to the Platonic and Aristotelian remarks on the subject, but also avails himself of points made by Cynics and other philosophers; reference to these will be found in the notes on the essay.

The plan is simple. After an introduction in which Plutarch says that wealth cannot purchase happiness he passes to ordinary misers and prodigals and shows the disadvantages of their condition: in both the desire for goods and money is insatiable, while in misers it is in conflict with its satisfaction. From these he passes to rapacious misers and prodigals, and pronounces the latter less offensive. The excuse that misers save their money for their children is shown to be absurd. Another excuse for the rich, that some (unlike misers) make lavish use of their wealth, is refuted by examining what is meant by "use." If the use is merely to obtain sufficiency, the rich are no better off than men of moderate means. If "use" is spending wealth on luxuries, wealth is a mere show and spectacle. The essay closes with a comparison of this theatrical wealth to the goods of philosophy.

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, v. 743 B 8. Unlike Aristotle (1119 b 30—1120 a 4), Plutarch does not restrict the meaning of the word "prodigal." Aristotle here is criticizing Plato's use in *Republic*, viii. 560 E 2, 5. The source of many of Aristotle's remarks is Plato, *Laws*, v. 742 A ff. We note that Aristotle (1121 b 33 πορνοβοσκοί) clears up the interpretation of βοσκημάτων αἰσχρῶν (743 D 4), an expression that perplexed all commentators before Wilamowitz (*Platon*, ii, 1919, p. 399).

ON LOVE OF WEALTH

The theme is discussed by Plutarch in the fragments *On Wealth* (Bern. vii, pp. 123 f.) ; he no doubt treated it also in the *Protreptic to a Wealthy Young Man* (No. 207 in the catalogue of Lamprias), of which no identified fragments survive.

A certain exuberance and fancifulness in the diction would incline one to date the essay early in Plutarch's career. A Latin translation by Erasmus appeared at Basle in 1514, another by Richard Pace at Venice in 1522. There is also a German translation by W. Ax.[a] Two French translations we have not seen.[b] The essay is No. 211 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on LC G Xυ I W DZφab y hki N M vw Ylq. Other MSS., J αsεe, are cited for an occasional conjecture.

[a] *Plutarch Moralia*, Leipzig, 1942, pp. 114-128.

[b] *Nouvelle Traduction de divers morceaux choisis des Œuvres morales de Plutarque*, par M. l'abbé Lambert . . . Paris, 1763.

Traduction de différents traités de morale de Plutarque, par M.***, Paris, 1777. Barbier attributes this version to the abbé Jacques Gaudin.

(523) C

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΛΟΥΤΙΑΣ

1. Ἱππόμαχος ὁ ἀλείπτης ἐπαινούντων τινῶν ἄν-
D θρωπον εὐμήκη καὶ μακρὰς ἔχοντα χεῖρας ὡς πυκτικόν, "εἴπερ,"[1] ἔφη, "καθελεῖν ἔδει τὸν στέφανον κρεμάμενον."[2] τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς τὰ καλὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς μεγάλας οἰκίας καὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀργύριον[3] ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους καὶ μακαρίζοντας· "εἴ γε ἔδει πωλουμένην πρίασθαι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν."[4] (καίτοι[5] πολλοὺς ἂν εἴποι[6] τις ὅτι μᾶλλον[7] ἐθέλουσι[8] πλουτεῖν καὶ κακοδαιμονοῦντες[9] ἢ μακάριοι γενέσθαι δόντες[10] ἀργύριον.) ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι γε χρημάτων ὤνιον ἀλυπία μεγαλοφροσύνη εὐστάθεια θαρραλεότης αὐτάρκεια.

Τὸ[11] πλουτεῖν οὐκ ἔστι[11] τὸ πλούτου καταφρονεῖν
E οὐδὲ τὸ[11] τὰ[12] περιττὰ κεκτῆσθαι τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν περιττῶν. (2.) τίνος οὖν ἀπαλλάττει τῶν ἄλλων

[1] εἴπερ C J^2 DZφab M^2 vw q : καί γε G ; ὥσπερ.
[2] κρεμάμενον (τὸν κρ. ab)] ἠωρημένον C.
[3] πολὺ ἀργύριον (and so G^4)] πολυάργυρον G^1.
[4] πρίασθαι (and so G^4 ; πριᾶσθαι X N^1 ; πριάσθαι D N^2 ; ὁρᾶσθαι G^1) τὴν εὐδ.] τὴν εὐδ. πρ. C.
[5] καίτοι] καὶ W.
[6] εἴποι] ἴδοι C J^2 w^2 q.
[7] ὅτι μ. D hk^1i : μ. οἳ J^1 ; οἳ μ. y Zφ(ἢ μ. a)bM^2 vw ; μ.
[8] ἐθέλουσι (and so I)] ἐθέλοντας C G q.
[9] κακοδαιμονοῦντες Xυ I W y M^2 vw : κακοδαιμονεῖν C G DZφab hki M^1 q ; κακοδαιμονεῖν οὖν N Yl.
[10] μακάριοι γ. δόντες] μακαρίους γ. δόντας C G I y q ; μακαρίοις γ. δόντες Xυ.

ON LOVE OF WEALTH

1. When some persons praised a tall fellow with a long reach as having the makings of a fine boxer, the trainer Hippomachus [a] remarked : " Yes, if the crown were hung up and to be got by reaching." So too we can say to those who are dazzled by fine estates, great houses, and large sums of money and regard them as the greatest of blessings : " Yes, if happiness were for sale and to be got by purchase." (Nevertheless many cases could be cited of men who would rather be rich though miserable than become happy by paying money to be so.) But money cannot buy peace of mind, greatness of spirit, serenity, confidence, and self-sufficiency.[b]

Having wealth is not the same as being superior to it, nor is possessing luxuries the same as feeling no need of them. (2.) From what other ills then does

[a] Mentioned in the *Life of Dion*, chap. i. 4 (958 c). He appears to have lived in the second part of the fourth century : *cf.* Athenaeus, xiii. 584 c.

[b] *Cf.* Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 155-157 :

> " at si divitiae prudentem reddere possent,
> si cupidum timidumque minus te : nempe ruberes
> viveret in terris te siquis avarior uno."

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[11] τὸ . . . ἔστι . . . τὸ (vw omit the second τὸ) : τῷ . . . ἔνεστι . . . τῷ DZϕab.

[12] τὰ] C hk[1]i omit.

(523) κακῶν ὁ πλοῦτος εἰ μηδὲ φιλοπλουτίας; ἀλλὰ ποτὸν[1] μὲν ἔσβεσεν[2] τὴν ποτοῦ ὄρεξιν καὶ τροφὴ[3] τὴν[4] τροφῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἠκέσατο[5]· κἀκεῖνος ὁ λέγων

δὸς χλαῖναν Ἱππώνακτι, κάρτα γὰρ ῥιγῶ

πλειόνων ἐπιφερομένων[6] δυσανασχετεῖ καὶ διωθεῖται· φιλαργυρίαν δὲ οὐ σβέννυσιν ἀργύριον οὐδὲ χρυσίον, οὐδὲ πλεονεξία παύεται κτωμένη τὸ πλέον, ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ὡς πρὸς[7] ἰατρὸν ἀλαζόνα·

τὸ φάρμακόν σου τὴν νόσον μείζω ποιεῖ·

F ἄρτου δεομένους καὶ οἴκου[8] καὶ σκέπης μετρίας καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος ὄψου παραλαβὼν ἐμπέπληκεν ἐπιθυμίας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος καὶ σμαράγδων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἵππων, εἰς χαλεπὰ[9] καὶ σπάνια καὶ δυσπόριστα[10] καὶ ἄχρηστα μεταθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὴν ὄρεξιν. ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἀρκούντων οὐδεὶς πένης ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δεδάνεισται πώποτε ἄνθρωπος ἀργύριον ἵνα ἄλφιτα πρίηται ἢ τυρὸν[11] ἢ ἄρτον ἢ ἐλαίας, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἰκία πολυτελὴς
524 χρεωφειλέτην πεποίηκεν,[12] τὸν δὲ ὁμοροῦν ἐλαιό-

[1] ποτὸν hki and Antonii *Melissa* (PG 136 896 A): ποτὸς G; ποτῷ.
[2] ἔσβεσεν D^{ac} (-σε G hk^1i): ἔσβεσαν.
[3] τροφὴ C^1 G y hki N Y^{ras}: τροφὴν q; τροφῇ (and so I).
[4] τὴν] τὴν τῆς C w.
[5] ἠκέσατο (ἠ- X^1v q; ἠκάσατο N)] ἠκέσαντο I DZφab M^2 vw l^2.
[6] πλ. ἐπιφ. is put after διωθεῖται in C.
[7] ὡς πρὸς C: ὥσπερ.
[8] οἴκου] οἴνου I W.
[9] χαλεπὰ] χαλεπώτατα LC.

wealth deliver us, if it does not even deliver us from the craving for it ?[a] Nay, drink allays the desire of drink, and food is a remedy for hunger ; and one who says

A cloak I beg : Hipponax is acold[b]

is annoyed when several are brought and rejects them ; but neither silver nor gold allays the craving for money, nor does the greed of gain ever cease from acquiring new gains. No ; one can say to wealth as to a pretentious physician :

Your physic but increases the disease.[c]

Finding us in want of a loaf, a house, a modest protection from the weather, and whatever comes to hand to supplement our loaf, wealth infects us with the desire for gold and silver and ivory and emeralds and hounds and horses, diverting our appetite from the necessities of life to what is difficult, rare, hard to procure, and useless. Indeed in what suffices no one is poor[d] ; and no one has ever borrowed money to buy barley meal, a cheese, a loaf, or olives. Rather one man has run into debt for a splendid house, another for an adjoining olive plantation, another for

[a] *Cf.* Teles, p. 35. 9–36. 1 (ed. Hense[2]).
[b] Hipponax, frag. 17 (ed. Bergk), 24 b (ed. Diehl) ; quoted also in *Mor.* 1058 D, 1068 B.
[c] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii, p. 494, Adespota, no. 455.
[d] *Cf.* Teles, p. 7. 4 (ed. Hense[2]), Seneca, *Ep.* xxv. 4 (Epicurus, Frag. 602 Usener), Favorinus, *On Exile*, col. 17. 1-2, Clement, *Paed.* ii. 14. 5 (p. 164 Stählin[2]), and P. Wendland, " Philo und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe " (in *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. griech. Philosophie und Religion*, Berlin, 1895), pp. 9-15.

[10] *δυσπόριστα*] *δυσεύρετα καὶ δυσπόριστα* LC.
[11] *τυρὸν*] *πυρὸν* LC[1].
[12] *πεποίηκεν* W k N Yl (-*κε* the rest) : *ἐποίησε* LC.

(524) φυτον, τὸν δὲ σιτῶνες,[1] ἀμπελῶνες, ἄλλον ἡμίονοι Γαλατικαί, ἄλλον ἵπποι ζυγοφόροι

κεῖν' ὄχεα κροτέοντες

ἐνσεσείκασιν εἰς βάραθρα[2] συμβολαίων καὶ τόκων καὶ ὑποθηκῶν· εἶτα ὥσπερ οἱ πίνοντες μετὰ τὸ μὴ διψῆν ἢ ἐσθίοντες μετὰ τὸ μὴ πεινῆν καὶ ὅσα διψῶντες ἢ πεινῶντες ἔλαβον προσεξεμοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ τῶν ἀχρήστων ἐφιέμενοι καὶ περιττῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων κρατοῦσιν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι.

3. Τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἀποβάλλοντας[3] ἔχοντας δὲ πολλὰ πλειόνων δὲ ἀεὶ[4] δεομένους ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσειεν ἄν[5] τις τοῦ Ἀριστίππου μεμνημένος. ἐκεῖνος B γὰρ εἰώθει λέγειν ὅτι "πολλά μέν τις ἐσθίων πολλὰ δὲ πίνων πληρούμενος δὲ μηδέποτε πρὸς τοὺς ἰατροὺς βαδίζει καὶ πυνθάνεται τί[6] τὸ πάθος καὶ τίς ἡ διάθεσις καὶ πῶς ἂν ἀπαλλαγείη· εἰ δέ τις ἔχων πέντε κλίνας δέκα ζητεῖ, καὶ κεκτημένος[7] δέκα τραπέζας ἑτέρας συνωνεῖται τοσαύτας, καὶ χωρίων πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ ἀργυρίου οὐ γίνεται μεστὸς ἀλλὰ ἐπ' ἄλλα συντέταται καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖ καὶ ἀπλήρωτός ἐστιν πάντων, οὗτος οὐκ οἴεται[8] δεῖσθαι τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος[9] καὶ δείξοντος ὑφ'[10] ἧς αἰτίας

[1] σιτῶνες (and so G⁴) : σιτόσπορον G¹.
[2] βάραθρα] βάραθρον D aki ; βάθρον Zφab.
[3] ἀποβάλλοντας (-άλο- b ; -ες v)] διαβάλλοντας Xυ y hki N Yl.
[4] πλ. δὲ ἀεὶ (πλείονες ἀεὶ φ)] καὶ πλειόνων ἀεὶ L ; πλειόνων ἀεὶ C¹ ; πλειόνων δὲ hki.
[5] ἄν] LC omit.
[6] τί M vw Yl : the rest omit.

fields and vineyards ; and there are still others that Galatian [a] mules or a set of horses

Rattling an empty chariot behind [b]

have driven into a morass of bonds, usury, and mortgages. And then, as those who drink when no longer thirsty, or eat when no longer hungry, vomit up with the surfeit the rest as well that was taken to satisfy hunger or thirst, so those who seek the useless and superfluous do not even retain the necessary. Such then is the condition of one sort of lover of wealth.

3. Those on the other hand who part with nothing, though they have great possessions, but always want greater, would strike one who remembered what Aristippus said as even more absurd. " If a man eats and drinks a great deal," he used to say, " but is never filled,[c] he sees a physician, inquires what ails him, what is wrong with his system, and how to rid himself of the disorder ; but if the owner of five couches goes looking for ten, and the owner of ten tables buys up as many again, and though he has lands and money in plenty is not satisfied but bent on more, losing sleep and never sated by any amount, does he imagine that he does not need someone who will prescribe for him and point out the cause of his

[a] Or possibly Gallic.
[b] Homer, *Il.* xv. 453. " Empty " also means " vain."
[c] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Symp.* iv. 37. The comparison of misers to sufferers from dropsy—who though full of fluid desire drink—was first made by Diogenes : *cf.* Stobaeus, *Anth.* iii. 10. 45 (p. 419 Hense with the note), and Teles, p. 39. 3 (ed. Hense[2]).

[7] *καὶ* (G[1] omits) *κεκτημένος*] *καὶ τεκτηνάμενος* LC.
[8] *οὗτος οὐκ οἴεται*] *οὐκ οἴεται οὗτος* LC.
[9] *θεραπεύσοντος*] *θεραπεύοντος* LC.
[10] *ὑφ'* (and so LC)] *ἀφ'* DZ*φ*ab.

(524) C τοῦτο πέπονθεν;" καίτοι τῶν διψώντων[1] τὸν μὲν[2] οὐ πεπωκότα προσδοκήσειεν ἄν τις ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι πιόντα τοῦ διψῆν, τὸν δὲ πίνοντα συνεχῶς καὶ μὴ παυόμενον οὐ πληρώσεως ἀλλὰ καθάρσεως οἰόμεθα δεῖσθαι καὶ κελεύομεν ἐμεῖν ὡς[3] οὐχ ὑπ' ἐνδείας ὀχλούμενον ἀλλά τινος δριμύτητος ἢ θερμότητος αὐτῷ παρὰ φύσιν ἐνούσης[4]· οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν ποριζόντων ὁ μὲν ἐνδεὴς καὶ ἄπορος παύσαιτ' ἂν[5] ἴσως οὐσίαν[6] κτησάμενος ἢ θησαυρὸν εὑρὼν ἢ φίλου βοηθήσαντος ἐκτίσας καὶ ἀπαλλαγεὶς τοῦ δανειστοῦ, τὸν δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔχοντα καὶ πλειόνων ὀρεγόμενον οὐ[7] χρυσίον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἀργύριον τὸ θεραπεῦσον[8] οὐδ' ἵπποι καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βόες, ἀλλ' D ἐκβολῆς δεῖται καὶ καθαρμοῦ. πενία γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἀπληστία τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοπλουτία διὰ κρίσιν φαύλην καὶ ἀλόγιστον ἐνοῦσαν[9]· ἣν ἂν μή τις ἐξέληται τῆς ψυχῆς ὥσπερ ἕλμιγγα πλατεῖαν,[10] οὐ παύσονται δεόμενοι τῶν περιττῶν, τουτέστιν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὧν οὐ δέονται.

4. Ὅταν ἰατρὸς εἰσελθὼν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον[11] ἐρριμμένον ἐν τῷ[12] κλινιδίῳ καὶ στένοντα καὶ μὴ βουλό-

[1] τῶν (G^1 omits) διψώντων (-όν- N^1)] τῶν διψηλῶν G^4 W.
[2] τὸν μὲν] μὲν τὸν LC^1.
[3] ὡς DZφab : the rest omit.
[4] ἐνούσης ZφabM vw : C^1 omits ; ἐνοχλούσης $J^{2γρ}$; ἐχούσης.
[5] παύσαιτ' ἂν G (παύσαιτο y) : παύεται W w (παύεται δὲ v) ; παύσεται.
[6] οὐσίαν nos : ἑστίαν.
[7] οὐ] οὐχὶ C vw q.
[8] θεραπεῦσον s (as Vasis had conjectured) : θεραπεῦον (-εύων N^1 ; -ευόμενον v).
[9] ἐνοῦσαν (οὖσαν C^1)] ἐνοῦσα Dab hki M^{ras}.
[10] ἕλμινθα (ἕλμιγγα Bern.) πλατεῖαν Haupt : ἕλιγμα (ἕ-) πλάγιον (and so $G^{c\ mg}$; G^{ac} omits).
[11] εἰσελθὼν (ἐλθὼν G^1) πρὸς ἄνθ.] πρὸς ἄνθ. εἰσελθὼν DZφab hki.
[12] τῷ] C omits.

distress ? " [a] Certainly in the case of sufferers from thirst you would expect the one who had had nothing to drink to find his thirst relieved after drinking, while we assume that the one who drinks on and on without stopping needs to relieve, not stuff, himself, and we tell him to vomit, taking his trouble to be caused not by any shortage in anything but by the presence in him of some unnatural pungency or heat. So too with money-getters : he who is in want and destitute would perhaps call a halt once he got an estate or discovered a hidden treasure or was helped by a friend to pay his debt and get free from his creditor ; whereas he who has more than enough and yet hungers for still more will find no remedy in gold or silver or horses and sheep and cattle, but in casting out the source of mischief and being purged. For his ailment is not poverty, but insatiability [b] and avarice, arising from the presence in him of a false and unreflecting judgement [c] ; and unless someone removes this, like a tapeworm, from his mind, he will never cease to need superfluities—that is, to want what he does not need.

4. When a physician visits a patient lying limp in bed, moaning, and refusing food, and on examining

[a] *Cf.* Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 146-148 :

" si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,
narrares medicis : quod quanto plura parasti
tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes ? "

[b] *Cf.* the fragment *On Wealth*, xxi. 2 (vol. vii, p. 123 Bern.). For the idea that we can have enough of everything but wealth, *cf.* Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 188-197. The word " insatiable " is frequently applied in Plato to wealth and the desire for it : *cf. Republic*, iv. 442 A 6-7, viii. 562 B 6, ix. 578 A 1 ; *Laws*, viii. 831 D 4, 832 A 10, ix. 870 A 4-5, xi. 918 D 6.

[c] *Cf.* Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], ii, p. 190, Democritus, B 223.

(524) μενον τροφὴν λαβεῖν ἄψηται καὶ ἀνακρίνῃ καὶ εὕρῃ μὴ πυρέττοντα, "ψυχικὴ νόσος,"[1] ἔφη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἄνδρα τῷ πορισμῷ
E προστετηκότα καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν ἐπιστένοντα καὶ μηδενὸς[2] εἰς χρηματισμὸν συντελοῦντος αἰσχροῦ μηδ'[3] ἀνιαροῦ φειδόμενον, οἰκίας δὲ ἔχοντα καὶ χώρας καὶ ἀγέλας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σὺν ἱματίοις, τί φήσομεν εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ πάθος[4] ἢ πενίαν ψυχικήν; ἐπεὶ τήν γε χρηματικήν, ὥς φησιν ὁ[5] Μένανδρος, εἷς ἂν φίλος ἀπαλλάξειεν εὐεργετήσας, τὴν δὲ ψυχικὴν ἐκείνην οὐκ ἂν ἐμπλήσειαν ἅπαντες οὔτε ζῶντες οὔτε ἀποθανόντες. ὅθεν εὖ πρὸς τούτους λέλεκται ὑπὸ τοῦ[6] Σόλωνος

πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν[7]·

F ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος ὥρισται καὶ τὸ τέρμα πάρεστι, τῇ χρείᾳ[8] καθάπερ κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι περιγραφόμενον.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἴδιον· ἐπιθυμία γάρ ἐστι μαχομένη πρὸς τὴν αὑτῆς πλήρωσιν[9]· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι καὶ συνεργοῦσιν· οὐδεὶς γοῦν[10] ἀπέχεται χρήσεως[11] ὄψου διὰ φιλοψίαν οὐδὲ οἴνου δι' οἰνοφλυγίαν, ὡς χρημάτων ἀπέχονται διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν.

[1] νόσος (ἐστι νόσος C^{vet})] ἡ νόσος DZφab.
[2] μηδενὸς DZφab y M^2 vw q: μηδέν. [3] μηδ'] καὶ C.
[4] εἶναι ($C^{vet?}$ adds τὸ) τοῦ ἀνθ. (Pohlenz adds τὸ) πάθος C: τὸ (τί G^{ac}) πάθος εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθ.
[5] ὁ] C omits. [6] τοῦ] $D^{1?}$ ab omit.
[7] ἀνθρώποισιν (and so Theognis, 227): ἀνδράσι κεῖται Solon (and so Aristotle). [8] τῇ χρείᾳ Zφab: τῆς χρείας.
[9] πλήρωσιν] ἐκπλήρωσιν LC G^4.
[10] γοῦν] οὖν D. [11] χρήσεως Meziriacus: χρηστὸς.

[a] *Citharistes*, Frag. 2 (vol. i, p. 108 Körte).
[b] The dead friend might leave a legacy.

and questioning him finds no fever, he pronounces the disorder mental and departs. We too, then, seeing a man absorbed in money-getting, moaning over his expenditures, and sticking at nothing base or painful that brings him money, though he has houses, land, herds, and slaves together with a supply of clothing, what are we to call his trouble but mental poverty? For poverty in money is a thing from which a single friend, as Menander [a] says, could deliver a man by his bounty. But that other poverty of the mind could never be replenished by all his friends together, whether in life or death.[b] It is to such as these, then, that Solon's [c] words are well applied:

> No bourne of wealth is manifest to men,

since for men of sense natural wealth does have a limit [d] and a bourne, which is drawn around it by utility as by a compass.[e]

Another peculiarity [f] of the love of money is this: it is a desire that opposes its own satisfaction.[g] The rest actually aid their satisfaction: no one refuses good food because he has a weakness for it, or wine because he is fond of the bottle, as men abstain from using money because they love it. Yet how can it

[c] Frag. 1. 71 (*Anth. Lyr. Gr.*[3] fasc. 1 Diehl); quoted by Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 3. 9 (1256 b 33) in the same connexion.

[d] *Cf.* Epicurus, *Sent. Sel.* 15, Frag. 471 (ed. Usener); Philo, *De Vita Cont.* 17 (p. 48 Conybeare, with his note); and Seneca, *Ep.* xvi. 8-9: "exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum . . . naturalia desideria finita sunt; ex falsa opinione nascentia ubi desinant non habent."

[e] A favourite expression: see *Mor.* 513 c and note.

[f] Insatiability was the first (524 D). These are peculiar to the love of money as contrasted to the desires for necessities, that is, for natural wealth.

[g] *Cf.* Teles, p. 38. 3 f. (ed. Hense[2]), and *Mor.* 519 C-D.

(524) *καίτοι πῶς οὐ μανικὸν οὐδὲ οἰκτρὸν τὸ πάθος εἴ τις ἱματίῳ μὴ*[1] *χρῆται διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν μηδὲ ἄρτῳ διὰ τὸ πεινῆν μηδὲ πλούτῳ διὰ τὸ φιλοπλουτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς Θρασωνίδου κακοῖς ἐστιν·*

525 *παρ' ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον,*[2] *ἔξεστιν δέ*[3] *μοι,*
καὶ βούλομαι τοῦθ' ὡς ἂν ἐμμανέστατα
ἐρῶν τις, οὐ[4] *ποιῶ δέ·*

—κατακλείσας πάντα[5] *καὶ κατασφραγισάμενος καὶ παραριθμήσας*[6] *τοκισταῖς καὶ πραγματευταῖς ἄλλα συνάγω καὶ διώκω, καὶ ζυγομαχῶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς πρὸς τοὺς χρεώστας—*

Ἄπολλον, ἀνθρώπων τιν'[7] *ἀθλιώτερον*[8]
ἑόρακας;[9] *ἆρ'*[10] *ἐρῶντα δυσποτμώτερον;*[11]

5. *Ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ δύναται γυναικὶ πλησιάζειν, " εὐφήμει, ἄνθρωπε," εἶπεν· " ἐλεύθερος γέγονα λυττῶντας καὶ ἀγρίους δεσπότας διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀποφυγών." χάριεν γὰρ*[12] *ἅμα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς*
B *συνεκλείπειν*[13] *τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἃς μήτε ηὗρεν μέν φησιν Ἀλκαῖος*[14] *μήτε γυναῖκα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν*

[1] *ἱματίῳ μὴ*] *μὴ ἱματίω* LC^e N^2 ; *ἱματίω* C^1 N^1.

[2] *γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον* G^3 DZφab M vw : *ἔνδον* G^1 ; *γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον ἔνδον.*

[3] *ἔξεστιν δέ* Reiske : *ἔξεστί* (*ἔνδον ἔστι* Wilamowitz).

[4] *οὐ* (followed in G by an erasure of 2 letters)] *τοῦτο* LC^c.

[5] *πάντα* LC^{ac} vw : *δὲ πάντα.*

[6] *παραριθμήσας* (and so G^4)] *ἀπαριθμήσας* C^e G^1 ZφabM vw l.

[7] *τιν'* Meineke : *τίν'* y ; *τινὰ* G Zφab q ; *τινὰ* (*τίνα* C) *ἄλλον* C^3 D hki ; *τίνα.*

[8] *ἀθλιώτερον* LC DZφab y hki : *ἀθλιώτατον.*

[9] *ἀθλ. ἑώρακας* (*ἑόρακας* Porson) : *ἑώρ. ἀθλ.* D hki.

[10] *ἆρ'* εe (*ἄρα* W^1 ; *ἆρα*) : *ἦ* C^e DZφab hk^{1}i.

[11] *δυσποτμώτερον* y (*-ότερον* G^3 and the rest ; *δυσπότερον* v [*δυσ* and a lacuna of 4 letters w]) : *δυσνομώτερον* G^1.

be called anything but madness and misery when a man refuses to put on a cloak because he is cold, to eat a loaf because he is hungry, or to use [a] wealth because he loves it, and is instead in Thrasonides' plight :

> My love is in my house, no law forbids ;
> And never lover in the wildest passion
> Had better will to do it, but I don't [b]—

I've put away everything under lock and seal or laid it out with money-lenders and agents and yet I go on amassing and pursuing new wealth, and I wrangle with my servants, my farmers, my debtors—

> Merciful Heaven ! Have you ever seen
> A man more wretched or more crossed in love ? [c]

5. Asked if he was able to enjoy a woman Sophocles [d] replied : "Hush, fellow, I am now a free man, delivered by old age from a set of mad and cruel masters." For it is a happy thing that when pleasures fail desires should fail as well, which Alcaeus [e] says . . .

[a] *Cf.* Teles, pp. 33. 4–34. 5 (ed. Hense[2]) ; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3. 104-110.

[b] Menander, *The Rejected Lover*, frag. 5 (vol. i, p. 127 Körte).

[c] Menander, *The Rejected Lover*, frag. 6 (vol. i, p. 128 Körte).

[d] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, i. 329 B-C, quoted also in *Mor.* 788 E ; *cf.* further the allusion in *Mor.* 1094 E.

[e] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*[4] iii, p. 183, frag. 108.

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[12] *γὰρ* C[4?] DZφab hki : the rest omit.

[13] *συνεκλείπειν* G[1] M vw : *συνεκλιπεῖν* (*ἐκλιπεῖν* y).

[14] *ηὗρεν* (so G[1] W [*ηὕ-* N] Yl ; *ηὗρε* L?C[1] M ; *εὗρε* Xυ v q) *μέν φ.* (variously accented ; *μὲν φ. ὁ* LC[1]) *ἀλκαῖος*] *ἄρρενα φ. ἀλκαῖος* y ; *εὕροιμι φ. ἀλκαῖος* w ; *ἄνδρα φ. ἀλκαῖος διαφυγεῖν* G[3] DZφab hki ; *ἄνδρα διαφυγεῖν φ. ὁ ἀλκαῖος* C[3] ; *εὑρεῖν* (or *εὕρην*) *φ.* 'Αλκαῖος Post.

(525) ἐπὶ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ[1] βαρεῖα καὶ
πικρὰ δέσποινα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ἀναγκάζει, χρῆσθαι δὲ
κωλύει, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐγείρει, τὴν δὲ ἡδο-
νὴν ἀφαιρεῖται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ῥοδίους ὁ Στρατό-
νικος ἐπέσκωπτεν εἰς πολυτέλειαν, οἰκοδομεῖν μὲν
ὡς ἀθανάτους λέγων, ὀψωνεῖν δὲ ὡς ὀλιγοχρονίους·
οἱ δὲ φιλάργυροι κτῶνται μὲν ὡς πολυτελεῖς, χρῶν-
ται δὲ ὡς ἀνελεύθεροι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους ὑπο-
μένουσι, τὰς δὲ ἡδονὰς οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ὁ γοῦν[2]
C Δημάδης ἐπιστὰς ἀριστῶντί ποτε[3] Φωκίωνι καὶ
θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν αὐστηρὰν καὶ
λιτήν, "θαυμάζω σε, ὦ Φωκίων," εἶπεν, "ὅτι
οὕτως ἀριστᾶν δυνάμενος πολιτεύῃ." αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰς
τὴν γαστέρα ἐδημαγώγει, καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας μικρὸν
ἡγούμενος τῆς ἀσωτίας ἐφόδιον ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας
ἐπεσιτίζετο. (καὶ διὰ[4] τοῦτο Ἀντίπατρος εἶπε θεα-
σάμενος αὐτὸν γέροντα καθάπερ ἱερείου διαπεπρα-
γμένου[5] μηδὲν ἔτι λοιπὸν ἢ τὴν γλῶσσαν εἶναι[6] καὶ
τὴν κοιλίαν.) σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἄν τις, ὦ κακόδαιμον,
θαυμάσειεν, εἰ δυνάμενος οὕτω ζῆν ἀνελευθέρως[7]
καὶ ἀπανθρώπως καὶ ἀμεταδότως καὶ πρὸς φί-
D λους ἀπηνῶς καὶ πρὸς πόλιν ἀφιλοτίμως κακοπα-
θεῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖς καὶ ἐργολαβεῖς καὶ κληρονομεῖς
καὶ ὑποπίπτεις, τηλικοῦτον ἔχων τῆς ἀπραγμο-
σύνης ἐφόδιον, τὴν ἀνελευθερίαν; Βυζάντιόν τινα
λέγουσιν ἐπὶ δυσμόρφῳ γυναικὶ μοιχὸν εὑρόντα

[1] ὥσπερ] ὡς LC ; ὡς γὰρ I (beginning an excerpt).
[2] ὁ γοῦν] ὁ μὲν οὖν ? G[1].
[3] ποτε (or ποτὲ)] G[1] omits.
[4] διὰ (or δια and so G[4])] G[1] W omit.
[5] διαπεπραγμένου] διαπεπραμένου G[ac?] hi.
[6] ἢ . . . εἶναι] εἶναι ἢ τὴν γλῶτταν LC.
[7] ζῆν ἀνελ.] ζῆν καὶ ἀνελ. Zφ ; ἀνελ. ζῆν G.

nor woman.[a] But it is otherwise with avarice : like an oppressive and vexatious mistress it compels us to make money but forbids the use of it, and arouses the desire but cheats us of the pleasure. Stratonicus indeed rallied the Rhodians for lavish spending, saying that they built as immortals and furnished their tables as if soon to die.[b] But while lovers of money acquire it as lavish spenders, they use it as churls, and endure the pains, but do not get the pleasures. Thus Demades once found Phocion at luncheon, and remarked, observing the austerity and plainness of his table : " I am astonished, Phocion, that when you can stomach such food you engage in politics." For Demades himself played the demagogue to fill his belly, and regarding Athens as no adequate provision for his prodigality laid in supplies from Macedon as well.[c] (Hence Antipater,[d] seeing him in his old age, said that like a carcass when the butchers had finished, nothing remained but the tongue and the gut.) As for you, unhappy wretch, is one not to be astonished that living as you do—a miser, unsocial, selfish, heedless of friends, indifferent to country—you nevertheless suffer hardships, lose sleep, engage in traffic, chase after legacies, and truckle to others despite this abundant provision for a life of ease, your meanness ? We hear that a certain Byzantine said on finding an adulterer with his ill-favoured wife, " Poor fellow !

[a] The Greek is corrupt.

[b] Said of the Agrigentines by Empedocles in Diogenes Laert. viii. 63, by Plato in Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 29 ; of the Megarians by Diogenes in Tertullian, *Apol.* 39, and without mention of the author in Jerome, *Epist.* 123. 15. *Cf.* Aristotle in Diogenes Laert. v. 20.

[c] He was in Macedonian pay.

[d] *Cf. Life of Phocion*, chap. i. 3 (741 F) ; *Mor.* 183 F.

(525) εἰπεῖν, "ὦ ταλαίπωρε,[1] τίς ἀνάγκα;[2] σαπρὰ γὰρ ἁ τρύξ."[3] ἄγε σὺ κυκᾷς ὑφάπτεις,[4] ὦ πόνηρε, τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἔα πορίζεσθαι,[5] τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν πρωτεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν ἐθέλοντας· ἐκείνοις ἀνάγκη διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ τὴν[6] ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὴν κενὴν δόξαν ἑστιῶσιν χαριζομένοις δορυφοροῦσιν[7] δῶρα πέμπουσιν στρατεύματα τρέφουσιν μονομάχους ὠνουμένοις· σὺ δὲ τοσαῦτα πράγματα συγχεῖς[8] καὶ ταράττεις[9] καὶ στροβεῖς σεαυτὸν[10] κοχλίου βίον ζῶν διὰ τὴν μικρολογίαν,[11] καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ πάντα ὑπομένεις οὐδὲν εὖ πάσχων, ὥσπερ ὄνος βαλανέως ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα κατακομίζων, ἀεὶ καπνοῦ καὶ τέφρας ἀναπιμπλάμενος, λουτροῦ δὲ μὴ μετέχων μηδὲ ἀλέας μηδὲ καθαρειότητος.

6. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔτι[12] πρὸς τὴν ὀνώδη καὶ μυρμηκώδη λέγεται ταύτην[13] φιλοπλουτίαν· ἑτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἡ[14] θηριώδης, συκοφαντοῦσα καὶ κληρονομοῦσα

F καὶ παραλογιζομένη καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα[15] καὶ

[1] ὦ ταλαίπωρε] L?C[1] omit.

[2] ἀνάγκα Nauck from *Mor.* 235 E: ἀνάγκη (ἀνάγκη ἀνάγκη M[ac]).

[3] σαπρὰ γὰρ ἁ τρύξ Nauck: σαπραγόρα (-ώρα y; πραγόρα v; σαπρὰ J[2] εe) προῖξ (προίξ or προὶξ G[ac] y hki N ZφabM[2] w q).

[4] ἄγε (ἆγε X; ἅ γε υ DZφab y hki) σὺ κυκᾷς (συκας G[1]; σὺ κυκὰς W Y[ac]; σὺ κακῶς y; σὺκυκυκᾶς M[ac]; συγκυβᾶς w) ὑφάπτεις (-ης D[ac]; ἐφάπτεις X[ac][?]; ὑφ' ἅπτης N): ἅ γε σῦς κυκᾷ, ἐφάπτει σύ; Post.

[5] ἔα πορ. Reiske: πορ. δεῖ DZφab; πορίζεσθαι.

[6] τὴν LC G W: the rest omit.

[7] δορυφοροῦσιν W (-σι C[vet] G[3] DZφab vw): δυσφοροῦσι LC[1]; δωροφοροῦσι (-σιν N Y).

[8] συγχεῖς D: συνέχεις (defended by Post).

[9] καὶ ταράττεις] LC omit.

[10] σεαυτὸν Gk Xυ y ZφabM[2]: ἑαυτόν.

What drives you to it? The dregs are foul!"[a] . . .[b] unhappy man! Let kings and royal stewards and those who would be foremost in their cities and hold office engage in money-getting. These are driven to it, their ambition and pretension and vainglory compel them, engaged as they are in giving banquets, bestowing favours, paying court, sending presents, supporting armies, buying gladiators. But you stir up this vast turmoil of affairs and harass and distract yourself when for meanness you live the life of a snail, and you put up with every discomfort and get no good of it, like a bathhouse keeper's ass[c] that carries faggots and kindling, always foul with smoke and ashes, but getting no bath or warmth or cleanliness.

6. We have been speaking of this avarice of the ass or ant.[d] But there is another, the avarice of the beast of prey; it runs to legal blackmail, to the pursuit of legacies, to cheating and intrigue and

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 235 E and the proverb: "You must drain the dregs with the wine" (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1085, and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 212).

[b] The Greek is corrupt.

[c] In a somewhat similar connexion Aristotle speaks of a richly caparisoned horse (*Protrepticus*, frag. 37 Rose, 3 Walzer). Aristo of Chios (*cf. Gnom. Vat.* no. 120, ed. Sternbach) compares the rich and miserly to asses loaded with gold and silver but eating fodder. *Cf.* also P. Wendland, *Anaximenes von Lampsakos*, p. 94, note 1.

[d] *Cf.* Crates, frag. 10. 7 (Diels, *Poet. Philos. Frag.* p. 220).

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[11] ζῶν διὰ τὴν μ.] διὰ τὴν μ. ζῶν LC.

[12] ταῦτα ἔτι G: ταῦτα (ταῦτα μὲν Wilamowitz).

[13] λέγεται ταύτην LC[1] w: λέγεται G; λέγετ' (λέγοιτ' J[2?ss]) ἂν τὴν W; λέγε ταύτην Xυ D y hk[1]i N M v Yl (ταύτην λέγε q); λέγω ταύτην Zφaba[2] (λέγε ταῦτα α[1]).

[14] ἡ] DZφab omit.

[15] καὶ παρ. καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα] D N omit.

(525) φροντίζουσα καὶ ἀριθμοῦσα τῶν φίλων ἔτι πόσοι ζῶσιν, εἶτα πρὸς μηδὲν ἀπολαύουσα τῶν πανταχόθεν προσποριζομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐχίδνας καὶ κανθαρίδας καὶ φαλάγγια μᾶλλον προβαλλόμεθα καὶ δυσχεραίνομεν ἄρκτων καὶ λεόντων, ὅτι κτείνει καὶ ἀπόλλυσιν ἀνθρώπους[1] μηδὲν[2] χρώμενα τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτω δεῖ μᾶλλον δυσχεραίνειν τῶν δι' ἀσωτίαν τοὺς διὰ μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν[3] πονηρούς· ἀφαιροῦνται γὰρ ἄλλων οἷς αὐτοὶ
526 χρῆσθαι μὴ δύνανται μηδὲ πεφύκασιν. ὅθεν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐκεχειρίαν ἄγουσιν ἐν ἀφθόνοις γενόμενοι καὶ χορηγίαν ἔχοντες (ὥσπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔλεγεν[4] πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας τῆς πονηρίας τὸν[5] Δημάδην πεπαῦσθαι,[6] "νῦν γάρ," ἔφη, "μεστὸν ὁρᾶτε καθάπερ τοὺς λέοντας"). τοῖς δὲ εἰς μηδὲν ἡδὺ μηδὲ[7] χρήσιμον πολιτευομένοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνακωχὴ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐδὲ ἀσχολία κενοῖς οὖσιν ἀεὶ καὶ προσδεομένοις ἁπάντων.

7. "Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία," φήσει τις ὅτι "παισὶν οὗτοι καὶ κληρονόμοις φυλάττουσι καὶ θησαυρίζουσιν."
B οἷς[8] ζῶντες οὐδὲν[9] μεταδιδόασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν μυῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις τὴν χρυσῖτιν ἐσθιόντων οὐκ ἔσται τοῦ χρυσίου μεταλαβεῖν εἰ μὴ νεκρῶν γενομένων[10] καὶ ἀνατμηθέντων; παισὶ δὲ καὶ κληρονόμοις διὰ τί[11] βούλονται πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ μεγάλην[12] οὐσίαν ἀπολιπεῖν;[13] ἵνα δηλονότι καὶ

[1] ἀνθρώπους] τοὺς ἀνθρώπους C.
[2] μηδὲν] μηδὲ G[1].
[3] καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν] C[1] omits.
[4] ἔλεγεν y N[aras?] Y (-γε): C omits.
[5] τὸν] πρὸς τὸν W N Yl; C[1] omits.
[6] δημάδην (so G v[1] W D[2] y hki vw; δημάδη) πεπ.] πεπαῦσθαι δημάδη C.
[7] ἡδὺ μηδὲ (and so G[4])] ἡδὺ καὶ G[1]; ἢ Y[ac].

scheming, it counts the number of friends still alive, and after all this puts the ill-gotten wealth to no use. Thus as vipers, blister-beetles, and venomous spiders offend and disgust us more than bears and lions, because they kill and destroy men without using what they destroy, so too should men whose rapacity springs from meanness and illiberality disgust us more than those in whom it springs from prodigality, since the miserly take from others what they have no power or capacity to use themselves. Hence prodigals call a truce once they are affluent and well provided for (as Demosthenes said to those who imagined that Demades had ceased to be a scoundrel : " At present you see him like the lions, glutted ") [a] ; whereas in those who follow no policy of pleasure or utility there is no suspension of greed or distraction from it by more pressing claims, as they are forever empty and still want the whole world.

7. Someone will say, " But they preserve and lay up their goods for children and heirs." When in their lifetime they give them nothing ? Nay, as with the mice that eat the gold ore in the mines,[b] the gold cannot be had until they are dead and laid open. And why do they desire to leave children and heirs an accumulation of money and a great estate ? Plainly

[a] The phrase recurs in the *Life of Alexander*, chap. xiii. 12 (671 B), and *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xxiii. 6 (856 F).

[b] *Cf.* Theophrastus, frag. 174. 8 (ed. Wimmer) ; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 57 (222).

8 *οἷς*] *πῶς· οἷς* DZφ ; *πῶς, οἳ* ab.

9 *οὐδὲν*] *οὐδενὸς* G[4ss] DZφab ; *οὐδενὶ* G[4].

10 *γενομένων*] *γινομένων* D[1] vw.

11 *τί* (and so G[4])] *τοῦτο* G[1].

12 *μεγάλην* (and so G[4])] G[1] omits.

13 *ἀπολιπεῖν*] *ἀπολείπειν* G[1].

(526) *οὗτοι φυλάττωσιν ἑτέροις κἀκεῖνοι πάλιν,*[1] *ὥσπερ οἱ κεραμεοῖ σωλῆνες οὐδὲν ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλ' ἕκαστος εἰς ἕτερον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μεθιεὶς ἄχρι ἄν τις ἔξωθεν ἢ συκοφάντης ἢ τύραννος ἐκκόψας*[2] *τὸν φυλάττοντα καὶ κατάξας*[3] *ἀλλαχόσε παρατρέψῃ καὶ παροχετεύσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον, ἤ, καθάπερ λέ-*
C *γουσιν, εἷς ὁ*[4] *πονηρότατος ἐν τῷ γένει γενόμενος καταφάγῃ τὰ πάντων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην*

ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελίᾳ[5] *γίνεται δούλων τέκνα*

ἀλλὰ καὶ[6] *μικρολόγων, ὥς που καὶ*[7] *Διογένης ἐπέσκωψεν*[8] *εἰπὼν Μεγαρέως ἂν*[9] *ἀνδρὸς βέλτιον εἶναι κριὸν ἢ υἱὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἷς δοκοῦσι παιδεύειν ἀπολλύουσι καὶ προσδιαστρέφουσιν*[10] *ἐμφυτεύοντες τὴν*[11] *αὑτῶν φιλαργυρίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν,*[12] *ὥσπερ τι*[13] *φρούριον τῆς κληρονομίας ἐνοικοδομοῦντες τοῖς κληρονόμοις. ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἃ παραινοῦσι καὶ διδάσκουσιν· "κέρδαινε καὶ φείδου, καὶ τοσούτου νόμιζε σεαυτὸν*[14] *ἄξιον ὅσον ἂν ἔχῃς." τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔστι παιδεύειν ἀλλὰ συστέλλειν καὶ*
D *ἀπορράπτειν ὥσπερ βαλλάντιον ἵνα στέγειν καὶ*[15]

[1] *πάλιν* Emperius: *παισὶν* (and so G⁴; *πᾶσιν* [?]G¹).
[2] *ἐκκόψας*] *-ψας* by G⁴ in an erasure.
[3] *κατάξας* (and so G⁴)] *κατακόψας* G¹; *κατατάξας* X y *κατεάξας* I D; *κατάγξας* Zφab.
[4] *ὁ*] DZφab omit.
[5] *ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελίᾳ* nos (*ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελείαι* G¹)] *ἀκόλασθ' ὁμιλεῖν* Diog. Laert. iv. 35; *ἀκόλαστα* D hki vw; *ἀκόλαστα μὲν* (and so G⁴ mg).
[6] *ἀλλὰ καὶ* εe: *καί*.
[7] *ὥς που καὶ* (*ὅπου καὶ* v)] *ὥσπερ καὶ* W (*ὥσπερ ὁ* i); *ὡς καὶ* D.
[8] *ἐπέσκωψεν*] *ἀπέσκωψεν* C.
[9] *ἂν* (and so G⁴)] G¹ W omit; *γὰρ* v.

that these may preserve it for others, and these for still others, like earthen pipes, taking nothing for themselves but each conveying to another what it receives, until some outsider, an informer or tyrant, cuts off and shatters the keeper of the wealth, thus intercepting and drawing off the flow of riches, or (as the saying goes) the one member of the family who turns out worst consumes the property of all. For not only

The sons of slaves are wanton from neglect,

as Euripides [a] says, the sons of misers are so as well, as Diogenes doubtless implied in his taunt : " Better to be a Megarian's ram than his son." [b] For by the very means whereby they suppose that they are training their children, misers ruin them instead and warp their characters all the more, implanting in them their own avarice and meanness, as though constructing in their heirs a fort to guard the inheritance. For their admonition and instruction comes to this : " Get profit and be sparing, and count yourself as worth exactly what you have." [c] This is not to educate a son, but to compress him and sew him shut, like a money bag,[d] that he may hold tight and

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 976, p. 675.
[b] *Cf.* Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 56 and Diogenes Laert. vi. 41.
[c] *Cf.* Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 62 with Heinze's note.
[d] The money bag is worth no more than what it contains : *cf.* Stobaeus, *Anth.* iv. 31. 33 (p. 744. 9-12 Hense), and Seneca, *Ep.* lxxxvii. 18 with Teles, p. lxxxiii (ed. Hense²).

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[10] *προσδιαστρέφουσιν* (and so G⁴)] *διαστρέφουσιν* G¹ D.
[11] *τὴν* (and so G³)] G¹ omits.
[12] *μικρολογίαν*] *τὴν μ.* DZφ.
[13] *τι εe* : *οὖν τι* (*οὖν τὸ* [?] G¹ ; *ἄν τι* Vasis) ; D omits.
[14] *σεαυτὸν*] *σαυτὸν* DZφab hki.
[15] *καὶ*] *τὲ καὶ* C G.

(526) φυλάττειν τὸ εἰσβληθὲν δύνηται. καίτοι τὸ μὲν
βαλλάντιον ἐμβληθέντος[1] τοῦ ἀργυρίου γίνεται ῥυ-
παρὸν καὶ δυσῶδες, οἱ δὲ τῶν φιλαργύρων παῖδες
πρὶν ἢ παραλαμβάνειν[2] τὸν πλοῦτον ἀναπίμπλανται
τῆς φιλοπλουτίας ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πατέρων. καὶ
μέντοι καὶ διδασκάλια[3] καὶ[4] μισθοὺς ἀξίους ἀπο-
τίνουσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐ φιλοῦντες ὅτι πολλὰ λήψονται,
ἀλλὰ μισοῦντες ὅτι μήπω λαμβάνουσιν. μηδὲν γὰρ
ἄλλο θαυμάζειν ἢ τὸν πλοῦτον[5] μαθόντες μηδὲ ἐπ'
ἄλλῳ τινὶ ζῆν ἢ τῷ πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι κώλυσιν τοῦ
ἰδίου βίου τὸν[6] ἐκείνων ποιοῦνται, καὶ νομίζουσιν
αὑτῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι[7] τὸν χρόνον ὅσον ἐκείνοις προσ-
E τίθησιν. διὸ καὶ ζώντων μὲν ἔτι τῶν πατέρων
λανθάνοντες ἁμωσγέπως παρακλέπτουσι[8] τῆς ἡδονῆς
καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων, μεταδιδόντες
φίλοις, ἀναλίσκοντες εἰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἔτι[9] ἀκούοντες,
ἔτι[10] μανθάνοντες.[11] ὅταν δὲ ἀποθανόντων τὰς κλεῖς
παραλάβωσι καὶ τὰς σφραγῖδας, ἕτερον βίου σχῆμα
αὐτοῖς ἐστι καὶ πρόσωπον ἀγέλαστον, αὐστηρόν,
ἀνέντευκτον· οὐ κολοφών,[12] οὐ σφαῖρα, οὐ τραχη-
F λισμός, οὐκ Ἀκαδημία, οὐ Λύκειον, ἀλλ' οἰκετῶν
ἀνάκρισις καὶ γραμματείων[13] ἐπίσκεψις καὶ πρὸς
οἰκονόμους ἢ χρεώστας διαλογισμὸς καὶ ἀσχολία

[1] ἐμβληθέντος (and so G^3)] ἐκβληθέντος G^1; εἰσβληθέντος Zφ N. [2] παραλαμβάνειν (περιλ. i)] λαμβάνειν W l.

[3] καὶ διδασκάλια nos: καὶ διδασκαλία (-εῖα J^2) W; τῆς διδασκαλίας. [4] καὶ] C G Xυ y hki q omit.

[5] ἄλλο . . . πλοῦτον] ἄλλο τῶν ἄλλων (τῶν ἄλλων expunged by $C^{vet?}$) ἢ τὸν πλ. θαυμ. C.

[6] τοῦ ἰδίου βίου τὸν DZφab: τοῦ αὐτῶν (αὐ- $C^{vet?}$) βίου τὸν C; δὴ οὖν τοῦ αὐτῶν βίου τὸν G^3 (τοῦ, βίου, τὸν superscribed); βίου τὸν M^2 vw q; βιούντων y; δὴ οὖν αὐτῶν G^1k^1; δὴ οὖν οὐ τῶν hi; δεῖ οὖν οὐ τὸν Xυ W N (δει [δεῖ l] ουν ου τον Yl); M^1 omits.

keep safe what you have put in. But whereas the bag gets dirty and foul-smelling only after the coin has been stored in it, the children of misers, before touching the money, catch the taint of avarice directly from their fathers. Note, however, that the young pay them for this instruction in the right coin, not loving their fathers because they are to inherit a fortune, but hating them because they have not got it already. For having been taught to look up to nothing but wealth and to live for nothing but great possessions, they consider that their fathers' lives stand in the way of their own, and conceive that time steals from them whatever it adds to their fathers' years. Hence even when the father is still alive the son behind his back finds one way or another to steal some pleasure from the money and spends it as if he had no interest in it, giving it to friends and lavishing it on his appetites, when still attending lectures and still at his studies. But when at his father's death the son takes over the keys and seals, his way of life is altered and his countenance becomes unsmiling, stern, and forbidding. Here is an end of . . .,[a] of ball-playing, of wrestling, of the Academy and the Lyceum. There is instead the interrogation of servants, inspection of ledgers, the casting up of accounts with stewards and debtors, and occupation and worry

[a] *kolophon* is unexplained and possibly corrupt.

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[7] *ἀφαιρεῖσθαι*] *τοσοῦτον ἀφ.* DZφab ; *ἂν ἀφ.* hki ; *ἀναφ.* N.
[8] *παρακλέπτουσι*] *καὶ π.* C ; *παραβλέπουσι* W.
[9] *ἔτι* Wyttenbach : *ὅτι.* [10] *ἔτι* Madvig : *τί* (*τι* G[1]).
[11] *μανθάνοντες* (and so G[3])] *μανθάνουσιν* (*-σι* G[1]) C[vet?] X[3ss] Zφab M vw.
[12] *οὐ κολοφών* (*-ωφὼν* W φ l[ac] ; *-οφῶν* [L illegible] C G Xυ w[?]) : *οὐ κόλυμβος* (?) ; *οὐ κολαφισμός* ? Post.
[13] *γραμματείων* DZφab (*-τεῖον* y) : *γραμμάτων*.

(526) καὶ φροντὶς ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἄριστον καὶ συνελαύνουσα νυκτὸς εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον,

γυμνάσια δ' οἷσιν ἐνετράφη Δίρκης θ'[1] ὕδωρ

παρώδευται· κἂν εἴπῃ τις, "οὐκ ἀκούσῃ[2] τοῦ φιλοσόφου;" "πόθεν ἐμοί;" φησιν· "οὐ σχολάζω τοῦ πατρὸς τεθνηκότος." ὦ ταλαίπωρε, τί σοι τοιοῦτο καταλέλοιπεν οἷον[3] ἀφῄρηται,[4] τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ[5] ἐκεῖνος ἀλλ' ὁ πλοῦτος περιχυθεὶς καὶ κρατήσας, ὥσπερ ἡ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ γυνή

527 εὕει ἄτερ δαλοῦ[6] καὶ ὠμῷ[7] γήραϊ δῶκεν,[8]

ὥσπερ ῥυτίδας ἀώρους ἢ πολιὰς ἐπαγαγὼν τῇ ψυχῇ[9] τὰς φροντίδας ἐκ τῆς φιλαργυρίας καὶ τὰς[10] ἀσχολίας, ὑφ' ὧν μαραίνεται τὸ γαῦρον καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

8. "Τί οὖν;" φήσει[11] τις, "οὐχ ὁρᾷς καὶ χρωμένους ἐνίους δαψιλῶς τοῖς χρήμασιν;" σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἀκούεις, φήσομεν, Ἀριστοτέλους λέγοντος ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ χρῶνται, οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται,[12] καθάπερ οὐδετέρου προσήκοντος;[13] ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ὠφελεῖ τὸ οἰκεῖον οὐδὲ κοσμεῖ, τούτους δὲ καὶ[14] βλάπτει καὶ καταισχύνει.

[1] θ' ee : τὲ or τε. [2] ἀκούσῃ Stephanus : ἀκούσεις.
[3] οἷον (and so C$^{vet?}$)] ὅπερ C^1 ; ὃ y.
[4] ἀφῄρηται] ἀφαιρεῖται DZφab hki ; ἀφαίρηται N.
[5] οὐδὲ] οὐκ DZφab y.
[6] δαλοῦ (so *Mor.* 100 E)] δαλοῖο G Xυ W y hi N q.
[7] ὠμῷ C G Zφab hki (and *Mor.* 100 E) : ἐν ὠμῷ (ἐνομῷ N).
[8] δῶκεν Gk (δῶκε *Mor.* 100 E) : θῆκεν.
[9] τῇ ψυχῇ DZφab : τῆς ψυχῆς.
[10] τὰς Wilamowitz : τῆς (υ omits).
[11] φήσει G DZφab y hki M^2 vw q : φησί.
[12] οὐ χρῶνται οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται DZφab : χρ. οἱ δὲ καταχρῶν-

that deny him his luncheon and drive him to the bath at night.

> The place of exercise where he was schooled
> And Dircê's fount [a]

are passed by; and if someone says, "Are you not going to hear the philosopher?" the answer is, "How could I? I have no time [b] now my father is dead." Poor soul! What has your father left to compare with what he has taken away, your leisure and your freedom? Rather it is not he, it is your wealth, that overwhelming and overpowering you, like the woman in Hesiod [c]

> Singes without a brand and ages ere your time,

bringing upon the mind like premature wrinkles and grey hairs the cares and distractions that come from avarice, whereby all high-heartedness and keenness and friendliness are blighted.

8. "Well," someone will say, "do you not observe that some people do make lavish use of their money?" To this we shall answer: And have you not heard from Aristotle [d] that some fail to use it, others use it ill, neither course being right? But whereas the first get no good or glory from what they have, the others actually get harm and disgrace from it.

[a] Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 368.
[b] For wealth preventing the study of philosophy *cf.* Teles, pp. 45. 2–46. 6 (ed. Hense²), and Seneca, *Ep.* xvii. 3.
[c] *Works and Days*, 705; quoted also in *Mor.* 100 E.
[d] Frag. 56 (ed. Rose); *cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. iii. 2 (279 B).

ται y¹ᵗ; *χρ. οἱ δὲ οὐ χρῶνται* y¹ˢˢ; *καταχρῶνται οἱ δὲ οὐ χρ.* J²; *χρ. οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται.*
[13] *προσήκοντος* (and so G³)] *προσήκοντος ἄλλου προσήκοντος* G¹.
[14] *καὶ*] C¹ omits.

(527) B Φέρε δὴ σκεψώμεθα τὸ πρῶτον, ἡ[1] χρῆσις αὕτη δι' ἣν θαυμάζεται ὁ πλοῦτος, τίς;[2] πότερον τῶν ἀρκούντων; οὐδὲν οὖν[3] πλέον ἔχουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν μέτρια κεκτημένων, ἀλλ' "ἄπλουτος" ὁ[4] πλοῦτός ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ "ἄζηλος" ἀληθῶς, εἰ Καλλίας πλουσιώτατος[5] Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ Θηβαίων εὐπορώτατος ἐχρῶντο τούτοις οἷς Σωκράτης καὶ[6] Ἐπαμεινώνδας. ὡς γὰρ Ἀγάθων τὸν αὐλὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας, οἰόμενος ἀρκεῖν τοὺς λόγους τῶν παρόντων, οὕτως ἀποπέμψειας ἂν[7] καὶ στρωμνὰς ἁλουργοὺς[8] καὶ τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς καὶ τὰ περιττὰ πάντα, τοὺς πλουσίους ὁρῶν χρωμένους οἷς οἱ[9] πένητες· καί[10]

C αἶψά κε[11] πηδάλιον μὲν ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ καταθεῖο, ἔργα

δ' οὐ

βοῶν[12] ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἡμιόνων ταλαεργῶν[13]

ἀλλὰ[14] χρυσοχόων καὶ τορευτῶν καὶ μυρεψῶν καὶ μαγείρων, καλῆς καὶ σώφρονος γενομένης ξενηλασίας τῶν ἀχρήστων. εἰ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀρκοῦντα

[1] ἡ] τίνων τίς ἡ DZφab.
[2] τίς] DZφab omit.
[3] οὖν G^3 DZφab : the rest omit.
[4] ἀλλ' ἄπλουτος ὁ C^{vet} X^3 ZφabM^2 : ἀλλὰ πλοῦτος (-στος N) ὁ (ἀλλὰ τυφλὸς D).
[5] πλουσ.] ὁ πλουσ. DZφab y hki.
[6] καὶ] καὶ ἀριστοφάνης καὶ C^1.
[7] ἀποπέμψειας ἂν DZφab : ἀποπέμψειαν (-ειας G^3 y ; -ειεν i^2 v^{ac} ; ἀποπέμψῃ ἂν C^{vet}).
[8] ἁλουργοὺς (or ἀ- ; -ους Z^{1ss})] ἀλουργεῖς D^cZ^{1t} ; ἀλλουργεῖς D^{ac} (-οῦς φ).

Come, first let us consider what is this "use," for which wealth is highly regarded. Is it the use of what suffices? Then the rich are no better off than men of modest means, and wealth, as Theophrastus [a] says, is "no wealth" and in truth "unenviable," [b] if Callias, the wealthiest man of Athens, and Hismenias, the richest of Thebes, got the same use of what they had as Socrates and Epameinondas. For as Agathon dismissed the flute-players from the banquet to the women's quarters, holding the conversation of the company to be sufficient entertainment,[c] so too might you dismiss purple coverlets and expensive tables and all superfluities, when you see that the rich have the same service as the poor, and

> Soon you'd hang the rudder o'er the hearth
> And all for nought would be the patient toil

not

> Of ox and mule [d]

but of goldsmith, enchaser, perfumer, and cook, once we had been wise and sober enough to expel all that is useless from our state.[e] But if even those who are

[a] Frag. 78 (ed. Wimmer); *cf.* frag. 86[f], from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. x. 2 (45 c), and *Mor.* 679 B.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 226 E and 679 B, and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 253. 25.

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Symposium*, 176 E and *Protagoras*, 347 C-D.

[d] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 45-46, also quoted in *Mor.* 157 F.

[e] *Cf. Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ix. 4 (44 E).

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9 *οἱ*] καὶ οἱ DZφab.
10 *καὶ*] οὐκ ZφabM²; οὐ καὶ X²; D omits.
11 *κε*] τε D.
12 δ' οὐ βοῶν D: βοῶν δ' (and so Hesiod).
13 *ταλ.*] οὐ ταλ. G⁴.
14 *ἀλλὰ*] ἀλλὰ καὶ G³ y.

(527) κοινὰ καὶ[1] τῶν μὴ[2] πλουσίων ἐστίν, σεμνύνεται δὲ ὁ πλοῦτος ἐπὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς[3] καὶ τὸν Σκόπαν τὸν Θεσσαλὸν[4] ἐπαινεῖς,[5] ὃς[6] αἰτηθείς τι[7] τῶν[8] κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὡς περιττὸν οὕτω[9] καὶ ἄχρηστον, "ἀλλὰ μήν," ἔφη, "τούτοις ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς εὐδαίμονες καὶ
D μακάριοι τοῖς περιττοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις," ὅρα μὴ πομπὴν ἐπαινοῦντι καὶ πανήγυριν μᾶλλον ἢ βίον ἔοικας.

Ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἱλαρῶς· ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κληματίς, εἶτα τράγον τις εἷλκεν, ἄλλος ἰσχάδων ἄρριχον ἠκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ φαλλός. ἀλλὰ νῦν ταῦτα παροραται[10] καὶ ἠφάνισται χρυσωμάτων παραφερομένων[11] καὶ ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ ζευγῶν ἐλαυνομένων καὶ προσωπείων· οὕτω[12] τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χρήσιμα τοῖς ἀχρήστοις κατακέχωσται καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς. (9.) οἱ
E δὲ πολλοὶ τὸ τοῦ Τηλεμάχου πάσχομεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας μᾶλλον δὲ[13] ἀπειροκαλίας τὴν μὲν Νέστορος ἰδὼν οἰκίαν κλίνας ἔχουσαν, τραπέζας, ἱμάτια, στρώματα, οἶνον ἡδύν, οὐκ ἐμακάριζε

[1] καὶ] DZ^ac omit. [2] μὴ DZφab : the rest omit.
[3] περιττοῖς C Gk Zφab y : περισσοῖς.
[4] τὸν Θ.] put after ἐπ. in C.
[5] ἐπαινεῖς D^c (from -ῇς) : ἐπαινέσεις C Zφab w ; ἐπαινέσαις G^3 (-σσ-X)υ W hki M Ylq ; ἐπαινέσας G^1 N v (y is wanting).
[6] ὃς DZφab hki M vw Yl : the rest omit (y is wanting).
[7] τι] γάρ τι C^1 G^3 (y is wanting).
[8] τῶν] καὶ τῶν C.

not rich equally possess enough for their needs, whereas wealth plumes itself on luxuries, and you approve of Scopas [a] the Thessalian, who when begged for some article in his house on the ground that there it was superfluous and not put to any use, exclaimed: "Why it is just these articles of superfluity, and not the indispensables, that give me the name of enviable and fortunate," you must look to it or you will be like one who gives his approval to a pageant or a festival rather than to the business of living.

Our traditional festival of the Dionysia [b] was in former times a homely and merry procession. First came a jug of wine and a vine branch, then one celebrant dragged a he-goat along, another followed with a basket of dry figs, and the phallos-bearer came last. But all this is nowadays unregarded and vanished, what with vessels of gold carried past, rich apparel, carriages riding by, and masks: so has what is necessary and useful in wealth been buried under what is useless and superfluous. (9.) But we are most of us like Telemachus. In his innocence, or rather want of taste, when he saw Nestor's house with its couches, tables, clothes, coverlets, and pleasant wine, he expressed no admiration for one provided with all that

[a] *Cf. Life of Cato the Elder*, chap. xviii (346 F—347 A).

[b] For the rural Dionysia of Attica *cf.* Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 247 ff. M. P. Nilsson (*Studia de Dionysiis Atticis*, Lund, 1900, p. 91) believes that Plutarch is comparing the Attic festival, known to him through his reading, with the festival as celebrated in great cities in his own time.

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[9] *οὕτω*] *αὐτῷ* Bryan.
[10] *παροράται*] *παρεώραται* D.
[11] *παραφερομένων*] *περιφερομένων* C[1] G[3] DZφab q.
[12] *οὕτω* C M[3] l: *καὶ οὕτως* D; *οὕτως*.
[13] *δὲ*] δ' Zφab; *δὲ ὑπ'* G[1] (*δὲ ὑπὸ* y[ar]).

(527) τὸν εὐποροῦντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἢ καὶ[1] χρησίμων, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ θεασάμενος ἐλέφαντα καὶ[2] χρυσὸν καὶ ἤλεκτρον ἐξεπλάγη καὶ εἶπεν·

Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή·
ὅσσα τάδ' ἄσπετα πολλά· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.

Σωκράτης δ' ἂν εἶπεν ἢ[3] Διογένης·

ὅσσα τάδ'[4] ἄθλια πολλά

καὶ ἄχρηστα καὶ μάταια·

F γέλως μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.

τί λέγεις ἀβέλτερε; τῆς γυναικὸς ὀφείλων παρελεῖν τὴν πορφύραν[5] καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἵνα παύσηται τρυφῶσα καὶ ξενομανοῦσα, τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν καλλωπίζεις ὡς θέατρον ἢ θυμέλην τοῖς εἰσιοῦσι;

10. Τοιαύτην ὁ πλοῦτος εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχει, θεατῶν καὶ μαρτύρων ἢ[6] τὸ μηδὲν οὖσαν.[7] ὅμοιόν[8] γε τὸ σωφρονεῖν, τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν,[9] τὸ γινώσκειν ἃ δεῖ περὶ
528 θεῶν κἂν[10] λανθάνῃ πάντας ἀνθρώπους· ἴδιον δὲ[11] σέλας ἔχει καὶ φέγγος[12] ἐν τῇ[13] ψυχῇ μέγα καὶ χαρὰν

[1] ἢ καὶ] καὶ C; ἢ καὶ τῶν υ D; ἢ i w.
[2] καὶ] τόσον καὶ G.
[3] ἢ] ἢ καὶ Zφab M v (D y are wanting).
[4] τάδ' hki: τά γε G; τ' l; τά γ' (D y are wanting).
[5] παρ. τὴν πορ.] τὴν πορ. παρ. C.
[6] ἢ] οἷς δεῖ πᾶσιν ἐμπομπεύειν αὐτὸν ἢ DZφab; εe omit.
[7] οὖσαν] ἐστιν D.
[8] ὅμοιόν] ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅμοιόν DZφab.
[9] φιλοσοφεῖν] φιλεῖν C[1].
[10] κἂν (κὰν X; κἀν N)] ἀλλὰ κἂν D; ἃ κἂν Pohlenz.
[11] δὲ] D omits; γὰρ εe.

was necessary or useful; but when he visited Menelaüs and beheld ivory, gold, and amber, he was struck with amazement and cried:

> Olympian Zeus, methinks, has halls like this:
> What riches past all telling! I behold
> And marvel.[a]

Socrates or Diogenes would have said:

> What rubbish past all telling

and superfluity and vanity!

> I behold
> And laugh.

Fool! You should strip your wife of her purple and adornments, that she may get over her fine airs and her infatuation with foreign guests,[b] and do you trick out your house instead like a theatre or stage for visitors?

10. Such is the felicity of wealth—a felicity of spectators and witnesses or else a thing of naught.[c] How different are self-mastery, the pursuit of wisdom, the knowing what we should about the gods,[d] though known to no man else! These have in the soul a luminousness of their own and a surpassing radiance,[e]

[a] Homer, *Od.* iv. 74-75.
[b] Helen had once gone off with Paris.
[c] *Cf. Mor.* 679 B and Lucian, *Nigrinus*, 23.
[d] *Cf.* Aristotle, frag. 664 (ed. Rose), quoted in *Mor.* 545 A, and Plato, *Republic*, 580 C with Shorey's note.
[e] *Cf.* Aristotle in Diogenes Laert. v. 17: "Sight gets light from the surrounding air, the soul from studies [or mathematics]."

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[12] σέλ. ἔχ. καὶ φ.] φ. ἔχ. καὶ σέλ. C.
[13] τῇ] W omits.

(528) ποιεῖ σύνοικον αὐτῇ δι' ἑαυτῆς[1] ἀντιλαμβανομένῃ[2] τἀγαθοῦ,[3] ἄν τε ἴδῃ[4] τις ἄν τε λανθάνῃ καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας. τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἀρετή, ἀλήθεια, μαθημάτων κάλλος[5] γεωμετρικῶν ἀστρολογικῶν[6]· ὧν τίνι τὰ[7] τοῦ πλούτου φάλαρα ταῦτα καὶ περιδέραια καὶ θεάματα κορασιώδη παραβαλεῖν[8] ἄξιον; μηδενὸς[9] ὁρῶντος μηδὲ προσβλέποντος ὄντως[10] τυφλὸς γίνεται καὶ ἀφεγγὴς ὁ πλοῦτος. μόνος γὰρ ὁ πλούσιος δειπνῶν μετὰ γυναικὸς[11] ἢ τῶν
B συνήθων οὔτε ταῖς θυΐναις[12] παρέχει πράγματα[13] τραπέζαις οὔτε τοῖς χρυσοῖς ἐκπώμασιν ἀλλὰ χρῆται τοῖς[14] προστυχοῦσι, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἄχρυσος καὶ ἀπόρφυρος καὶ ἀφελὴς πάρεστιν· ὅταν δὲ σύνδειπνον, τουτέστι πομπὴ καὶ θέατρον, συγκροτῆται[15] καὶ δρᾶμα πλουσιακὸν εἰσάγηται, " νηῶν δ' ἔκφερε λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε," τῶν τε λύχνων αἱ θῆκαι[16] περισπῶνται, τὰς[17] κύλικας ἀλλάσσουσι, τοὺς οἰνο-

[1] αὐτῇ δι' ἑαυτῆς Paton : αὐτῇ ἐν ἑαυτῇ D ; ἑαυτῆς C[1] ; αὐτὴν (-τῇ y) ἑαυτῆς (αὐ- vw).
[2] ἀντιλαμβανομένῃ Wyttenbach : -ην C G[3] hki w l[ac] ; -η.
[3] τἀγαθοῦ D : τἀγαθὸν (τὰ- C Xυ W N Y).
[4] τε ἴδῃ] τ' εἴδῃ C[ac] G Zφab ; τέ εἴδῃ D.
[5] κάλλος M[ras] εe : τε (τὲ Z, τὸ φ) κάλλος DZφab ; κάλλος τε (κ. τὲ).
[6] ἀστρολογικῶν] ἀστρονομικῶν G[4] W ; ἀριθμητικῶν ἀστρολογικῶν Wilamowitz.
[7] ὧν τίνι τὰ Ald.[2] : οἷς πάντα D ; ὦ τινι (-νὶ Z y) τὰ.
[8] παραβαλεῖν (β from λ D[c] ; παραλαβεῖν ab)] παραβάλλειν G : παραβαλλεῖν υ.
[9] μηδενὸς] ἃ (ᾶ D) μηδενὸς DZφab ; ὄντως δὲ μηδενὸς G.
[10] ὄντως] ὄντος DZφ ; οὕτως hk[1] v ; G omits.
[11] γυναικὸς] τῆς γ. DZφab.
[12] θυΐναις W : θοίναις C[1] G[1] (θοίνες X[1])υ N ; ἐν θοίναις X[2?] ZφabM vw Yl ; κοιναῖς G[a] y ; καιναῖς q ; χρυσαῖς C[3γρ] D hki.
[13] πράγματα (and so G[3])] πρ. καὶ G[1].

and make delight her constant companion, as by her sole power she grasps the Good, whether there is anyone to see, or whether no one, god or man, is witness.[a] Such is the nature of virtue, truth, the beauty[b] of mathematics—geometry and astronomy— ; and with what of these do your trappings of wealth, your necklaces, your girlish baubles, compare? With no one to see or look on, wealth becomes sightless indeed[c] and bereft of radiance. For when the rich man dines alone with his wife or intimates he lets his tables of citrus-wood and golden beakers rest in peace and uses common furnishings, and his wife attends without her gold and purple and dressed in plain attire. But when a banquet—that is, a spectacle and a show—is got up and the drama of wealth brought on, " out of the ships he fetched the urns and tripods,"[d] the repositories of the lamps are given no rest, the cups are changed, the cup-bearers are made

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Rep.* 580 c.
[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Gorgias*, 475 A.
[c] *Cf. Mor.* 679 B. Wealth is proverbially " blind," that is, no respecter of merit (*cf.* Plato, *Republic*, viii. 554 B with Shorey's note and Zwicker in Pauly-Wissowa, xxi. 1, coll. 1045 f.). In this paragraph—and also in *Mor.* 679 B and the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. x. 3 (45 C-D)—Plutarch takes " blind " in the sense of " dark " or " unseen."
[d] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 259. Achilles orders the cauldrons and kettles which are to be prizes at the funeral games to be taken out of storage in the ships.

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[14] *τοῖς* (*τῇ* φ)] C¹ omits.
[15] *συγκροτῆται* D : *συγκεκρότηται.*
[16] *αἱ θῆκαι* Paton : *δέθη καὶ* (variously accented) C¹ G¹ X*υ* W y N M¹ Ylq ; *ἀντέχονται καὶ* DZφab ; *ἔχονται καὶ* C³ G³ M² vw ; *καίουσι* (followed by a lacuna of 10 letters in h, of six in k¹) *καὶ* hk¹i. (All but l punctuate after *κύλικας*, and all but X after *οἰνοχόους*.)
[17] *τὰς*] *περὶ τὰς* DZφab.

(528) χόους μεταμφιεννύουσι, πάντα[1] κινοῦσιν,[2] χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λιθοκόλλητον,[3] ἄλλοις[4] πλουτεῖν ὁμολογοῦντες. ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνης[5] γε κἂν μόνος δειπνῇ δεῖται κἂν[6] εὐωχῇ.[7]

[1] πάντα W hki w : πάντα· (-ας v) πάντα.
[2] κινοῦσιν W (-σι DZφab M vw) : κοσμοῦσι hk[1]i ; κοινοῦσι (-σιν Yl).
[3] λιθοκόλλητον] λιθοκόλλητα D.
[4] ἄλλοις Pohlenz : ἁπλῶς.

to put on new attire, nothing is left undisturbed, gold, silver, or jewelled plate, the owners thus confessing that their wealth is for others. But mastery of self is in order whether the owner dines alone or gives a sumptuous feast.

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[5] σωφροσύνης] εὐφροσύνης C[3] D hk[1]i.
[6] κἂν Pohlenz : καὶ.
[7] εὐωχῇ nos : εὐωχίας (δικαιοσύνης D).

ON COMPLIANCY
(DE VITIOSO PUDORE)

INTRODUCTION

Dysōpia (with the related verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) has no exact equivalent in English, or apparently in Latin, French, Italian, or German.[a] It indicates the embarrassment that compels us to grant an unjustified request. In the *Life of Brutus* (chap. vi. 9, 986 E) it is described as a "defeat at the hands of the shamelessly insistent."[b] The word in this expressive (but unclassical) sense was condemned by the Atticists,[c] as Plutarch was well aware.[d]

Plutarch equates *dysōpia* with Aristotle's excess of shame (528 E). His use of a Peripatetic source is

[a] Philemon Holland renders it "naughtie bashfulnesse" and "foolish and rusticall shamefastnes"; Thomas Hoy "bashfulness"; and A. R. Shilleto "shyness." Erasmus calls it "vitiosa verecundia," Xylander "vitiosus pudor," H. Cruserius "immodica verecundia." Amyot has "fausse honte," Bétolaud "mauvaise honte"; while the best Antonio Massa can do is "quella erubescenza, che è vitiosa, & dannosa." J. F. S. Kaltwasser has "die falsche Schamhaftigkeit" and in a note "die Bauernscham"; J. C. Bähr "die falsche Scham."

[b] *Cf.* 528 F below.

[c] *Cf.* Phrynichus, p. 190 (ed. Lobeck) with the note and H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*, Abh. d. deutschen Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1949), p. 116.

[d] *Cf.* the expressions "which some call δυσωπεῖσθαι" (*Life of Brutus*, *loc. cit.*) and "what is called δυσωπία" (528 D below).

shown by two passages in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (ii. 7. 14, 1108 a 30-35 and iv. 9. 1-3, 1128 b 10-21). The first runs as follows :

There are means also in the passions and concerned with the passions ; thus while shame (*aidōs*) is not a virtue, yet the modest man (*aidēmōn*) also receives praise. For here too one man is called intermediate, another excessive—as the shame-faced man (*kataplēx*) who is awed at everything— ; while the man who is deficient or totally lacking is shameless, and the intermediate man is modest.

So too in Plutarch : *dysōpia* is a passion (528 D) and one of the extremes between which is found the disposition desired (529 A). The mean is never called a virtue, nor are the extremes called vices.[a] We continue with the second passage :

It is not proper to speak of shame as a virtue, for it rather resembles a passion than a habit. Thus it is defined as a fear of ill-repute, and is brought to pass in a way similar to the fear of danger ; for those who feel shame blush, while those who fear death turn pale. Thus both appear to be in some way connected with the body, and this is held to belong rather to a passion than to a habit. The passion does not befit all ages, but only youth. For we think that people of this age should be modest because they commit many faults through living by passion, but are prevented by shame ; and we praise the modest among the young, but no one would praise an older man for being bashful (*aischyntēlos*), for we think that he should do nothing to which shame (*aischynē*) is attached.[b]

Like Aristotle and Plato (*Laws*, i. 647 A), Plutarch

[a] Plutarch departs from Aristotle in using " shamelessness " of one who harshly refuses another's request (529 A). In the same passage he speaks of the extremes in terms that Aristotle would not have used of a passion (*asthenōs echontes* and *diathesis*). The word " passion " (*pathos*) itself has in Plutarch another connotation.

[b] A criticism of Plato (*Laws*, v. 729 B 5-7).

treats *aidōs* and *aischynē* as virtual synonyms (529 D).[a] He implies that shame is the fear of ill-repute (529 A and 532 D)[b]; and his citation of Cato (528 F) is doubtless due to the desire to find some parallel to Aristotle's remarks about the bodily manifestations of shame and fear.[c] Cato surely had no such subtleties in mind; he was merely expressing his preference for the outdoors type of young man. With Aristotle's views about shame and youth we may compare Plutarch's references to the young (528 F, 529 B, 529 C, and 530 A).

After a short description of *dysōpia* (528 C—529 D) Plutarch passes to the two great divisions of the essay: the proof that the disorder is injurious, and the methods of its cure.[d] The cure lies in a course of training (530 E—532 D) and in making certain reflexions. The training is presented at 532 B-C, the reflexions (preceded by a discussion of the use of silence and of quotations in answering importunities) are presented at 533 D-F.[e] Next come precepts for handling suitors: meet shamelessness with shame-

[a] Here the words καὶ δυσωπεῖσθαι are Plutarch's own addition: compare the explanation added to Zeno's remark in *Mor.* 603 D below.

[b] *Cf.* also Plato, *Laws*, i. 646 F—657 A, *Euthyphro*, 12 B-C, and von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 416 (p. 101. 37). In Plutarch the fear of ill-repute is really a fear of reproach or resentment.

[c] *Cf.* also Aristotle, Frag. 243 (ed. Rose) and von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 410 (p. 99. 15-18).

[d] *Cf. Mor.* 510 C-D.

[e] Elsewhere training comes last. From its unusual order here Pohlenz ("Ueber Plutarchs Schrift περὶ ἀοργησίας" *Hermes*, xxxi, 1896, p. 329, note 1) infers that the *De Vitioso Pudore* is later than the *De Se Ipsum Citra Invidiam Laudando*, "da die Einschaltung der ἄσκησις am besten aus dem Streben nach Abwechslung zu erklären ist."

lessness (533 F—534 B); with suitors of humble station use wit (534 B-C); with powerful suitors appeal to their sense of artistry, their pride, or their claims to virtue (534 C—535 B); with suitors of baser character make use of their vices (535 B-D). The essay concludes with an exhortation to resist the bait of praise and the threat of blame, and the suggestion of a procedure useful against all the passions: to keep fresh in the memory the disgrace and damage suffered from the passion before.

The essay cannot be dated by the mention of any contemporary event. The topic (apparently original) would naturally have occurred to Plutarch in his maturer years, when his influence and reputation were established, and when he had friends of great wealth and power.

A translation by Erasmus appeared at Basle in 1526; there are also translations that we have not seen, into Latin by J. Caesarius,[a] and into French by François Le Grand.[b] The essay is No. 96 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on LC G Xυ I W DZab RnySs hki JK N M vw Ylfq. Occasionally αAE are cited for conjectures.

[a] *Plutarchi opusculum de immoderata verecundia a J. Caesario Latine redditum*, Rome, 1565.

[b] *De la Honte vicieuse, traité composé par Plutarque de Chéronée, et traduit en notre langue par François Le Grand*, Paris, 1554. This version also appeared in the same year at Rouen.

(528) ## ΠΕΡΙ ΔΥΣΩΠΙΑΣ

C
1. Ἔνια τῶν ἐκ τῆς[1] γῆς φυομένων αὐτὰ μέν
D ἐστιν ἄγρια[2] καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ βλαβερὰν τοῖς ἡμέ-
ροις σπέρμασι καὶ φυτοῖς τὴν αὔξησιν ἔχοντα,
σημεῖα δὲ αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται χώρας οἱ γεωργοῦντες οὐ
πονηρᾶς ἀλλὰ γενναίας καὶ πίονος· οὕτω δὴ καὶ
πάθη ψυχῆς ἐστιν οὐ χρηστά, χρηστῆς δὲ φύσεως
οἷον ἐξανθήματα καὶ λόγῳ παρασχεῖν ἐργάσιμον
ἑαυτὴν ἐπιεικῶς δυναμένης. ἐν τούτοις τίθεμαι καὶ
τὴν λεγομένην δυσωπίαν, σημεῖον μὲν οὐ φαῦλον,
αἰτίαν δὲ μοχθηρίας οὖσαν. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ τοῖς
ἀναισχύντοις οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι πολλάκις ἁμαρτά-
νουσι, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀλγεῖν ἐφ᾽ οἷς δι-
αμαρτάνουσι τούτοις πρόσεστιν, οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνοις τὸ
E ἥδεσθαι. ἀναλγὴς μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀναιδὴς πρὸς τὸ
αἰσχρόν, εὐπαθὴς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσ-
χρὸν ὁ εὐδυσώπητος· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ τοῦ αἰσχύνεσθαι
τὸ δυσωπεῖσθαι. διὸ καὶ οὕτω κέκληται, τρόπον
τινὰ τοῦ προσώπου τῇ ψυχῇ συνδιατρεπομένου καὶ
συνεξατονοῦντος. ὡς γὰρ τὴν κατήφειαν ὁρίζονται
λύπην κάτω βλέπειν ποιοῦσαν, οὕτω τὴν αἰσχυντη-
λίαν μέχρι τοῦ μηδὲ ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς δεομένοις

[1] τῆς (and so I)] W DZab Rn^{1}ySs hk^{1}i omit.
[2] After ἄγρια we omit τῇ γῇ (τῇ φύσει DZab M^{3γρ}).

[a] *Dysōpeomai* (to be embarrassed into compliance by importunity) no doubt originally meant "to be affected by hard

ON COMPLIANCY

1. Certain plants are in themselves wild and unproductive, and when allowed to grow are harmful to cultivated grain and vines and trees ; yet the farmer takes them as signs of a soil not unfertile, but generous and rich. So too with the affections of the mind : some that are bad are nevertheless the outgrowths, as it were, of an excellent nature well able to respond to the cultivation of reason. Among these I count what is called " compliancy,"—no unfavourable sign, though it leads to bad conduct. For men who feel shame often show the same faults as those who feel none, with this difference, however : they are grieved and distressed at their errors, unlike the shameless, who take pleasure in theirs. For the shameless feel no pain in doing what is base, whereas the mere semblance of baseness dismays the compliant. For compliancy is excess of shame. Hence the name (*dysōpeomai*),[a] the face (*prosōpon*) being somehow involved in the embarrassment and discomposure of the mind. For as dejection (*katēpheia*) is defined as pain that makes us look down (*katō*),[b] so when modesty yields to suitors to the point where one does not even

or unpleasant looks." Plutarch takes the etymological sense to be " to be affected in one's looks," " to become incapable of facing someone."

[b] *Cf.* the Townleyan scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvii. 556 : κατηφείη· ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω ἔχειν τὰ φάη (dejection : from keeping the eyes downcast).

(528) ὑπείκουσαν δυσωπίαν ὠνόμασαν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ῥήτωρ
τὸν ἀναίσχυντον οὐκ ἔφη κόρας ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν
F ἔχειν ἀλλὰ πόρνας· ὁ δ' εὐδυσώπητος αὖ πάλιν
ἄγαν τὸ θῆλυ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τρυφερὸν ἐμφαίνει διὰ
τῆς ὄψεως, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναισχύντων ἧτταν[1] αἰ-
σχύνην ὑποκοριζόμενος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάτων ἔλεγεν
τῶν νέων μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς ἐρυθριῶντας ἢ τοὺς
ὠχριῶντας, ὀρθῶς ἐθίζων καὶ διδάσκων τὸν ψόγον
μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν πόνον[2] δεδιέναι καὶ τὴν ὑποψίαν μᾶλ-
λον ἢ τὸν κίνδυνον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
ψόγον ὑπόπτου καὶ ψοφοδεοῦς τὸ ἄγαν ἀφαιρετέον,
529 ὡς οὐχ ἧττον ἔνιοι πολλάκις ἀκοῦσαι κακῶς ἢ
παθεῖν δείσαντες ἀπεδειλίασαν καὶ προήκαντο τὸ
καλὸν οὐ δυνηθέντες ὑπομεῖναι τὸ ἄδοξον.

2. Οὔτε δὴ τούτους περιοπτέον οὕτως ἀσθενῶς
ἔχοντας οὔτ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκείνην ἐπαινετέον τὴν ἄτρε-
πτον καὶ ἀτενῆ διάθεσιν,[3] ἀλλ' ἐμμελῆ τινα μηχανη-
τέον σύγκρασιν ἀμφοῖν, τοῦ μὲν ἀτενοῦς ἄγαν τὴν
ἀναίδειαν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιεικοῦς σφόδρα τὴν ἀσθένειαν
B ἀφαιροῦσαν. ᾗ καὶ τὸ θεράπευμα δυσχερὲς καὶ
οὐκ ἀκίνδυνος ἡ τῶν τοιούτων πλεονασμῶν κόλα-
σις.[4] ὡς γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς ἄγριον μὲν ἐκκόπτων
βλάστημα καὶ ἀγεννὲς αὐτόθεν ἀφειδῶς ἐμβαλὼν[5]

[1] ἧτταν G^{4} W JK$^{1\gamma\rho}$ f$^{2\gamma\rho}$: ὄψιν.

[2] πόνον Wyttenbach : ἔπαινον (-πε- N ; ἔλεγχον DZab M^{2} ; X n^{1}Ss are wanting).

[3] After διάθεσιν LC Gk Xυ W JK M^{2}Zab vw have (with some variants) ἐν δὲ τὸ θαρσαλέον τε καὶ ἐμμενὲς ὅππη ὀρούσαι φαίνετ' ἀναξάρχου κύνεον μένος.

[4] κόλασις (L illegible) C^{1t} X^{ras} (from κώ-) W : κώλυσις (and so C^{lss} ; αἴσθησις s [but αισθ is crossed out] ; κώλησις w) ; κόλουσις Meziriacus.

look them in the face, it is termed "compliancy." And so, as the orator [a] said that the shameless man had harlots, not maidens,[b] in his eyes, so the compliant man in his turn betrays only too clearly in his countenance the effeminacy and flabbiness of his spirit, giving his surrender to the shameless the fair name of "modesty." Cato [c] indeed said that in the young he preferred the flush of colour to pallor, rightly training and teaching us to dread censure more than labour, and disapproval more than peril. Nevertheless we must also do away with the excess of timidity and apprehension at the prospect of censure, for instances are frequently found of men who, in terror no less of a bad name than of bodily hurt, have played the coward and failed in the good fight, not having the firmness to submit to ill fame.

2. Neither then should we be unmindful of these, who suffer from so great an infirmity, nor again should we approve the other unyielding and stern set of character [d]; we should rather contrive an harmonious blend of both qualities, one that removes the ruthlessness of extreme severity and the infirmity of excessive courtesy. Thus the cure is difficult, and the correction of such excesses not without risk. For as the farmer in weeding out some wild and worthless growth thrusts his spade in roughly with no further ado and

[a] Timaeus, Frag. 122 (ed. Jacoby).
[b] The Greek for pupil is *korē*, "maiden." Shame resides in the eyes: *cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 6. 18 (1384 a 36).
[c] *Cf. Life of Cato the Elder*, chap. ix. 5 (341 c); *Mor.* 29 E, 198 E.
[d] One group of MSS. has here an interpolation from *Mor.* 446 B-C (Timon, frag. 58, Diels, *Poet. Philos. Frag.* p. 199).

[5] ἐμβαλὼν LC[c] (from -λλῶν) G[4]k W D JK vw: ἐμβάλλων (and so I; -άλων R N l).

(529) τὸ σκαφεῖον ἀνέτρεψε[1] τὴν ῥίζαν ἢ πῦρ προσαγαγὼν ἐπέκαυσεν,[2] ἀμπέλῳ δὲ προσιὼν τομῆς δεομένῃ καὶ μηλέας ἤ τινος ἐλαίας ἁπτόμενος εὐλαβῶς ἐπιφέρει τὴν χεῖρα, δεδιὼς μή τι τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος ἀποτυφλώσῃ, οὕτως ὁ φιλόσοφος φθόνον μὲν ἐξαιρῶν νέου ψυχῆς, ἀγεννὲς βλάστημα καὶ δυστιθάσευτον, ἢ φιλαργυρίαν ἄωρον ἢ φιληδονίαν ἐπικόπτων ἀκόλαστον αἱμάσσει καὶ πιέζει καὶ τομὴν ποιεῖ καὶ
C οὐλὴν βαθεῖαν· ὅταν δὲ τρυφερῷ μέρει ψυχῆς καὶ ἁπαλῷ[3] κολούοντα προσαγάγῃ[4] λόγον, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ δυσωπούμενον καὶ διατρεπόμενον, εὐλαβεῖται μὴ λάθῃ τούτοις συναποκόψας τὸ αἰδούμενον. καὶ γὰρ αἱ τίτθαι τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκτρίβουσαι πολλάκις τὸν ῥύπον ἑλκοῦσιν[5] ἐνίοτε τὴν σάρκα καὶ βασανίζουσιν. ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ τῶν νέων παντάπασιν ἐν χρῷ τὴν δυσωπίαν ἐκτρίβοντας ὀλιγώρους ποιεῖν καὶ λίαν ἀτρέπτους· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ καταλύοντες οἰκίας ἱεροῖς γειτνιώσας τά γε συνεχῆ καὶ πλησίον ἐῶσι καὶ διερείδουσιν, οὕτω δεῖ τὴν δυσωπίαν κινεῖν, δεδιότας συνεφελκύσασθαι τὰ ὁμοροῦντα τῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς ἡμερότητος οἷς ὑποδέδυκε
D καὶ προσπέπλεκται, κολακεύουσα τὸν εὐδυσώπητον ὡς φιλάνθρωπον καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἔχοντα νοῦν καὶ[6] οὐκ ἄτεγκτον οὐδὲ αὐθέκαστον. ὅθεν εὐθὺς οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ τῷ ῥήματι τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ δυσωπεῖσθαι τοῦ αἰδεῖσθαι διέστησαν ἵνα μηδὲ τὴν

[1] ἀνέτρεψε] ἀνέστρεψε Gk Xυ y^{ac}.
[2] ἐπέκαυσεν] ἀπέκαυσεν Zab w.
[3] ψυχῆς καὶ ἁπαλῷ (ἀ- X^1 N^1 M^{ac})] ψυχῆς καὶ ἁπλῷ LC^1 ; καὶ ἁπαλῷ (ἀ- G^1) ψυχῆς G^2k.
[4] προσαγάγῃ] προσάγῃ W D w.
[5] ἑλκοῦσιν $a^3A^2EC^2Z$ (no accent in b) : ἕλκουσιν.
[6] νοῦν καὶ] καὶ W ; νοῦν DZab.

turns up the root, or applies fire to the weed and blasts it, but when he comes to a vine in need of pruning or deals with an apple tree or olive, he handles it gently, fearing to strip the buds from some healthy part, so the philosopher, when he removes envy from a young man's soul, a worthless and incorrigible growth, or cuts off an early appearance of avarice [a] or self-indulgence running riot, draws blood, bears down hard, and makes an incision deep enough to leave a scar ; but when he applies the knife of chastening discourse to a soft and delicate part of the soul—a description that applies to the part that suffers from compliancy and shyness—he takes heed lest unawares he amputate with these all feeling of respect. For nurses too, when they scour infants too often, sometimes wound the flesh and do them hurt. It follows that we must not scour too close in removing from the young the fear to disoblige, and thus make them inconsiderate and unyielding to a fault, but as those who pull down houses adjoining a temple let the connected and neighbouring portions stand and shore them up, in the same way we must deal with compliancy, taking care not to remove with it the adjacent portions of respect and courtesy and gentleness where it hides and clings, while it bestows on the man who yields to pressure easily the flattering epithets of "friendly," "civil," and "considerate of others," not "rigid" or "blunt." Hence the Stoics [b] distinguish from the outset the very words, separating "shame" and compliancy from "respect," so as to

[a] Illiberality is characteristic of old age : *cf.* Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* iv. 1. 37 (1121 b 13 f.) and *Rhetoric*, ii. 13. 6 (1389 b 28).

[b] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 439 (*Mor.* 449 A) and 440 (p. 107).

(529) *ὁμωνυμίαν τῷ πάθει πρόφασιν τοῦ βλάπτειν ἀπολίπωσιν.*[1] *ἀλλ' ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀσυκοφαντήτως δότωσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ Ὁμηρικῶς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν*

αἰδώς, ἥ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησι.

καὶ οὐ κακῶς τὸ βλάπτον[2] *αὐτῆς πρότερον εἶπεν· γίνεται γὰρ ὠφέλιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τὸ πλεονάζον ἀφελόντος καὶ τὸ μέτριον ἀπολιπόντος.*

E 3. *Πρῶτον οὖν τοῦτο δεῖ πείθεσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ πολλῆς δυσωπίας βιαζόμενον, ὅτι πάθει βλαβερῷ συνέχεται, καλὸν δὲ τῶν βλαβερῶν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ δεῖ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις κηλούμενον ἥδεσθαι κομψὸν καὶ ἱλαρὸν ἀντὶ σεμνοῦ καὶ μεγάλου καὶ δικαίου προσαγορευόμενον, μηδ' ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδου Πήγασος*

ἔπτησσ' ὑπείκων μᾶλλον ᾗ[3] *μᾶλλον*[4] *θέλοι*

τῷ Βελλεροφόντῃ, τοῖς δεομένοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδό-
F *ναι καὶ συνεκταπεινοῦν φοβούμενον ἀκοῦσαι τὸ "σκληρός γε καὶ ἀπηνής." τῷ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίῳ Βοκχόριδι*[5] *φύσει*[6] *χαλεπῷ γενομένῳ τὴν ἀσπίδα λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐπιπεμφθεῖσαν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιελιχθεῖσαν ἄνωθεν ἐπισκιάζειν ἵνα κρίνῃ δικαίως· ἡ δέ τοι*[7] *δυσωπία τοῖς ἀτόνοις καὶ ἀνάνδροις ἐπικειμένη καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀνανεῦσαι*

[1] *ἀπολίπωσιν*] *ἀπολείπωσιν* W RnySs K^{ac} v.
[2] *βλάπτον* G^{1ss} D and Reiske: *βλάπτειν*.
[3] *ᾗ* L RnySs hi lfq (*ᾖ* N^1 M Y): *ἤ*.
[4] *μᾶλλον* added from *Mor.* 807 E.
[5] *βοκχόριδι* (and so C^2; *-ίδι* X$^{3?}$; *-ίδη* N): *βικχόριδι* LC^1; *βοκχώριδι* G^3 (no accent in X^1) D R(*-ογχ-* n)ySs hk^{1ss}i vw.

leave the disorder not even the ambiguity of its name as an occasion of doing harm. But by their leave we shall not quibble about the names, but rather follow Homer,[a] who says

Respect, the bane and blessing of mankind.

And he did well to put first its harmfulness. For it becomes helpful only when reason removes the overplus and leaves us with the right amount.

3. One who feels a strong compulsion to be facile must first be convinced of this: that he suffers from a harmful disorder, and that nothing harmful is admirable; and he should refuse to be beguiled by plaudits into preferring the epithets "civilized" and "gracious" to the terms "grave" and "great" and "just," or like Pegasus in Euripides,[b] who

Cringed and yielded as the rider willed

(the rider being Bellerophon), surrender to suitors and descend to their level for fear of the remark "Truly a cold, harsh man." Now to Bocchoris the Egyptian, a man naturally cruel, Isis (they say) sent the asp, which coiled around his head and shadowed him from above,[c] to make him observe justice in his verdicts; whereas false courtesy, pressing down upon those who are flabby and unmanly, and incapable of

[a] The line is actually Hesiod's (*Works and Days*, 318), but Plutarch held that Hesiod had it from Homer (*cf. Il.* xxiv. 44-45): see Proclus, *ad loc.*

[b] From the *Bellerophon* of Euripides: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 309; quoted also in *Mor.* 807 E.

[c] An explanation of the uraeus: *cf.* Alexandre Moret, *De Bocchori Rege*, Paris, 1903, p. 87.

[6] φύσει (and so G[3])] G[1] omits.

[7] ἡ δέ τοι (and so G[4])] ᾗ τε G[1]; ἡ δέ γε DZab; ἡ δέ τι s.

(529) *μηδὲ ἀντειπεῖν ἰσχύουσα καὶ δικάζοντας ἀποτρέπει
τοῦ δικαίου καὶ συμβουλεύοντας ἐπιστομίζει καὶ λέ-
γειν πολλὰ καὶ πράττειν ἀναγκάζει τῶν ἀβουλήτων·*
530 *ὁ δὲ ἀγνωμονέστατος ἀεὶ τοῦ τοιούτου δεσπό-
της ἐστὶ καὶ κρατεῖ τῷ μὴ αἰδεῖσθαι τὸ αἰδού-
μενον ἐκβιαζόμενος. ὅθεν ὥσπερ χωρίον ὕπτιον
καὶ μαλακὸν ἡ δυσωπία μηδεμίαν ἔντευξιν ἐξῶσαι
μηδὲ ἀποστρέψαι*[1] *δυναμένη τοῖς αἰσχίστοις βάσιμός
ἐστι πάθεσι καὶ πράγμασι· κακὴ μὲν γὰρ αὕτη
παιδικῆς φρουρὸς ἡλικίας, ὡς ἔλεγε Βροῦτος οὐ
δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καλῶς τὴν ὥραν διατεθεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸς
μηδὲν ἀρνούμενον· κακὴ δὲ θαλάμου καὶ γυναι-
κωνίτιδος ἐπίτροπος, ὥς φησιν ἡ παρὰ τῷ Σοφο-
κλεῖ μετανοοῦσα πρὸς τὸν μοιχόν*

ἔπεισας ἐξέθωψας.

B *ὥσθ᾿ ἡ*[2] *δυσωπία προσδιαφθείρασα*[3] *τὸ ἀκόλαστον*[4]
*ἀνώχυρα πάντα καὶ ἄκλειστα καὶ κατάντη προδί-
δωσι τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. καὶ διδόντες μὲν αἱροῦσι
τὰς βδελυρωτάτας, τῷ δὲ πείθειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν πολ-
λάκις κατεργάζονται καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς. ἐῶ*[5] *δὲ*[6] *τὰς
εἰς τὰ χρήματα βλάβας ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσωπεῖσθαι,
δανειζόντων οἷς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἐγγυωμένων οὓς*[7] *οὐ
θέλουσιν, ἐπαινούντων μὲν τὸ "ἐγγύα πάρα δ᾿
ἄτα," χρῆσθαι δ᾿ αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ πράγματα μὴ
δυναμένων.*

[1] *ἀποστρέψαι* M² q : *ἀποτρέψαι* (*ἀντιστρέψαι* LC).
[2] *ὥσθ᾿ ἡ* N² M² vw q : *ὥστ᾿ ἡ* (*ὡς τῇ* C^vet G³? ; *ὥστε ἡ* DZab RnySs hi f).
[3] *προσδιαφθείρασα* (*πρὸσδ.* X k¹)] *προσδιαφθείρουσα* L?C D hi ; *προδιαφθείρασα* a²AEZab v^c.
[4] After *ἀκόλαστον* LC W Gk Xυ add *αὕτη γάρ*.
[5] *ἐῶ* (*ἑῶ* n)] *καὶ* D ; *ἐᾶ* Ss.

denying or refusing anything, turns them aside from justice in their verdicts, silences them in the council, and compels them to say and do many things that go against their will. The most unreasonable person is always master of such a man and controls him, coercing with his effrontery the other's shyness. And so, like a low-lying and loose terrain, a compliant disposition, being unable to fend off or repulse any appeal, is exposed to the most degrading experiences and deeds. For it is a poor guardian of the years of boyhood (thus Brutus [a] said that he thought one who denied nothing had made no good disposal of his youthful grace), and a poor custodian of the nuptial chamber and the women's apartments, as she who repents in Sophocles [b] says to the adulterer,

> You coaxed and wheedled me to ruin.

Thus complaisance further corrupts the profligate mind and delivers everything up to the attacker : the position has no defences, no bars, and is commanded on all sides. And whereas it is with gifts that the vilest women are taken, argument and a bold address often prevail even over the good. I pass over the losses in money for which compliancy is responsible, when men lend to persons they distrust and go bail against their will, and though they approve the proverb " he that is surety is never sure,"[c] are unable to follow it in practice.

[a] *Cf. Life of Brutus*, chap. vi. 9 (986 E).
[b] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, no. 773 (no. 857 Pearson).
[c] For the proverb *cf. Mor.* 164 B, 511 B.

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[6] δὲ R[ac] and Emperius : δὴ (δεῖ N[1]).
[7] *οὓς* (L illegible)C G[4]k[1] X*υ* W DZab : *οἷς*.

(530) 4. Ὅσους δ' ἀνῄρηκε τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἄν τις ἐξαριθμήσαιτο ῥᾳδίως. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κρέων πρὸς τὴν Μήδειαν εἰπών,

C κρεῖσσον δέ μοι νῦν πρός σ' ἀπεχθέσθαι, γύναι,
ἢ μαλθακισθένθ' ὕστερον μέγα στένειν,[1]

ἄλλοις ἐγνωμολόγησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς δυσωπίας ἥττων γενόμενος καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν αἰτουμένῃ δοὺς ἀπώλεσε τὸν οἶκον. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ σφαγὰς ὑφορώμενοι καὶ φαρμακείας διετράπησαν. οὕτω παραπώλετο Δίων, οὐκ ἀγνοήσας ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κάλλιππον ἀλλ' αἰσχυνθεὶς φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον· οὕτως Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Κασάνδρου Δημήτριον καλέσας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, εἶτα κληθεὶς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ᾐδέσθη πεπιστευμένος ἀπιστεῖν, καὶ πορευθεὶς ἐσφάγη μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον. Ἡρακλέα δὲ τὸν
D Ἀλεξάνδρῳ[2] γενόμενον ἐκ Βαρσίνης ὡμολόγησε μὲν Κασάνδρῳ Πολυπέρχων ἀναιρήσειν ἐπὶ ταλάντοις ἑκατόν, εἶτα ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει· τοῦ δὲ μειρακίου τὴν κλῆσιν ὑφορωμένου καὶ δεδοικότος, ἄλλως δὲ προφασιζομένου μαλακώτερον ἔχειν, ἐλθὼν ὁ Πολυπέρχων, "πρῶτον," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, μιμοῦ τοῦ[3] πατρὸς τὸ εὔκολον καὶ φιλέταιρον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία δέδοικας ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντας." αἰδεσθεὶς[4] ἠκολούθησεν ὁ νεανίσκος· οἱ δὲ δειπνίσαντες[5] αὐτὸν ἐστραγγάλισαν.[6] οὐ γελοῖον οὖν, ὥς φασί

[1] μέγα στένειν Euripides and W DZab S²s hi JK M² (στένειν μέγα C² vw) : στένειν.
[2] ἀλεξάνδρῳ G² W DZab hki M² : ἀλεξάνδρου.
[3] τοῦ] των τοῦ D. [4] After αἰδεσθεὶς G³k DZab have οὖν.

4. The lives that this disorder has cost would not be easy to number. Thus when Creon said to Medea,

> Better for me to have thy hatred now
> Than yield to rue it bitterly thereafter,[a]

he expressed a maxim for others to use, but succumbed to pressure himself, and by granting her request for a day's respite brought ruin on his house. Even some who suspected assassination and poison have given way to the feeling. Thus Dion was lost, not from ignorance of Callippus' plot, but because he was ashamed to take precautions against one who was his friend and guest.[b] Thus when Antipater, son of Cassander, after inviting Demetrius to dinner, was invited by him the following day, he was ashamed to distrust one who had trusted him, went, and was murdered after the meal.[c] Polyperchon agreed with Cassander for a hundred talents to do away with Heracles, Alexander's son by Barsinê, and proceeded to invite him to dinner. When the youth, suspecting and dreading the invitation, alleged an indisposition, Polyperchon called on him and said: "Young man, the first quality of your father you should imitate is his readiness to oblige and attachment to his friends,[d] unless indeed you fear me as a plotter." The youth was shamed into going; and they gave him his dinner and strangled him. The advice of Hesiod[e] is

[a] Euripides, *Medea*, 290-291.
[b] *Cf. Life of Dion*, chap. lvi. 3 (982 E).
[c] *Cf. Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxxvi. 9-12 (906 C-D).
[d] *Cf. Life of Alexander*, chap. xlviii. 1 (692 A).
[e] *Works and Days*, 342; also quoted in *Mor.* 707 C.

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[5] δειπνίσαντες W DZab RnySs h M²: δειπνήσαντες.
[6] αὐτὸν ἐστραγγάλισαν LC Gk Xυ W DZab JK vwS²: ἐστραγγάλισαν αὐτόν.

(530) τινες, οὐδὲ ἀβέλτερον, ἀλλὰ σοφὸν τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου·

τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαῖτα καλεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐᾶσαι.

E μὴ δυσωποῦ τὸν μισοῦντα μηδ' ὑπαίκαλλε[1] πιστεύειν δοκοῦντα· κληθήσῃ γὰρ καλέσας καὶ δειπνήσεις ἂν δειπνίσῃς, ὥσπερ βαφὴν τὴν φυλάττουσαν ἀπιστίαν μαλαχθεῖσαν αἰσχύνῃ προέμενος.

5. Ὡς οὖν πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο ὂν πειρατέον ἀποβιάζεσθαι τῇ ἀσκήσει, πρῶτον ἀρξαμένους, ὥσπερ οἱ τἆλλα μελετῶντες, ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ μὴ σφόδρα δυσαντιβλέπτων. οἷον
F ἐν δείπνῳ προπίνει τις ἄδην ἔχοντι· μὴ δυσωπηθῇς μηδὲ προσβιάσῃ σαυτόν, ἀλλὰ κατάθου τὸ ποτήριον. αὖθις ἕτερος παρακαλεῖ κυβεύειν παρὰ πότον· μὴ δυσωπηθῇς μηδὲ δείσῃς σκωπτόμενος· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνης Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως μὴ βουλόμενον[2] αὐτῷ συγκυβεύειν δειλὸν ἀποκαλοῦντος ὁμολόγει καὶ[3] πάνυ δειλὸς εἶναι πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἄτολμος.[4] πάλιν ἀδολέσχῃ[5] συνήντηκας ἐπιλαμβανομένῳ καὶ περιπλεκομένῳ· μὴ δυσωπηθῇς ἀλλὰ διακόψας ἐπείγου καὶ πέραινε τὸ προκείμενον. αἱ
531 γὰρ τοιαῦται φυγαὶ καὶ διακρούσεις, ἐν ἐλαφραῖς μέμψεσι τὴν μελέτην ἔχουσαι τοῦ ἀδυσωπήτου, προεθίζουσιν[6] ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχει διαμνημονεύειν· τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὡρμημένων Ἁρπάλῳ βοηθεῖν

[1] ὑπαίκαλλε W (ὑπαΐκκαλε G³γρ): ὑπεκκάλει Cvetγρ J¹K v^c (from -εκά-)w; ὑπεύγαλε N; ὑπέκβαλε.
[2] βουλόμενον] βουλομένῳ (ἠλομένῳ R)nySs; βουλομένου hi N M¹ vw Yl; βουλόμενος fq.
[3] ὁμολόγει καὶ Matthaei: ὡμολόγει καὶ (ὡμολόγηκε N).
[4] πρὸς . . . ἄτολμος] καὶ ἄτολμος πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρά LC.

therefore not absurd or silly, as some assert, but wise :

Your friend invite to dinner, not your foe.

Do not let your enemy embarrass you, nor fawn on him when he appears to trust you. For after you invite him he will invite you, and after he dines with you you will dine with him,[a] once you have let the mistrust that was your preservation lose its keen edge under the influence of shame.

5. This malady therefore, as cause of many evils, we must endeavour to expel by a course of training, beginning first (as tiros elsewhere) with what is trivial and not too hard to face. Thus a man drinks to you at dinner when you have had your fill. Do not yield or force yourself to comply, but set the cup down. Another again invites you to play at dice over the wine : do not yield or let his scoffing daunt you, but like Xenophanes,[b] when Lasus of Hermionê called him coward for not wanting to throw the dice with him, confess in your turn that you are a great coward indeed and too faint-hearted to risk disgrace. Again : you meet a bore who lays hold of you and clings. Do not yield but break his hold and make haste to complete what you have to do. For such escapes and rebuffs as these, where we practise firmness at the cost of but slight dissatisfaction, condition us to meet more difficult occasions. In this connexion it is also well to bear Demosthenes' words in mind. The Athenians were set on joining Harpalus and were

[a] *Cf. Comm. in Hesiodum*, 27 (vol. vii, pp. 65 f. Bern.).
[b] Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], Xenophanes, A 16.

[5] ἀδολέσχῃ (and so n[2ss])] ἀδολέσχω Dn[1t].
[6] προεθίζουσιν] προσεθίζουσιν G[aras] D Rn[1]yS[aras]s hi.

(531) καὶ κορυσσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξαίφνης ἐπεφάνη Φιλόξενος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πραγμάτων Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγός. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ σιωπῶντος διὰ τὸν φόβον ὁ Δημοσθένης, "τί ποιήσουσιν," ἔφη, "τὸν ἥλιον ἰδόντες οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι πρὸς λύχνον[1] ἀντιβλέπειν;" τί γὰρ ποιήσεις ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις, βασιλέως ἐντυγ-
B χάνοντος ἢ δήμου δυσωποῦντος, εἰ ποτήριον ἀπώσασθαι μὴ δύνασαι προτείνοντος[2] συνήθους μηδὲ ἀδολέσχου λαβὴν διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρέχεις ἐμπεριπατεῖν φλυάρῳ σαυτόν, οὐκ εὐτονῶν εἰπεῖν, "ὄψομαί σε αὖθις, νῦν δὲ οὐ σχολάζω";

6. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαίνους τοῦ ἀδυσωπήτου μελέτη καὶ ἄσκησις ἐν μικροῖς καὶ ἐλαφροῖς ἄχρηστός ἐστιν. οἷον ἐν συμποσίῳ φίλου κιθαρῳδὸς ᾄδει κακῶς ἢ πολλοῦ κωμῳδὸς ἐωνημένος ἐπιτρίβει Μένανδρον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κροτοῦσι
C καὶ θαυμάζουσιν· οὐδὲν οἶμαι χαλεπὸν οὐδὲ δύσκολον ἀκούειν σιωπῇ καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀνελευθέρως ἐπαινεῖν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μὴ κρατῇς σαυτοῦ, τί ποιήσεις φίλου ποίημα φαῦλον ἀναγινώσκοντος ἢ λόγον ἐπιδεικνυμένου γεγραμμένον ἀβελτέρως καὶ γελοίως; ἐπαινέσεις δηλονότι καὶ συνεπιθορυβήσεις τοῖς κολακεύουσι.[3] πῶς οὖν ἐν πράγμασιν[4] ἁμαρτάνοντος ἐπιλήψῃ; πῶς δὲ περὶ ἀρχὴν ἢ γάμον ἢ πολιτείαν ἀγνωμονοῦντα νουθετήσεις; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους ἀποδέχομαι πρὸς τὸν ἀξιοῦντα μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ μαρτυρῆσαι φίλον, ᾗ προσῆν καὶ ὅρκος, εἰπόντος,

[1] λύχνον I W : τὸν λύχνον (τὸν ἥλιον D).

[2] προτείνοντος (and so L I ; from προτείνον τῆς C^{vet})] προτείναντος G^{vet}k W y^{ac} ; προπίνοντος M^2Zab.

girding themselves against Alexander when Alexander's admiral Philoxenus suddenly sailed in view. To the assembly, which its fear had rendered mute, Demosthenes said: "What will they do on seeing the sun who are dazzled by a lamp?" For what will you do in great affairs, in the presence of a king or when the assembled people put you out of countenance, if you want the strength to reject a cup held out by a friend or to escape the clutches of a bore, but allow a driveller to have his will with you because you lack the firmness to say, "I'll see you another time; just now I am busy"?

6. So too with the bestowal of praise: to practise and train ourselves not to be daunted in trivial and easy things is not without its use. Thus at a friend's banquet a citharode sings badly or a comic actor got for a great price murders Menander, and the crowd applauds and admires. Here I think it no hard or grievous matter to listen in silence and refrain from insincere and unmanly applause. For if you are not your own master here, what will you do when a friend reads a wretched poem or declaims a silly and preposterous speech? You will of course praise him and join the flatterers in their applause. How then will you correct him when he errs in the affairs of life? How admonish him when he is misguided in the case of some office, marriage, or policy of state? For my part I cannot even approve Pericles'[a] answer to the friend who asked him to give false testimony under

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 186 c, 808 A; Aulus Gellius, i. 3. 20; Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 523.

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[3] κολακεύουσι] κολακεύμασι Gk[1].
[4] ἐν πράγμασιν] ἐν γράμμασιν W; πράγμασιν N; D Rn[1]ySs hi omit.

(531) D "μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλος εἰμί"· λίαν γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἦλθεν. ὁ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐθίσας μήτε λέγοντος ἐπαινεῖν παρὰ γνώμην μήτε ᾄδοντος κροτεῖν μήτε σκώπτοντος ἀφυῶς ἐπιγελᾶν οὐκ ἐάσει μέχρι τούτου προελθεῖν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀδυσώπητον "ὅμοσον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτύρησον" καὶ "ἀπόφηναι[1] παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον."

7. Οὕτω δὲ δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αἰτοῦντας ἀργύριον ἀνταίρειν, προεθιζόμενον ἐν τοῖς μήτε μεγάλοις μήτε δυσπαραιτήτοις. Ἀρχέλαος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς παρὰ δεῖπνον αἰτηθεὶς ἔκπωμα χρυσοῦν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου μηδὲν ἡγουμένου καλὸν E ἢ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσεν Εὐριπίδῃ τὸν παῖδα δοῦναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλέψας, "σὺ μέν,"[2] εἶπεν, "αἰτεῖν ἐπιτήδειος εἶ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνειν, οὗτος δὲ λαμβάνειν[3] καὶ μὴ αἰτῶν," ἄριστα τοῦ διδόναι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι κύριον ποιῶν τὸ κρῖνον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δυσωπούμενον· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλάκις ἀνθρώπους ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ οἰκείους καὶ δεομένους περιορῶντες ἑτέροις αἰτοῦσιν ἐνδελεχῶς καὶ ἰταμῶς ἐδώκαμεν, οὐ δοῦναι θελήσαντες ἀλλ' ἀρνήσασθαι μὴ δυνηθέντες. ὥσπερ[4] Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων ὑπὸ Βίωνος[5] ἐνοχληθεὶς πολλάκις, "δότε," εἶπεν, "Βίᾳ[6] τάλαντον καὶ Ἀνάγκῃ." καίτοι μάλιστα F τῶν βασιλέων ἐμμελὴς ἦν καὶ πιθανὸς ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. κυνικοῦ γάρ ποτε δραχμὴν αἰτήσαντος αὐτόν, "ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλικόν," ἔφη, "τὸ

[1] ἀπόφηναι (and so C²)] ἀπόφηνε LC¹ W JK¹ˢˢ N M w Yl.
[2] μὲν] μὲν γὰρ LC Gk¹ Xυ I W J¹K ; μὲν μὲν y.
[3] λαμβάνειν (and so G³? I)] λαμβάνει G¹ N.
[4] ὥσπερ] ὥσπερ γὰρ Gk¹.
[5] Βίωνος Casaubonus : βίαντος (βίαντι N).
[6] βίᾳ LC Gʳᵃˢk¹ Xυ I W Y¹ˢˢ : βίαντι (βίαντα JK ; βίᾳτι q).

oath, "As far as the altar I am your friend." For this was getting much too close. Whereas he who keeps his distance by making it a practice never to praise a speech or applaud a song insincerely or laugh at a pointless joke, will call a halt long before there is any question of presuming so far or of saying to one who is independent in these ways "take an oath for me and give false testimony" or "pronounce an unjust verdict."

7. The same method is to be used in opposing requests for money: we must first school ourselves in situations that are of no great moment, and where refusal is not difficult. Thus Archelaüs, king of the Macedonians, when asked at dinner for a golden cup by one whose only notion of propriety was that it is proper to receive, ordered the servant to give it to Euripides, and looking the fellow in the face remarked: "You are just the man to ask and not receive; he to receive even when he does not ask," wisely letting his judgement, and not any feeling of embarrassment, govern the disposal of his gifts and favours; we, on the other hand, often pass over honest men, kinsmen, and those in need, to confer our gifts on others who are persistent and pressing in their demands, not that we consent to make the gift, but that we are too weak to refuse. Thus, repeatedly pestered by Bion, the aged Antigonus said: "Give Violence [a] and Coercion a talent." Yet he was the most adroit and plausible of kings at brushing such importunities aside. On one occasion, asked by a Cynic for a drachma, he answered: "Kings do not

[a] *Bia* in the Greek.

(531) δόμα "· τοῦ δὲ ὑποτυχόντος, " δὸς οὖν μοι τάλαντον," ἀπήντησεν, " ἀλλ' οὐ κυνικὸν τὸ λῆμμα." Διογένης μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ᾔτει περιιὼν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας ἔλεγεν ἀποτυγχάνειν μελετᾶν· ἡμῖν δὲ πρῶτον ἐμμελετητέον ἐστὶ τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ γυμναστέον περὶ τὰ μικρὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀρνεῖσθαι τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν οὐ προσηκόντως,
532 ἵνα τοῖς προσηκόντως[1] ληψομένοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἔχωμεν· οὐδεὶς γάρ, ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης φησίν, εἰς ἃ μὴ δεῖ καταναλώσας τὰ παρόντα τῶν μὴ παρόντων εὐπορήσει πρὸς ἃ δεῖ. γίνεται δὲ ἡμῖν πολλαπλάσιον τὸ αἰσχρὸν ὅταν ἐλλίπωμεν[2] εἰς τὰ καλὰ πλεονάσαντες τοῖς περιττοῖς.

8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ χρημάτων μόνον[3] ἡ δυσωπία κακὴ καὶ ἀγνώμων οἰκονόμος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰ μείζονα παραιρεῖται[4] τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ λογισμοῦ (καὶ γὰρ ἰατρὸν νοσοῦντες οὐ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν ἔμπειρον αἰσχυνόμενοι τὸν συνήθη, καὶ παισὶ διδα-
B σκάλους ἀντὶ τῶν χρηστῶν τοὺς παρακαλοῦντας αἱρούμεθα, καὶ δίκην ἔχοντες πολλάκις οὐκ ἐῶμεν εἰπεῖν τὸν ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἀγοραῖον, ἀλλ' οἰκείου τινὸς ἢ συγγενοῦς υἱῷ χαριζόμενοι παρεδώκαμεν ἐμπανηγυρίσαι, τέλος δὲ πολλούς ἐστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν λεγομένων Ἐπικουρείους καὶ Στωϊκοὺς ὄντας, οὐχ ἑλομένους οὐδὲ κρίναντας ἀλλὰ προσθεμένους δυσωποῦσιν οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις[5]) φέρε

[1] ἵνα τοῖς προσηκόντως supplied by Paton (ἵνα τοῖς κατ' ἀξίαν by Wilamowitz).
[2] ἐλλίπωμεν (-ωσι S^{ac})] ἐλλείπωμεν W hi l^{ac}.
[3] μόνον] μόνων N M Yl; Zab omit.
[4] παραιρεῖται (-τε D)] παραιτεῖται LC W^{ac} R hi MZab vw f.
[5] οἰκ. καὶ φίλ. (and so C^{2})] οἰκείους καὶ φίλους (L illegible) C^{1} Gk^{1} Xυ (-κοί- N) M^{1} Ylf^{1}q.

give so little" ; and when the other countered, "Then give me a talent," he replied, "Or Cynics take so much."[a] Now Diogenes went about the Cerameicus soliciting the statues, and said to the astonished spectators that he was getting in condition to meet refusals ; we, however, must first practise on the vulgar and train ourselves in trivial matters to rebuff those who present unfitting requests, that we may have the means to succour those on whom our bounty will be fittingly bestowed. For no one, says Demosthenes,[b] after spending what he has on what he should not, will be able to spend what he has not on what he should. And our disgrace [c] is rendered many times greater when we are short of funds for worthy ends because we were lavish in expenditures that were not called for.

8. Since compliancy is not only a wasteful and injudicious manager of an estate, but in graver concerns as well deprives us of the fruits of understanding—when in illness, for example, we do not call in the expert in the disease, fearing to offend our family practitioner ; or when to instruct our children we choose not those who are competent but those who beg for the employment [d] ; or when in a lawsuit, as we often do, we do not commit our case to one who can help us from his familiarity with the courts, but in order to oblige a friend's or kinsman's son allow him to practise declamation at our expense ; and when to crown it all we can see many so-called philosophers who are Epicureans or Stoics not from choice or judgement, but because they acceded to importunate relations or

[a] *Cf.* Seneca, *On Benefits*, ii. 17. 1.

[b] *Or.* 3. 19.

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 90 E : "For it is not so honourable to do a good turn to a friend as it is disgraceful not to do it when he is in need ; . . ."

[d] *Cf. Mor.* 4 D.

(532) δὴ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα πόρρωθεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι καὶ
μικροῖς γυμνάζωμεν ἑαυτούς, ἐθίζοντες μήτε κουρεῖ
μήτε γναφεῖ[1] κατὰ δυσωπίαν χρῆσθαι μηδὲ[2] κατα-
λύειν ἐν φαύλῳ πανδοκείῳ βελτίονος παρόντος ὅτι
C πολλάκις ὁ πανδοκεὺς ἠσπάσατο ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἔθους
ἕνεκα, κἂν ᾖ παρὰ μικρόν, αἱρεῖσθαι τὸ βέλτιον,
ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ παρεφύλαττον ἀεὶ μηδέποτε[3]
τῷ δεξιῷ μηρῷ τὸν εὐώνυμον ἐπιτιθέναι μηδὲ τὸν[4]
ἄρτιον ἀντὶ τοῦ περιττοῦ λαβεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ἴσης
ἐχόντων. ἐθιστέον δὲ[5] καὶ θυσίαν ποιούμενον ἢ
γάμον ἤ τινα ἄλλην τοιαύτην ὑποδοχὴν μὴ τὸν
ἀσπασάμενον καλεῖν ἢ προσδραμόντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν
εὔνουν καὶ χρηστόν· ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἐθισθεὶς καὶ
ἀσκήσας δυσάλωτος ἔσται, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ἀνεπι-
χείρητος, ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι.
D 9. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἀσκήσεως ἱκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα·
τῶν δὲ χρησίμων ἐπιλογισμῶν πρῶτός ἐστιν ὁ διδά-
σκων καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅτι πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς πάθεσιν
ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τοῖς νοσήμασιν ἃ φεύγειν δι' αὐτῶν
δοκοῦμεν· ἀδοξίαι φιλοδοξίαις καὶ λῦπαι φιλη-
δονίαις καὶ πόνοι μαλακίαις καὶ φιλονικίαις ἧτται
καὶ καταδίκαι· τῇ δὲ δυσωπίᾳ συμβέβηκεν ἀτεχνῶς
φευγούσῃ καπνὸν ἀδοξίας εἰς πῦρ ἐμβάλλειν ἑαυτήν.
αἰσχυνόμενοι γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς ἀγνωμόνως δυσ-
ωποῦσιν ὕστερον δυσωποῦνται τοὺς δικαίως ἐγ-
καλοῦντας, καὶ δεδιότες μέμψιν ἐλαφρὰν πολλάκις
E αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην ὑπομένουσιν· καὶ γὰρ
αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον[6] φίλου δυσωπηθέντες ἀντειπεῖν

[1] γναφεῖ] γραφεῖ (γ legible in L)C J N^{1ss} (-ῆ N^{1t}) vw; κναφεῖ Dab RnSs hi; W y are wanting.

[2] μηδὲ Bern.: μήτε.

[3] μηδέποτε] μήποτε Gk^1.

[4] τὸν] τὸ Reiske.

[5] δὲ] οὖν LC.

[6] αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον] ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντος LC.

friends—let us keep a wide berth and train ourselves for these situations too on ordinary people and in trivial occasions, accustoming ourselves not to patronize a barber or fuller from fear of giving offence or to put up at a bad inn when a better can be had because the innkeeper has often greeted us, but instead, for the habit's sake, to choose the better, though the odds be small, as the Pythagoreans always took care never to cross the left leg over the right or to take the even number instead of the odd, when otherwise there was no difference. We must also form the habit when celebrating a sacrifice or marriage or giving some other entertainment of not inviting a person who has greeted us or run up to welcome us in preference to a friend and honest man ; for one who has this habit and training will in greater matters be no easy victim, or rather will be quite proof against assault.

9. So much for training. To pass to useful reflexions : the first is that which teaches and reminds us that all passions and disorders involve us in what we think we are avoiding by their means [a] : ambition leads to disgrace, love of pleasure to pain, indolence to toil, contentiousness to discomfiture and defeat at law ; and it turns out that compliancy, in its dread of getting a bad name, escapes the smoke to fall into the fire.[b] For when men are too embarrassed to refuse unreasonable petitioners they later must incur the embarrassment of just reproaches ; and from dread of trifling censure they must often put up with out-and-out disgrace. Thus having been too shy to refuse a friend's request for money that they do not

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 502 E, 519 D, and Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 12. 5.

[b] The Greek for " out of the frying-pan into the fire " : *cf.* Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, pp. 314, 374 ; ii, pp. 220, 474, 684.

(532) οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀσχημονοῦσι μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξελεγχόμενοι, καὶ βοηθήσειν ὁμολογήσαντες ἐνίοις δίκην ἔχουσιν, εἶτα τοὺς ἑτέρους διατραπέντες ἀποκρύπτονται καὶ δραπετεύουσι. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ γάμου[1] θυγατρὸς[2] ἢ ἀδελφῆς εἰς ὁμολογίαν ἀλυσιτελῆ κατακλείσασα δυσωπία ψεύδεσθαι πάλιν ἀναγκάζει μετατιθεμένους.

10. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντες ἑνὶ δουλεύουσιν ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ τὸ μὴ
F δύνασθαι μίαν εἰπεῖν τὴν $\overline{\text{ου}}$ συλλαβὴν οὐκ ἐσπούδασεν ἀλλ' ἔσκωψεν· τοῖς δὲ δυσωπουμένοις, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπωσιν, ἔξεστιν ὀφρῦν ἐπάρασι μόνον ἢ κάτω κύψασι πολλὰς ἀβουλήτους καὶ ἀτόπους ὑπουργίας διαφεύγειν[3]· τὴν γὰρ[4] σιωπὴν ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης φησὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς ἀπόκρισιν εἶναι, κινδυνεύομεν δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῆς δεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνώμονας, ἐπεὶ τοὺς χαρίεντας ἔστι καὶ παρηγορῆσαι.

Καὶ πρόχειρά γε δεῖ καὶ[5] συχνὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχειν ἀποφθέγματα καὶ μνημονεύειν πρὸς τοὺς δυσωποῦντας· οἷον τὸ Φωκίωνος
533 πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον· "οὐ δύνασαί μοι καὶ[6] φίλῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι." καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπιδοῦναι κελεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐν ἑορτῇ καὶ κροτοῦντας, "αἰσχύνομαι,"[7] εἶπεν, "ὑμῖν[8] ἐπιδιδοὺς τούτῳ δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδούς," Καλλικλέα δείξας τὸν δανειστήν.[9]

[1] γάμου] γάμων W.
[2] θυγατρὸς Gk¹ n¹ : καὶ περὶ θυγατρὸς LC Xυ W J¹K M vw Ylfq ; ἢ περὶ θυγατρὸς aZab ; καὶ θυγατρὸς D RSs i N (ἢ θυγατρὸς h ; y is wanting).
[3] διαφεύγειν] διαφυγεῖν D.
[4] γὰρ] μὲν γὰρ LC ; δὲ k¹.
[5] καὶ] W^{ac} omits.
[6] καὶ] I¹ W omit.
[7] αἰσχύνομαι] αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ LC Gk¹ υ I W.
[8] ὑμῖν (ἡμῖν R vw)] ὑμῖν μὲν Gk¹ DZab.

have, they presently cut a sorry figure when the truth comes out ; and having agreed to support one of the parties to a lawsuit, they then are so put out of countenance by the others that they hide and run away. And many, reduced by this feeling to consenting to disadvantageous terms for a daughter's or a sister's marriage, are then driven by it in turn to break their word by making new arrangements.

10. Now he who said that the entire population of Asia were one man's slaves because they could not say the one syllable "no," was not serious but jesting. Yet those who are importuned need not say anything : merely by raising the brows or dropping the eyes they can avoid rendering many reluctant and uncalled-for services. For while Euripides [a] asserts that silence is an answer to the wise, we are much more likely to need it in dealing with the inconsiderate, for reasonable men are open to persuasion.

Yes, and we must also have in readiness a stock of sayings of illustrious and virtuous men and quote them to the importunate, as Phocion's reply to Antipater : "You cannot use me both as friend and flatterer," [b] and his answer to the Athenians who applauded him at a festival, clamouring for a special gift to the city : "I should be ashamed to give the money away to you and not back to him," pointing to Callicles the money-lender.[c] For as Thucydides [d]

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 675, Eur. Frag. 977.

[b] *Cf. Life of Phocion*, chap. xxx. 3 (755 B) ; *Lives of Agis and Cleomenes*, chap. ii. 4 (795 E) ; *Mor.* 64 C, 142 B, 188 F.

[c] *Cf. Life of Phocion*, chap. ix. 1 (745 D) ; *Mor.* 188 A, 822 E.

[d] ii. 40. 1.

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[9] δαν.] δαν. αὐτοῦ LC Gk Xυ I W JK M² vwS² ; αὐτοῦ δαν. Zab.

(533) " πενίαν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν αἰσχρόν," ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, " ἀλλ' ἔργῳ μὴ διαφεύγειν αἴσχιον." ὁ δὲ ἀβελτερίᾳ καὶ μαλακίᾳ πρὸς τὸν αἰτοῦντα δυσωπούμενος εἰπεῖν

οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ἄντροις λευκός, ὦ ξέν', ἄργυρος,

εἶτα ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον προέμενος τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν

αἰδοῦς ἀχαλκεύτοισιν ἔζευκται πέδαις.

B ὁ δὲ Περσαῖος ἀργύριόν τινι τῶν γνωρίμων δανείζων δι' ἀγορᾶς καὶ τραπέζης ἐποιεῖτο τὸ συμβόλαιον μεμνημένος δηλονότι τοῦ Ἡσιόδου λέγοντος

καί τε κασιγνήτῳ γελάσας ἐπὶ μάρτυρα θέσθαι·

θαυμάσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος, " οὕτως, ὦ Περσαῖε, νομικῶς;" " ναί," εἶπεν, " ἵνα φιλικῶς ἀπολάβω καὶ μὴ νομικῶς ἀπαιτήσω." πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ διὰ δυσωπίαν προέμενοι τὸ πιστὸν ὕστερον ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς νομίμοις[1] μετ' ἔχθρας. (11.) πάλιν ὁ Πλάτων Ἑλίκωνι τῷ Κυζικηνῷ διδοὺς πρὸς
C Διονύσιον ἐπιστολὴν ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον, εἶτα προσέγραψε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τελευτώσῃ· " γράφω δέ σοι ταῦτα περὶ ἀνθρώπου, ζῴου φύσει εὐμεταβόλου." Ξενοκράτης δὲ καίπερ αὐστηρὸς ὢν τὸν τρόπον ὅμως ὑπὸ δυσωπίας ἐκάμφθη καὶ συνέστησε Πολυπέρχοντι δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἄνθρωπον οὐ χρηστόν, ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἔδειξεν· δεξιωσαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ πυθομένου μή τινος ἔχοι χρείαν, ᾔτησε τάλαντον· ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔδωκε

[1] νομίμοις (-ως N)] suspected by Wilamowitz.

[a] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, no. 389.

says, " the confession of poverty is no disgrace ; what is disgraceful is the failure to avoid the reality." But he who in his silly spinelessness is too meek to say to a suitor

> But sir, no silver shines within my caves [a]

and then proceeds to surrender his promise, as a pledge,

> Lies bound in honour's gyves, unforged by man.[b]

Lending money to one of his followers Persaeus drew up a contract in the market-place with a banker, evidently remembering Hesiod [c] :

> Be he your brother, laugh and call a witness.

The other was surprised and said : " So legal, Persaeus ? " " Yes," he answered, " that the sum may be repaid in the way of friendship, not reclaimed by way of law." For many who start out by waiving security for fear of giving offence later go to law and lose their friend. (11.) Again, giving Helicon of Cyzicus a letter to Dionysius, Plato commended the bearer as good and estimable, but added at the close : " I write this to you about a mortal man, a creature naturally unstable." [d] But Xenocrates despite the rigour of his character gave in to pressure and wrote to Polyperchon a letter of introduction for a worthless fellow, as appeared from the event. When the Macedonian welcomed him and inquired if he needed anything, the man asked for a talent. Polyperchon gave

[b] *Cf*. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag*., Eur. *Peirithus*, no. 595 ; quoted also in *Mor*. 96 c, 482 a, 763 f.

[c] *Works and Days*, 371.

[d] *Ep*. xiii. 360 c-d, cited from memory ; also quoted in *Mor*. 463 c and 474 e.

(533) Ξενοκράτει δὲ ἔγραψε παραινῶν ἐπιμελέστερον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξετάζειν οὓς συνίστησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοκράτης ἠγνόησεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ πάνυ πολλάκις ἐπιστάμενοι τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ γράμματα προϊέμεθα D καὶ χρήματα, βλάπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ὥσπερ οἱ ταῖς ἑταίραις χαριζόμενοι καὶ τοῖς κόλαξιν, ἀλλὰ δυσχεραίνοντες καὶ βαρυνόμενοι τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἀνατρέπουσαν ἡμῶν καὶ καταβιαζομένην τὸν λογισμόν. εἰ γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλο τι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσωποῦντας ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν τό

μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω[1] κακά

τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρῶν ἢ τὰ μὴ δίκαια κρίνων ἢ τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα χειροτονῶν ἢ δανειζόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδώσοντος.

12. Διὸ τῶν παθῶν μάλιστα τῷ[2] δυσωπεῖσθαι τὸ[3] μετανοεῖν οὐχ ὕστερον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐν οἷς πράττει πάρεστι· καὶ γὰρ διδόντες ἀχθόμεθα καὶ μαρτυ- E ροῦντες αἰσχυνόμεθα καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἀδοξοῦμεν καὶ μὴ[4] παρέχοντες ἐλεγχόμεθα. πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀσθενείας τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἡμῖν ὑπισχνούμεθα τοῖς λιπαροῦσιν,[5] ὡς συστάσεις ἐν αὐλαῖς καὶ πρὸς ἡγεμόνας[6] ἐντεύξεις, μὴ βουλόμενοι μηδὲ εὐτονοῦντες εἰπεῖν· "οὐκ οἶδεν ἡμᾶς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ὅρα[7] μᾶλλον"· ὡς Λύσανδρος Ἀγησιλάῳ προσκεκρουκὼς ἀξιούμενος δὲ μέ- F γιστον δύνασθαι παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν δόξαν οὐκ

[1] δρᾶν μέλλω (and so ms. L of Euripides and all other citations)] μέλλω δρᾶν LC Gk^1 Xυ W J^{1}K vw ; τολμήσω mss. ABVP of Euripides.

[2] τῷ D : τοῦ (and so G^4 ; τὸ G^1).

[3] τὸ (and so G^4)] τοῦ G^1 R (vw omit).

it but wrote to Xenocrates advising him in future to scrutinize more carefully the persons he recommended. Now Xenocrates acted in ignorance; we, however, although often well aware that a man is a scoundrel, yet part with letters and money, injuring ourselves without the pleasure got by those who indulge courtesans and flatterers, but loathing and resenting the brazen importunity that overthrows and masters our reason. For to no one more aptly than to those who wring concessions from us by their importunity can we say

I know the evil I set out to do[a]—

in giving false testimony, rendering an unjust verdict, voting for an inexpedient measure, or borrowing for one who will never repay.

12. Thus it is in facility, more than in any other disorder, that regret is not subsequent to the act, but present from the first: when we give, we chafe; when we testify, we are ashamed; when we act as partners, we are disgraced;—and when we fail to perform, the sorry truth comes out. For being too weak to refuse we promise persistent suitors many things beyond our power, such as presentation at court or introduction to a governor, for want of the will and the firmness to say: "I am unknown to the king; you must apply elsewhere," as Lysander, who after the break with Agesilaüs was still supposed from his celebrity to stand high in his favour, was not

[a] Euripides, *Medea*, 1078.

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[4] μὴ] Gk[1] omit (R is wanting).
[5] λιπαροῦσιν Meziriacus: ἀεὶ παροῦσιν (-σι v).
[6] ἡγεμόνας] ἡγεμόνος D.
[7] ὅρα D[c] and Madvig: ὁρᾷ.

(533) ᾐσχύνετο παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἀπιέναι[1] πρὸς ἑτέρους κελεύων καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τῶν μᾶλλον αὑτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ δυναμένων. οὐ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν τὸ μὴ πάντα δύνασθαι· τὸ δὲ[2] μὴ δυναμένους ἢ μὴ πεφυκότας ἀναδέχεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ παραβιάζεσθαι πρὸς τῷ αἰσχρῷ[3] λυπηρότατόν ἐστιν.

13. Ἀπ' ἄλλης δὲ ἀρχῆς· τὰ μὲν μέτρια καὶ πρέποντα δεῖ προθύμως ὑπουργεῖν τοῖς ἀξιοῦσι
534 μὴ δυσωπουμένους ἀλλ' ἑκόντας,[4] ἐν δὲ τοῖς βλαβεροῖς καὶ ἀτόποις τὸ τοῦ Ζήνωνος ἀεὶ πρόχειρον ἔχειν, ὃς[5] ἀπαντήσας νεανίσκῳ τινὶ[6] τῶν συνήθων παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡσυχῇ βαδίζοντι καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι φεύγει φίλον ἀξιοῦντα μαρτυρεῖνα ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὰ ψευδῆ, "τί λέγεις," φησίν, "ἀβέλτερε; σὲ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἀγνωμονῶν καὶ ἀδικῶν οὐ δέδιεν οὐδὲ αἰσχύνεται, σὺ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων οὐ θαρρεῖς ὑποστῆναι;" ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰπών

ποτὶ πονηρὸν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ὅπλον ἁ πονηρία

B κακῶς ἐθίζει μιμούμενον ἀμύνεσθαι τὴν κακίαν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἀναιδῶς καὶ ἀδυσωπήτως ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀποτρίβεσθαι τῷ ἀδυσωπήτῳ, καὶ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι τὰ αἰσχρὰ τοῖς ἀναισχύντοις αἰσχυνόμενον, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως γινόμενόν ἐστιν ὑπὸ τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων.

14. Ἔτι τοίνυν τῶν δυσωπούντων τοῖς μὲν ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίοις οὐ μέγα

[1] ἀπιέναι M²C²Zab: ἀπεῖναι (ἀπῆναι Y^ac).
[2] δὲ (and so G^vet)] G¹ Xυ W omit.
[3] After αἰσχρῷ DZab have καὶ.
[4] ἑκόντας Meziriacus: εἴκοντας (-τα D; εἴκοντας L?C).
[5] ὃς] ὡς D N.
[6] ἀπ. νεαν. τινὶ LC Gk Xυ W JK (νεαν. τινὶ ἀπ. vw): ἀπ. (ἀπ. D Rns N¹) τινὶ νεαν.

ashamed to turn suitors away, directing them to others, and telling them to resort to those who had more influence with the king.[a] For there is no disgrace in not being omnipotent; whereas to undertake such services and to force matters when we have not the power or the talent required, is not only ignominious but mortifying in the extreme.

13. There is another point of view. Reasonable and proper services we must render gladly to those that ask them, not in helpless submission, but because we choose to. But when the service is harmful and unjustified we must always be ready with the saying of Zeno.[b] Meeting a young man of his acquaintance pacing slowly by the city wall, and learning that he was avoiding a friend who expected him to give false testimony in his behalf, Zeno said: "Fool! This man, who is dealing unfairly and unjustly, has no fear or respect for you; and you, to defend the right, dare not stand up to him?" For he who said

> A handy arm with knaves is knavery [c]

recommends to us the bad habit of resisting vice by resorting to it; whereas to rid ourselves of brazen and unabashed suitors by being unabashed ourselves, and not, by giving in to shame, to render shameful favours to the shameless, is what is rightly and justly done by men of sense.

14. Again when suitors are obscure, of humble station, and of little worth, it is no great trouble to

[a] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4. 8, also referred to in the *Life of Agesilaüs*, chap. vii. 8 (599 E).

[b] Von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 313 (p. 69).

[c] Kaibel, *Comicorum Graec. Frag.* i, p. 142, Epicharmus, no. 275; quoted also in *Mor.* 21 E.

(534) ἔργον ἀντισχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἔνιοι καὶ
σκώμματος ἐκκλίνουσι τοὺς τοιούτους,[1] ὡς Θεό-
κριτος, δυεῖν αὐτὸν[2] ἐν βαλανείῳ στλεγγίδα κιχρα-
μένων, τοῦ μὲν ξένου, τοῦ δὲ γνωρίμου κλέπτου,
μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἀμφοτέρους διεκρούσατο εἰπών,[3] "σὲ
μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, σὲ δὲ οἶδα."[4] Λυσιμάχη δὲ Ἀθήνη-
C σιν, ἡ τῆς Πολιάδος ἱέρεια, τῶν τὰ ἱερὰ προσ-
αγαγόντων ὀρεωκόμων ἐγχέαι κελευόντων, "ἀλλ'[5]
ὀκνῶ," εἶπεν, "μὴ καὶ τοῦτο πάτριον γένηται."
καὶ Ἀντίγονος πρός τινα νεανίσκον γεγονότα μὲν
ἐκ λοχαγοῦ χαρίεντος, αὐτὸν δ' ἄτολμον ὄντα καὶ
μαλακόν, ἀξιοῦντα δὲ προαχθῆναι,[6] "παρ' ἐμοί,"
φησιν, "ὦ μειράκιον, ἀνδραγαθίας εἰσὶν οὐ πατρα-
γαθίας τιμαί."

15. Καὶ μὴν ἐάνπερ ὁ δυσωπῶν ἔνδοξος ᾖ καὶ
δυνατός (οἳ δὴ μάλιστα καὶ[7] δυσπαραίτητοι καὶ
δυσαπότριπτοι[8] περὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς χειρο-
τονίας ἐντυγχάνοντές εἰσιν), ὃ μὲν ἔπραξεν ὁ Κάτων
D νέος ὢν ἔτι πρὸς Κάτλον οὐκ ἄν τινι φανείη
ῥᾴδιον ἴσως οὐδ' ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ γὰρ Κάτλος ἦν μὲν
ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μεγίστῳ καὶ τότε τὴν
τιμητικὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν· ἀνέβη δὲ πρὸς τὸν[9] Κάτωνα
τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμιείου παραιτη-
σόμενός τινα τῶν ἐζημιωμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λι-

[1] *τοὺς τοιούτους* (and so G^{2})] *τοῖς τοιούτοις* G^{1}.
[2] *αὐτὸν*] *αὐτῶν* v ; *αὐτῷ* RnySs hi ab M^{2} $Y^{1ss}l^{1(\hat{\omega}ss)}f^{1ss}q^{2ss}$; *αὐτῶ τὸν* M^{1} ; *παρ' αὐτοῦ* D (*παρ' αὐτοῦ* Z) ; Pohlenz would delete.
[3] *εἰπὼν*] *εἴπας* $G^{3c}k^{1}$ $J^{1}K^{c}$ (*εἶπας* G^{3ac} $X^{1}υ$ W K^{ac} M^{1} Yl) ; G^{1} omits.
[4] *οὐκ οἶδα σὲ δὲ οἶδα* (R omits *σὲ δὲ οἶδα*)] *οἶδα σὲ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα* LC vw.
[5] *ἀλλ'* (and so G^{4})] G^{1} omits.
[6] *προαχθῆναι* (*πραχθῆναι* K^{ac})] *προσαχθῆναι* G^{aras} Y^{aras}.
[7] *καὶ*] D omits.

resist them; some indeed put them off with an amusing jest. Thus when two men in a bath-house wanted to borrow Theocritus'[a] scraper, the one a stranger, the other a thieving acquaintance, he evaded both with a quip: "You I don't know, you I do." At Athens Lysimachê, priestess of Athenê Polias, when asked for a drink by the muleteers who had brought the sacred vessels, replied: "I fear it will get into the ritual." And Antigonus answered when a certain youth whose father was a distinguished captain, but who lacked resolution and courage himself, asked for advancement: "At my court, my boy, it is a man's valour and not his father's that is rewarded."[b]

15. But if the petitioner is a man of prominence and power—and these are the hardest to refuse and shake off when they appeal to us about a verdict or an appointment—the course indeed that was taken by Cato, while still a young man, in dealing with Catulus, would hardly, I think, commend itself as easy or necessary. Catulus, of all the Romans the most highly regarded, held the office of censor at the time. He had gone up[c] to see Cato, who was in charge of the public treasury,[d] to intercede for one of the

[a] Theocritus of Chios, historian and wit of the fourth century. For the story *cf.* the *Philogelos*, no. 150 (p. 34 Eberhard).

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 183 D and Stobaeus, *Anth.* iv. 29 b 39 (pp. 717 f. Hense).

[c] Cato was in the treasury, on the slope of the Capitoline.

[d] Catulus was censor in 65 B.C.: *cf.* T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. ii (New York, 1952), p. 157. Broughton (*ibid.* pp. 163 and note 5) assigns Cato's quaestorship to 64.

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8 δυσαπότριπτοι A² vw : -επτοι (-επτος N²).

9 τὸν Gk Xυ W J N Ylfq: the rest omit (and so C^vet; LC¹ are wanting).

(534) παρὴς ἐγίνετο[1] ταῖς δεήσεσι προσβιαζόμενος, ἄχρι οὗ δυσανασχετήσας ἐκεῖνος, "αἰσχρόν ἐστιν," ἔφη, "Κάτλε, σὲ τὸν τιμητὴν ἀπαλλαγῆναι μὴ βουλόμενον ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἕλκεσθαι"· καὶ ὁ Κάτλος αἰσχυνθεὶς πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπῆλθεν.
E σκόπει δὲ μὴ τὸ[2] τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους[3] ἐπιεικέστερόν ἐστι καὶ μετριώτερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κελευόμενος κρῖναί τινα δίκην παρὰ τὸν νόμον, "ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σοῦ," ἔφη, "πάτερ, πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις ἐδιδασκόμην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· διὸ καὶ νῦν σοι πείθομαι μηδὲν ποιεῖν[4] παράνομον." ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἀξιοῦντά τι τῶν μὴ δικαίων, "οὔτ' ἂν σὺ ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς εἴης," ἔφη, "παρὰ μέλος ᾄδων οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ χρηστὸς ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον κρίνων." (16.) καίτοι οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποδὸς πρὸς τὴν λύραν ἀμετρίαν,[5] ὡς Πλάτων[6] ἔλεγε, καὶ πόλεις πόλεσι καὶ φίλοι φίλοις
F διαφερόμενοι τὰ ἔσχατα[7] δρῶσί τε καὶ πάσχουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια πλημμέλειαν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔνιοι τὴν[8] ἐν μέλεσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ μέτροις ἀκρίβειαν αὐτοὶ φυλάττοντες ἑτέρους ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ κρίσεσι καὶ πράξεσιν ἀξιοῦσιν ὀλιγωρεῖν τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος. διὸ καὶ τούτῳ[9] μάλιστα χρηστέον πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐντυγχάνει σοι

[1] ἐγίνετο LC G³?k Xυ W DZn JKᶜ? vw fq : ἐγένετο.
[2] μὴ τὸ LC¹ Gk¹ Xυ I W D J¹K : καὶ τὸ MZab vw l ; μὴ καὶ τὸ RnySs C²k² N Yfq ; μὴ καὶ hi.
[3] θεμιστοκλέους] περικλέους DZ Rn¹ySs N M¹ Yl.
[4] ποιεῖν (ποιῆν Wᵃᶜ? N¹)] ποιῶν Matthaei.
[5] πρὸς τ. λ. ἀμετρίαν] ἀμετρίαν πρὸς τ. λ. G³.
[6] πλάτων] ὁ πλάτων Gk¹ Xυ h.

persons he had fined, and urged his appeal with great insistence. Cato at last lost patience and said: "It is unseemly, Catulus, that you, the censor, since you won't take yourself off, should be thrown out by my staff." [a] Catulus was abashed and left in anger. But consider whether the conduct of Agesilaüs and Themistocles was not more courteous and moderate. Told by his father to render an illegal verdict in a certain case, Agesilaüs said: "But it was you, father, that taught me from childhood to obey the laws; I am therefore obeying you when I do nothing unlawful." When Simonides asked an unjustified favour Themistocles answered: "You would not be a good poet if in your singing you failed to observe the music, nor I a proper officer if in my judgements I failed to observe the law." [b] (16.) Yet, as Plato [c] said, it is not discord of measure and music that sets city against city and friend against friend and leads them to inflict and undergo the greatest calamities, but jarring errors in law and justice. Nevertheless some, themselves sticklers for propriety in music, words, and metre, expect others who hold office, render verdicts, and are engaged in public affairs to disregard what is proper. This therefore is the very point that we must chiefly use against them. A pleader appeals to you

[a] *Cf. Life of Cato the Younger*, chap. xvi. 6-8 (755 D); *Mor.* 808 E.

[b] *Cf. Life of Themistocles*, chap. v. 6 (114 C); *Mor.* 185 D, 807 B.

[c] *Clitophon*, 407 C-D; quoted also in *Mor.* 439 C.

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[7] τὰ ἔσχατα [Plato] and *Mor.* 439 C: τὰ λάχιστα L W N^1 q (τὰ ἐλάχιστα N^2; τἀλάχιστα with or without a grave accent on τὰ the rest); τὰ κάκιστα D $A^{2ss}EZ^{2ss}$; τὰ αἴσχιστα Reiske.

[8] τὴν DZab (τὰν $S^{c?}$s): τῶν.

[9] τούτῳ] τοῦτο LC G^1 Xυ n hi N w^{ac} $Y^{ac?}$f.

(534) δικάζοντι ῥήτωρ ἢ βουλεύοντι δημαγωγός· ὁμολόγησον ἐὰν ἐκεῖνος σολοικίσῃ προοιμιαζόμενος ἢ βαρβαρίσῃ διηγούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἐθελήσει διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσχρόν· ἐνίους γοῦν ὁρῶμεν οὐδὲ φωνήεντι συγκροῦσαι φωνῆεν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὑπομένοντας.
535 ἕτερον πάλιν δυσωποῦντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων κέλευσον ὀρχούμενον δι' ἀγορᾶς διεξελθεῖν[1] ἢ διαστρέψαντα τὸ πρόσωπον· ἐὰν δὲ ἀρνῆται, σός ἐστιν ὁ καιρὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πυθέσθαι τί αἰσχρόν[2] ἐστιν, τὸ σολοικίσαι[3] καὶ διαστρέψαι τὸ πρόσωπον ἢ τὸ λῦσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ παραβῆναι τὸν ὅρκον καὶ πλέον νεῖμαι τῷ πονηρῷ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. ἔτι τοίνυν, ὥσπερ Νικόστρατος ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἀρχιδάμου παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς καὶ γάμῳ γυναικὸς ᾧ[4] βούλεται Λακαίνης προδοῦναι Κρῶμνον οὐκ ἔφη γεγονέναι τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους· ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ
B ἀποκτιννύναι περιιόντα[5] τοὺς πονηρούς, τοῦτον δὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ποιεῖν πονηρούς· οὕτω καὶ ἡμῖν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀξιοῦντα καλὸν κἀγαθὸν λέγεσθαι ῥητέον, ἂν[6] βιάζηται καὶ[7] δυσωπῇ, μὴ πρέποντα ποιεῖν[8] μηδὲ ἄξια τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν εὐγενείας καὶ[9] ἀρετῆς.

17. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν φαύλων ὁρᾶν χρὴ καὶ διανοεῖσθαι τὸν φιλάργυρον εἰ δυσωπήσεις ἄνευ συμβολαίου δανεῖσαι τάλαντον ἢ τὸν φιλότιμον ἐκστῆναι[10] τῆς προεδρίας ἢ τὸν φίλαρχον[11] τῆς παραγγελίας ἐπί-

[1] διεξελθεῖν (L illegible ; διέξ- C) Gk^{41} Xυ W J^{1}K : ἐξελθεῖν.
[2] τί αἰσχρόν] τίς αἰσχρόν W ; τί αἴσχιόν Leonicus and Donatus Polus.
[3] σολοικίσαι (and so G^{4} ; -ῆσαι C^{ac} ; -ία N ; -ῖσαι l)] ὀρχήσασθαι G^{1}k.
[4] ᾧ] ἧς DZ.
[5] περιιόντα G^{3}k W DZab s M vw fq : περιόντα.

when you are hearing a case, or a party-leader when you hold a seat in the council: give your consent if *he* will commit a solecism in his proem or a barbarism in his narration. For this he will not do because it appears unseemly—indeed we see that some cannot even abide the collision of one vowel with another in making a speech. Another shameless petitioner is an eminent and respectable personage: tell him to dance [a] or make a face as he passes through the market-place. If he refuses, it is your cue to speak and inquire which is unseemly—to commit a solecism and make a face, or to break the law, to perjure yourself, and unjustly to favour a scoundrel at the expense of an upright man? Furthermore, as Nicostratus the Argive,[b] when offered by Archidamus a great sum and his choice of the Spartan women in marriage if he would betray Cromnon, called Archidamus no true Heraclid, since Heracles had gone about killing malefactors, while Archidamus was making malefactors of honest men, in the same way we must say to one that claims the name of gentleman, if he forces matters and presses an impudent request, that his conduct is unseemly and unworthy of his birth and character.

17. With men who have vices you must consider and reflect whether you could bully the miser into lending a talent without a bond, the proud man into resigning his seat of honour, or the ambitious politician into giving up his candidacy when expected to

[a] For this as disgraceful *cf.* Cicero, *De Officiis*, iii. 19 (75) and iii. 24 (93).
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 192 A.

[6] ἂν] κἂν LC. [7] καὶ k MZab vw l: κἂν.
[8] ποιεῖν] ποιῇ Xυ N M Yl. [9] καὶ Gk a: τε καὶ.
[10] ἐκστῆναι] πείσεις (ποιήσεις Xυ[1γρ]) ἐκστῆναι LC Gk υ[1t] W JK M[2] vw f[2ss].
[11] φίλαρχον] φίλαρχον ἐκστῆναι LC Gk[1] Xυ W J[1]K.

(535) δοξον ὄντα κρατήσειν. δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν ἀληθῶς
C φανείη τούτους μὲν ἐν νοσήμασι καὶ παθήμασιν[1]
ἀκάμπτους διαμένειν καὶ ἐχυροὺς καὶ δυσμεταθέτους, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλομένους καὶ φάσκοντας εἶναι φιλοκάλους καὶ φιλοδικαίους μὴ κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν ἀλλ' ἀνατρέπεσθαι καὶ προΐεσθαι τὴν ἀρετήν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν οἱ δυσωποῦντες ἐπὶ δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει[2] τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν ἄτοπόν ἐστι κοσμοῦντας ἑτέρους καὶ αὔξοντας ἀσχημονεῖν αὐτοὺς[3] καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ οἱ παραβραβεύοντες[4] ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ χαριζόμενοι[5] περὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων[6] ἀρχεῖα καὶ στεφάνους ἄλλοις καὶ δόξαν[7] ἀφαιροῦνται τὸ ἔνδοξον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ[8] καλόν· εἰ δὲ[9] χρημάτων ἕνεκα προσκείμενον ὁρῶμεν τὸν δυσ-
D ωποῦντα, πῶς οὐ παρίσταται δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ τῆς ἰδίας δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀφειδεῖν[10] ἵνα τὸ τοῦ δεῖνος βαλλάντιον βαρύτερον γένηται;

Καίτοι παρίσταταί γε τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οὐ λανθάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς μεγάλας κύλικας ἐκπίνειν[11] ἀναγκαζόμενοι μόλις καὶ στένοντες καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα διαστρέψαντες[12] ἐκτελοῦσι τὸ προστεταγμένον.[13] (18.) ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀτονία σώματος κράσει καὶ πρὸς ἀλέαν κακῶς πεφυκυίᾳ καὶ πρὸς κρύος· ἐπαινούμενοί τε[14] γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δυσωπούντων παντάπασι θρύπτονται καὶ χαλῶνται, πρός τε τὰς μέμψεις

[1] νοσήμασι καὶ παθήμασιν] παθήμασι και νοσήμασιν LC Gk Xυ W J^1K. [2] δυνάμει (and so G^4): δυναστείᾳ G^1k.
[3] αὐτοὺς LC $G^{3?}$ $X^1υ$ W DZab (αὑτοὺς G^1k^1 $X^{2?}$ JK): ἑαυτοὺς. [4] παραβρ. (περιβρ. hi?)] βραβεύοντες W.
[5] χαριζόμενοι] Pohlenz transposes χαριζόμενοι after ἄλλοις; Reiske would add διδόντες, νέμοντες, περιποιοῦντες or the like after ἄλλοις.

win. For it would appear strange indeed that these in their disorders and passions should remain undaunted, firm, and steadfast, while we, who desire and profess to be partisans of honesty and justice, should so fail in control that we are overthrown and abandon our character for virtue. Indeed, if the suitor's aim is glory and power, it is absurd to enhance the lustre and greatness of another by cutting a sorry figure ourselves and getting a bad name, just as umpires who cheat at the games or officials who make corrupt appointments, while awarding to others offices, crowns, and glory not theirs to bestow, lose their own reputation and honour ; whereas if money is his object, can we fail to observe that it is a strange bargain to squander our own repute and character in order to increase the weight of so-and-so's purse ?

Yet such thoughts do occur to most people, and they know well that they are making a mistake. They are like men compelled to down a large beaker, who barely manage, moaning and with a wry face, to carry out the order. (18.) But infirmity of the mind resembles a bodily constitution intolerant of either heat or cold. For when praised by the importunate such men go utterly soft and limp ; while in face of

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[6] *προσηκόντων* (and so C[vet] ; *-ούν-* from *-οῦν-* N[2])] *προσηκόντως* L ; *προσήκοντας* C[1].

[7] *ἄλλοις καὶ δόξαν*] *καὶ δόξαν ἄλλοις* LC Gk[1] X*υ* W J[1]K vw.

[8] *τὸ*] X W omit.

[9] *δὲ*] *δὲ τὸ* N.

[10] *ἀφειδεῖν* (and so L)] *ἀφπειδεῖν* C[aras] ; *ἀπιδεῖν* G *υ* ; *παριδεῖν* k.

[11] *ἐκπίνειν*] *ἐκπιεῖν* DZab RnySs hi.

[12] *διαστρέψαντες* (*-ατρ-* *υ*)] *διαστρέφοντες* DZab.

[13] *τὸ προστεταγμένον* LC Gk X*υ* W (*τὰ προστεταγμένα* J[1]K) : *τὸ προσταττόμενον* (*τὸ προστατούενον* S[1] ; *τὸ προστατούμενον* s).

[14] *τε* (and so G[4])] G[1] W[ac] n[1] JK omit.

(535) καὶ ὑφοράσεις τῶν ἀποτυγχανόντων ψοφοδεῶς
E καὶ δειλῶς ἔχουσι. δεῖ δὲ ἀντισχυρίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀμφότερα, μήτε τοῖς δεδιττομένοις μήτε τοῖς κολακεύουσιν ἐνδιδόντας. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θουκυδίδης, ὡς ἀναγκαίως ἑπομένου τῷ δύνασθαι τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι, "καλῶς," φησι, "βουλεύεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις λαμβάνοντα τὸ ἐπίφθονον"· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν μὲν φθόνον διαφεύγειν χαλεπὸν[1] ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δὲ μέμψει μὴ περιπεσεῖν μηδὲ λυπηρόν τινι[2] γενέσθαι
F τῶν χρωμένων ἀδύνατον παντάπασιν ὁρῶντες ὀρθῶς βουλευσόμεθα τὰς τῶν ἀγνωμόνων ἀπεχθείας ἐκδεχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς τῶν δικαίως ἐγκαλούντων ἐὰν ἐκείνοις μὴ δικαίως[3] ὑπουργῶμεν. καὶ μὴν ἔπαινόν γε τὸν παρὰ τῶν δυσωπούντων κίβδηλον ὄντα παντάπασι δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ πάθος πάσχειν ὗῶδες, ὑπὸ κνησμοῦ καὶ γαργαλισμοῦ παρέχοντα χρῆσθαι ῥᾷστα τῷ δεομένῳ, καὶ καταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν ὑποκατακλινόμενον. οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρουσι τῶν τὰ σκέλη τοῖς ὑποσπῶσι παρεχόντων οἱ τὰ ὦτα τοῖς κολακεύουσι παραδιδόντες, ἀλλ'
536 αἴσχιον ἀνατρέπονται καὶ πίπτουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔχθρας καὶ κολάσεις ἀνιέντες ἀνθρώποις πονηροῖς ἵν' ἐλεήμονες καὶ φιλάνθρωποι καὶ συμπαθεῖς κληθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀπεχθείας καὶ κατηγορίας οὐκ ἀναγκαίας οὐδὲ ἀκινδύνους ἀναδέξασθαι πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαινούντων ὡς μόνους ἄνδρας καὶ μόνους ἀκολακεύτους καὶ νὴ Δία στόματα καὶ φωνὰς προσαγορευόντων. διὸ καὶ Βίων ἀπείκαζε τοὺς τοιούτους[4] ἀμφορεῦσιν ἀπὸ[5] τῶν ὤτων ῥᾳδίως

[1] Before χαλεπὸν Erasmus and Reiske omit οὐ.
[2] τινι G^4k^1 W : τι.
[3] δικαίως] δικαίοις W.

the complaints and disapproval of rejected suitors they are timorous and fearful. We should make a bold stand on both fronts, yielding neither to intimidation nor to flattery. Thucydides,[a] indeed, holding that power necessarily attracts envy, says: "He does wisely who incurs envy for the greatest prize," but we, who though we consider envy difficult to avoid, yet observe the utter impossibility of escaping reproach or avoiding offence to some of those with whom we deal, shall do well to incur the wrath of the inconsiderate rather than the wrath of those who will have just cause to complain if we do injustice to oblige the others. Furthermore, the praise that comes from suitors is false coin: we must be thoroughly on our guard against it and not behave like swine, because of our itch to be scratched and tickled allowing the suitor to handle us as he pleases, and sinking to the ground in subservience to him. For he who gives ear to flatterers is no better than he who allows a leghold to one who would throw him; nay, the toss and fall is in his case more disgraceful. Some, to get a name as merciful, humane, and compassionate, release wrongdoers from enmity and punishment; others on the contrary are persuaded to undertake quarrels and prosecutions that are neither compulsory nor free from risk, when they are praised as alone deserving to be called "men" and alone incapable of subservience —yes, and the flatterers even call them "mouths" and "voices." Consequently Bion compared men of this sort to pitchers easily carried away by the ears.[b]

[a] ii. 64. 5; also quoted in *Mor.* 73 A.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 705 E and Frag. incert. 101 Bern.

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[4] τοὺς τοιούτους (and so G[4])] τοῖς τοιούτοις G[1].
[5] ἀπὸ Dab: ὑπό.

(536) μεταφερομένοις.[1] ὥσπερ Ἀλεξῖνον ἱστοροῦσι τὸν σοφιστὴν πολλὰ φαῦλα λέγειν ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ περὶ
B Στίλπωνος τοῦ Μεγαρέως, εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῶν παρόντων, "ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκεῖνός σε πρῴην ἐπῄνει," "νὴ Δία", φάναι· "βέλτιστος γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστι καὶ γενναιότατος." ἀλλὰ Μενέδημος τοὐναντίον, ἀκούσας ὡς Ἀλεξῖνος αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖ πολλάκις, "ἐγὼ δέ," εἶπεν, "ἀεὶ ψέγω Ἀλεξῖνον· ὥστε κακός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος[2] ἢ κακὸν ἐπαινῶν ἢ ὑπὸ[3] χρηστοῦ ψεγόμενος." οὕτως ἄτρεπτος ἦν καὶ ἀνάλωτος ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ κρατῶν ἐκείνης τῆς παραινέσεως ἣν ὁ Ἀντισθένειος Ἡρακλῆς παρῄνει τοῖς παισί, διακελευόμενος μηδενὶ χάριν ἔχειν ἐπαινοῦντι[4]· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μὴ δυσωπεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἀντι-
C κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ τοῦ Πινδάρου πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα πανταχοῦ καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, "κἀγώ σοι χάριν ἀποδίδωμι· ποιῶ γάρ σε ἀληθεύειν."

19. Ὃ τοίνυν πρὸς πάντα τὰ[5] πάθη χρήσιμόν ἐστι, τούτου δεῖ μάλιστα τοῖς εὐδυσωπήτοις· ὅταν ἐκβιασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους παρὰ γνώμην ἁμάρτωσι καὶ διατραπῶσιν, ἰσχυρῶς μνημονεύειν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ δηγμοῦ[6] καὶ τῆς μεταμελείας θεμένους[7] ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον. ὡς γὰρ οἱ λίθῳ προσπταίσαντες ὁδοιπόροι
D ἢ περὶ ἄκραν ἀνατραπέντες κυβερνῆται, ἂν μνημο-

[1] μεταφερομένοις G[1] Xυ W J[1]K N[2] (from -ρω-) M[1] Yl: -ους (and so L? and G[4]).
[2] ἄνθρωπος nos: ἄνθρωπος.
[3] ἢ ὑπὸ DZ K vw (ὑπὸ J): ἢ ἀπὸ (and so I; L is illegible).
[4] After ἐπαινοῦντι Bern. omits αὐτούς.
[5] τὰ] LC G[s]k[1] Xυ W omit.
[6] δηγμοῦ DZab JK: δήμου (βίου w[ac]).

Thus it is reported that Alexinus the sophist was roundly abusing Stilpon of Megara in the Promenade when one of the audience said: "But he was praising you the other day." "Exactly," said Alexinus, "he is the most honest and outspoken of men." Menedemus said on the contrary, on hearing that Alexinus often praised him, "For my part I have never a good word for him. The fellow is therefore a knave, as he either praises a knave or is censured by an honest man." So steadfast was he and secure against the likes of these, and so firmly did he hold to the advice that Heracles in Antisthenes[a] gave his sons, to thank no man for his praise, which came exactly to this: not to let themselves be prevailed upon by those who praised them and not to flatter them in return. Pindar's answer is enough, I fancy. To one who said that he praised him everywhere and to everyone he replied: "And I return the courtesy; it is my doing that you tell the truth."

19. Now the same remedy that helps to cure all disorders of the mind is especially indicated for those who yield easily to pressure: when forced by the disorder to err against their judgement and succumb to embarrassment, they must keep it firmly in the memory and store up reminders of their remorse and regret and rehearse them and preserve them for a very long time. For as wayfarers who have stumbled over a stone,[b] or skippers who have capsized off a headland, if they retain the circumstances in their

[a] Antisthenes, *Heracles*, Frag. 6 (ed. Dittmar).

[b] *Cf.* the proverb (Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 65) *δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχρὰ* (nos: *αἰσχρὸν*) *προσκρούειν λίθον* "to stumble twice against the same stone is shameful."

[7] *θεμένους*] *θεμένοις* LC[1].

(536) *νεύωσιν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ προσόμοια φρίττοντες καὶ φυλαττόμενοι διατελοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ τὰ τῆς δυσωπίας αἰσχρὰ καὶ βλαβερὰ συνεχῶς τῷ μετανοοῦντι καὶ δακνομένῳ προβάλλοντες*[1] *ἀντιλήψονται πάλιν ἑαυτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ οὐ προήσονται ῥᾳδίως ὑποφερομένους.*

[1] *προβάλλοντες* LC^c D fq : *προσβάλλοντες*.

memory, henceforth never fail to avoid with a shudder not only the occasion of their misadventure, but everything resembling it, so those who constantly hold up to their repentance and remorse the shame and loss involved in compliancy will in similar circumstances resist the feeling and not easily allow it to carry them away.

ON ENVY AND HATE
(DE INVIDIA ET ODIO)

INTRODUCTION

Envy was called the worst of evils.[a] It is common in Plutarch's lists of undesirable passions,[b] and in the *De Vitioso Pudore* (529 B) he speaks of the philosopher removing it from a young man's soul. Its resemblance to hate is great enough to allow the envious to disguise their envy under that name (537 E, *infra*). As the flatterer who disguises himself as a friend by means of the " similarities " is exposed by means of the " differences " (51 D), so here, after briefly presenting the similarity of envy to hate, Plutarch spends the rest of the essay in exposing the differences.

That his theme is envy, rather than hate, can be seen from the language. The very title gives envy precedence ; and the word is twice omitted as not needing explicit mention (536 E, 538 D).[c]

Nearly everywhere in the essay Plutarch agrees with Aristotle, and doubtless used him, perhaps in part indirectly. In the *Rhetoric* (ii. 4. 30, 1381 b 37 f.) Aristotle says, after discussing friendship, that we

[a] *Cf.* Euripides, *Ino* (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 403) ; Menander, frag. 538. 6 (vol. ii, p. 178 Körte) ; and Galen, *De Affectuum Dignotione*, chap. vii. 2.

[b] *Cf.* for example *Mor.* 61 E, 455 C, 459 B, 462 A, 468 B, 475 E, 481 D, 501 E.

[c] Note the language used in comparing the two : envy is said to differ (*cf.* 537 C, 538 D) from hate (or to be the same with it, as at 536 F) ; we do not hear of hate differing from envy. Envy is similarly emphasized at the expense of hate by the omission of μέν at 537 A.

must study hostility and hate in the light of the opposites; and many points in Plutarch's discussion of hatred were doubtless suggested by Aristotle's discussion of friendship in *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 1-29 (1380 b 34—1381 b 37) and books viii-ix of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Thus Plutarch calls hatred both a πάθος (536 E, F, 537 E, 538 C, D) and a διάθεσις (538 E; it is a ἕξις in Aristotle: see the note on 538 E); it shows a προαίρεσις (538 E), and it is found in animals (537 B).

The treatise falls into two main parts. In the first the similarities between envy and hate are presented (chapter 1); in the second (chapters 2-8) the dissimilarities. The origins of the two are different; hatred is directed against both men and brutes, envy confined to men; hatred is found in brutes, envy in man alone; no one is justly envied, many are justly hated; hatred increases with the increasing wickedness of the person hated, envy with the increasing virtue of the person envied; increasing wickedness increases hate, but increasing prosperity extinguishes envy; great misfortune puts an end to envy but not to hate; hate is given up under conditions that either do not put an end to envy or that actually exasperate it; and the aim of hatred is to injure, that of envy to reduce one's neighbour to equality with oneself.

We have found no evidence for the date. The essay was translated into Latin by Niccolò Perotti [a] and by H. Stephanus. It is not included in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on LC y HU. Occasionally α, s, nBr, and AE are quoted for conjectures.

[a] *Cf.* G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto* (Studi e testi, 44, Rome, 1925), pp. 34-35.

(536)
E

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΘΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΣΟΥΣ

1. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ μηθὲν[1] τοῦ μίσους διαφέρειν[2] ἀλλ' ὁ[3] αὐτὸς εἶναι. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ πολυάγκιστρον ἡ κακία τοῖς ἐξηρτημένοις αὐτῆς πάθεσιν κινουμένη δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε πολλὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα[4] συναφὰς καὶ[5] περιπλοκὰς ἐνδίδωσι,
F ταῦτα δὲ ὥσπερ νοσήματα συμπαθεῖ ταῖς ἀλλήλων φλεγμοναῖς. ὁ γὰρ εὐτυχῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν μισοῦντα λυπεῖ καὶ τὸν φθονοῦντα. διὸ καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἀμφοτέροις νομίζομεν ἀντικεῖσθαι, βούλησιν οὖσαν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς πλησίον, καὶ τῷ μισεῖν τὸ[6] φθονεῖν ταὐτὸν[7] εἶναι, ὅτι τὴν ἐναντίαν τῷ φιλεῖν ἔχει προαίρεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω ταὐτὸν αἱ ὁμοιότητες ὡς ἕτερον αἱ διαφοραὶ ποιοῦσιν, κατὰ ταύτας[8] ζητοῦμεν[9] ἐὰν μεταδιώξωμεν,[10] ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρξάμενοι τῶν παθῶν.

2. Γεννᾶται τοίνυν τὸ μῖσος ἐκ φαντασίας τοῦ[11] ὅτι πονηρὸς ἢ κοινῶς ἢ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστιν ὁ μισού-

[1] μηθὲν] μηδὲν (L is wanting) C y nBr E.
[2] διαφέρειν (L is wanting) C HUα[1] : δ. ὁ φθόνος.
[3] ὁ] (L is wanting) C[1] omits.
[4] πολλὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα α[2] : πολλὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλας U[3]α[1] ; πρὸς ἄλλας πρὸς ἀλλήλας HU[1] ; πρὸς ἄλλας (L is illegible) C[1] ; πολλὰς πρὸς ἄλλας C[2] ; πρὸς ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας y[1] ; πρὸς ἄλλας καὶ ἄλληλα y[2].
[5] καὶ] (L is illegible) C[1] y[1] HUα[1] omit.
[6] τῷ μ. τὸ H[1] U[1,3]α : τὸ μ. τῷ L ?C y H[2]U[2] B.
[7] ταὐτὸν C[1] (ταυτὸν y) : ταὐτὸ or ταυτὸ.
[8] ταύτας] ταῦτα HU[1].
[9] ζητοῦμεν] ζητῶμεν A[2]E.
[10] μεταδιώξωμεν (and so L[?] ; -ομεν y)] μεταδιώξω C[1].

ON ENVY AND HATE

1. On the following view it [a] is thought to differ not at all from hate, but to be the same. Thus one may say in general that vice, like a line with many hooks, as it moves to and fro with the passions attached to it, gives them occasion to form many connexions and entanglements with one another; and that it is with the passions [b] as with diseases: when one becomes inflamed the other does. Thus it is the fortunate man that is a source of pain to one who feels hate as well as to one who feels envy. Hence we consider goodwill to be contrary to both, as it is the wish for one's neighbour's prosperity [c]; and hatred and envy to be the same, since their aim is the contrary to that of friendship. But since similarities do not so surely make for sameness as dissimilarities make for difference, we shall endeavour to settle the question by examining the latter, noting first the origin of the two passions.

2. Now hate arises from a notion that the person hated is bad either in general or toward oneself.[d]

[a] Envy.

[b] Aristotle calls envy and hate passions: *Eth. Nic.* ii. 5. 2 (1105 b 21-23).

[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* viii. 2. 3 (1155 b 31-32), viii. 6. 1 (1158 a 7-8), ix. 5. 3 (1167 a 8-9); Andronicus, *περὶ παθῶν*, vi. 2 a (von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 432, p. 105).

[d] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 4-7).

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11 *τοῦ* U[3]*a*: *τοῦτο* LC[1] HU[1]; *τούτου* y.

537 *μενος (καὶ γὰρ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξαντες αὐτοὶ πεφύκασι μισεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλως*[1] *ἀδικητικοὺς ἢ πονηροὺς προβάλλονται καὶ δυσχεραίνουσιν)· φθονοῦσιν δὲ ἁπλῶς τοῖς εὖ πράττειν δοκοῦσιν. ὅθεν ἔοικεν ὁ*[2] *φθόνος ἀόριστος*[3] *εἶναι, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμία πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐκταρασσόμενος, τὸ δὲ μῖσος*[4] *ὥρισται, καθ' ὑποκειμένων ἀεί τινων ἀπερειδόμενον.*[5]

3. *Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ μισεῖν γίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἄλογα*[6] *ζῷα (καὶ γὰρ γαλᾶς καὶ κανθαρίδας ἔνιοι μισοῦσι καὶ φρύνους καὶ ὄφεις· Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἀλεκτρυόνος οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε ὄψιν ὑπέμεινεν· οἱ δὲ Περσῶν*
B *μάγοι τοὺς μῦς ἀπεκτίννυσαν, ὡς αὐτοί τε μισοῦντες καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχεραίνοντος τὸ ζῷον· ὁμοῦ τι*[7] *γὰρ πάντες Ἄραβες καὶ Αἰθίοπες μυσάττονται)· τὸ μέντοι φθονεῖν πρὸς μόνον ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπῳ γίνεται.*

4. *Ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις*[8] *φθόνον μὲν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐγγίνεσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλα (τοῦ γὰρ εὖ πράττειν ἢ κακῶς ἕτερον*[9] *φαντασίαν οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, οὐδὲ ἅπτεται τὸ ἔνδοξον ἢ*[10] *ἄδοξον αὐτῶν, οἷς ὁ φθόνος*

[1] *ἄλλως*] *ἄλλους* L ?C y nB. [2] *ὁ*] *ὁ μὲν* a³snBr.
[3] *ἀόριστος*] *ὁ ἄριστος* HU¹.
[4] *μῖσος* L (*μίσος* y) a³snBr : *μεῖζον*.
[5] After *ἀπερειδόμενον* we omit *πρὸς αὐτόν* (-*τὰ* y¹), for which Kronenberg conjectures *προσώπων*.
[6] *ἄλογα*] *τὰ ἄλογα* LC. [7] *τι* Reiske : *τέ*.
[8] *ἐν* (*ἐν δὲ* y) *τοῖς θηρίοις*] *κἀν* (*κᾶν* nr) *τοῖς θηρίοις δὲ* a³snBr.
[9] *ἕτερον* a³snBr (*ἕτερα* y) : *ἑτέραν*. [10] *ἢ*] *ἢ τὸ* LC.

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 1. 4 (1378 a 1-3).
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 39 E ; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ii. 7. 15 (1108 b 3-5) ; Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 52 (210), *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 7 (16), that is, von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 415, p. 101 : "invidentiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti" (*cf.* Aris-

Thus it is men's nature to hate when they think they have been wronged themselves ; and again men reprobate and view with disgust all who in any other way are given to wrongdoing [a] or wickedness. Whereas to attract envy all that is required is apparent prosperity.[b] Hence it would appear that no bounds are set to envy, which, like sore eyes,[c] is disturbed by everything resplendent [d] ; whereas hate has bounds and is in every case directed against particular subjects.

3. In the second place, even irrational animals may be objects of hate : some people hate weasels, beetles, toads, or snakes. Germanicus [e] could not abide the sound or sight of a cock ; and the Persian magi killed water mice,[f] not only because they personally hated them, but because they felt that God regarded the animal as offensive ; thus nearly all Arabs and Ethiopians loathe it. But envy occurs only between man and man.

4. In animals it is not likely that envy of one another arises,[g] as they have no notion of another's good or ill fortune, nor are they affected by glory or disgrace, things by which envy is most exasperated.[h]

totle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 9. 3, 1386 b 20-25); *Magna Moralia*, i. 27. 2 (1192 b 24-26).

[c] *Cf.* Philodemus, *περὶ κακιῶν Liber Decimus*, col. xii. 15 (ed. Jensen).

[d] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 547. 12 (p. 947).

[e] *Cf.* Olympiodorus, *In Plat. Phaedon. Comm.* p. 156. 26 f. (ed. Norvin).

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 369 F, 670 D, and J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, ii (Paris, 1938), p. 75, note 11. For attempts to identify the animal *cf.* Sir D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, pp. 166-168. E. H. Warmington suggests that it is the water-shrew or water-vole or both.

[g] But *cf. Mor.* 961 D.

[h] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 51 (208).

(537) ἐκτραχύνεται μάλιστα)· μισοῦσι δὲ ἄλληλα[1] καὶ ἀπεχθάνονται καὶ πολεμοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἀσπείστους[2] τινὰς πολέμους[3] ἀετοὶ καὶ δράκοντες, κορῶναι καὶ γλαῦκες, αἰγιθαλλοὶ καὶ ἀκανθυλλίδες,[4] ὥστε τούτων γέ φασι μηδὲ[5] τὸ αἷμα κίρνασθαι σφατ-
C τομένων, ἀλλὰ κἂν μίξῃς, ἰδίᾳ πάλιν ἀπορρεῖν[6] διακρινόμενον. εἰκὸς[7] δὲ καὶ τῷ λέοντι πρὸς τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα καὶ τῷ ἐλέφαντι πρὸς τὴν ὗν μῖσος ἰσχυρὸν γεγεννηκέναι τὸν φόβον· ὃ γὰρ δεδίασι, καὶ μισεῖν πεφύκασιν. ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντα τοῦ μίσους τὸν φθόνον, τὸ[8] μὲν δεχομένης τῆς τῶν θηρίων φύσεως, τὸν[9] δὲ μὴ δεχομένης.

5. Ἔτι τοίνυν τὸ μὲν φθονεῖν πρὸς οὐδένα γίνεται δικαίως (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀδικεῖ τῷ εὐτυχεῖν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ φθονοῦνται)· μισοῦνται δὲ πολλοὶ δικαίως, ὡς[10]
D οὓς ἀξιομισήτους καλοῦμεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν[11] ἂν μὴ φεύγωσι τοὺς τοιούτους μηδὲ βδελύττωνται[12] καὶ δυσχεραίνωσι.[13] μέγα δὲ τούτου

[1] ἄλληλα (and so L)] ἀλλήλα C^1? HU^1.
[2] ἀσπείστους Reiske (adding πολέμους before πολεμοῦσιν) : ἀπίστους.
[3] πολέμους Emperius (πολέμους τάδε Wyttenbach) : πολεμοῦσι δὲ. [4] ἀκανθυλλίδες] -θυλί- LC ; -θηλί- y.
[5] μηδὲ] μὴ LC y.
[6] ἀπορρεῖν H : ἀπορεῖν U^1 ; ἀπορρεῖ (and so U^2).
[7] εἰκὸς Stephanus : εἰκότως. [8] τὸ] τὸν U^{aras}.
[9] τὸν] τὸ LC y HU^1.
[10] ὡς] Reiske would omit.
[11] ὥστε καὶ . . . ἐγκαλοῦμεν supplied by Pohlenz.
[12] βδελύττωνται] -ονται C H nr^{ac}.
[13] δυσχεραίνωσι] -ουσι H^{ac}.

[a] For friendship among animals *cf.* Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* viii. 1. 3 (1155 a 18 f.), and the *Eudemian Ethics*, vii. 2. 17 (1236 b 6-10) and vii. 2. 53 (1238 a 32 f.).

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* ix. 1. 10 (609 a 4).

But there is mutual hatred, hostility,[a] and what might be called truceless war between eagles and snakes,[b] crows and owls,[c] titmice and goldfinches ; indeed it is said that the blood of these last will not mingle [d] when the animals are killed, but even if you mix it, separates again and runs off in two distinct streams. It is likely, moreover, that in lions the strong hatred of cocks,[e] and in elephants of swine,[f] has been engendered by fear ; for what they fear they naturally hate as well.[g] Here too, therefore, envy is seen to differ from hate, as animal nature admits the one but not the other.

5. Again, no one is ever envied with justice,[h] as no one is unjust in being fortunate, and it is for good fortune that men are envied. On the other hand, many are hated with justice, as those we call " deserving of hate " ; and we censure others when they fail to shun such persons and to feel loathing and disgust for them. Good evidence of this is the circum-

[c] *Cf. ibid.* (609 a 8) ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* v. 48.

[d] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* ix. 1. 22 (610 a 6-8) ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* x. 32 ; Pliny, *N.H.* x. 74 (205) ; Antigonus, *Mir.* chap. 114.

[e] *Cf. Mor.* 981 E ; Lucretius, iv. 710-713 ; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 19 (52) ; x. 21 (47) ; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 58 ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* iii. 31, vi. 22, viii. 28, xiv. 9 ; pseudo-Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *Probl.* i (p. 4. 22 f., ed. Ideler) ; Ambrose, *Hexaem.* vi. 4 (26) ; *Geoponica*, ii. 42. 3, xv. 1. 9 ; Aristophanes, *Hist. Animal. Epit.* ii. 155 (p. 75. 5, ed. Lambros).

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 981 E ; Seneca, *De Ira*, ii. 11 ; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 9 (27) ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* i. 38, viii. 28, xvi. 36 ; Horapollo, ii. 86 ; Polyaenus, iv. 6. 3 ; Georgius Pisides, *Hexaem.* 963 f. ; Aristophanes, *Hist. Animal. Epit.* ii. 106-107 (p. 60. 20-22, ed. Lambros) ; and Suidas, *s.v.* *κεκραγμόν*.

[g] *Cf.* Stobaeus, *Anth.* iv. 7. 20 (p. 254. 3 Hense).

[h] *Cf.* Plato, *Philebus*, 49 D 1 ; *Eudemian Ethics*, iii. 7. 12 (1234 a 30) ; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 532, and Hippothoön, Frag. 2 (*ibid.* p. 827).

(537) τεκμήριον ὅτι μισεῖν μὲν[1] πολλοὺς ὁμολογοῦσιν ἔνιοι, φθονεῖν δὲ οὐδενὶ λέγουσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ μισοπονηρία τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἐστί· καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν τοῦ Λυκούργου Χάριλλον, βασιλεύοντα τῆς Σπάρτης, ἐπιεικῆ δὲ ὄντα καὶ πρᾶον, ἐπαινούντων τινῶν ὁ συνάρχων, "καὶ πῶς," ἔφη, "χρηστός ἐστι Χάριλλος, ὃς[2] οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπός ἐστι;" καὶ τοῦ Θερσίτου ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν μὲν τοῦ σώματος κακίαν πολυμερῶς καὶ περιωδευμένως ἐξεμόρφω-
E σεν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἤθους μοχθηρίαν συντομώτατα καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἔφρασεν·

> ἔχθιστος δ' Ἀχιλῆι[3] μάλιστ' ἦν[4] ἠδ' Ὀδυσῆι[5]·

ὑπερβολὴ γάρ τις[6] φαυλότητος τὸ τοῖς κρατίστοις[7] ἐχθρὸν εἶναι. καὶ[8] φθονεῖν δὲ ἀρνοῦνται· κἂν ἐλέγχωνται,[9] μυρίας σκήψεις προΐσχονται, ὀργίζεσθαι λέγοντες ἢ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ μισεῖν, ἢ[10] ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσιν ἄλλο[11] τῷ φθόνῳ[12] τοῦ πάθους ὄνομα περιβάλλοντες καὶ καλύπτοντες[13] ὡς μόνον τοῦτο τῶν τῆς[14] ψυχῆς νοσημάτων ἀπόρρητον.

6. Ἀνάγκη τοίνυν τὰ πάθη ταῦτα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τρέφεσθαι καὶ αὔξεσθαι, διὸ καὶ[15] ἐπιτείνεσθαι[16] πέφυκεν ἄλλοις.[17] μισοῦμεν γὰρ[18]

1 μὲν] LC^1 y omit.
2 ὃς] ὡς LC^1.
3 ἀχιλῆι] -λλ- y HU s.
4 μάλιστ' ἦν a^{3}nBr^c (from -τ' ἦν) : μάλιστα ἦν (L illegible) C y ; μάλιστ' U ; μάλιστ' ω ? from μάλιστα H^2.
5 ὀδυσῆι] -σσ- (L illegible) C y HU nr ; δυσσῆι s.
6 τις] τῆς H.
7 τοῖς κρατίστοις] τοὺς κρατίστους H^{ac}.
8 καὶ] Wyttenbach would omit.
9 κἂν ἐλέγχωνται] καὶ ἐλέγχοντες (L illegible) C^1.
10 ἢ y$^{2?}$ A^{2}E : the rest omit (L illegible).
11 ἄλλο] ἄλλῳ H r^{ac}.
12 τῷ φθόνῳ] Pohlenz would omit.
13 καλύπτοντες] συγκαλύπτοντες LC y.
14 τῆς LC y H : the rest omit.

stance that while some confess that they hate a good many people, there is no one that they will say they envy. Indeed hatred of wickedness is among the things we praise [a]; and when certain persons praised Charillus, Lycurgus' nephew, who was king of Sparta, but a mild and gentle man, his colleague remarked: "How can you call Charillus a good man, when he is not even severe with scoundrels?" [b] And whereas Homer was very detailed and circumstantial in his description of Thersites' bodily deformity, he expressed the viciousness of his character very succinctly and in a single statement:

> Most hateful he to Achilles and Odysseus.[c]

For it is a kind of extreme of baseness to be hateful to the best men. But men deny [d] that they envy as well; and if you show that they do, they allege any number of excuses and say they are angry with the fellow or fear or hate him, cloaking and concealing their envy with whatever other name occurs to them for their passion, implying that among the disorders of the soul it is alone unmentionable.[e]

6. Now these passions, like plants, must also feed and grow with what produces them.[f] They are consequently intensified by different things. Thus while

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 451 D-E and [Aristotle], *De Virt. et Vit.* 1250 b 23 f.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 55 E, 218 B, 452 D, and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. v. 9 (42 D). [c] *Il.* ii. 220, quoted also in *Mor.* 30 A.

[d] *Cf.* Arrian, *Epict.* ii. 21. 3.

[e] *Cf.* Basil, *De Invidia*, 92 A.

[f] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ii. 2. 8 (1104 a 27 f.).

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[15] *διὸ καὶ* nos (*ὅθεν καὶ* Pohlenz; *καὶ γὰρ οὐκ* Kronenberg): *καί.* [16] *ἐπιτείνεσθαι* Wyttenbach: *ἐπιγίνεσθαι.*

[17] *ἄλλοις* nos (*ἄλλα ἄλλοις* Post, who reads *ταὐτὰ* for *ταῦτα* above): *ἀλλήλοις.* [18] *γὰρ* nos: *γε* (and so Post).

(537) F μᾶλλον τοὺς μᾶλλον[1] εἰς πονηρίαν ἐπιδιδόντας, φθονοῦσι δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς μᾶλλον[2] ἐπ' ἀρετῇ προϊέναι δοκοῦσι. διὸ καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν οὐδὲν ἔφη πράττειν λαμπρόν· οὔπω γὰρ φθονεῖσθαι. καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ κανθαρίδες ἐμφύονται μάλιστα τῷ ἀκμάζοντι σίτῳ καὶ τοῖς εὐθαλέσι ῥόδοις, οὕτως ὁ φθόνος ἅπτεται μάλιστα τῶν χρηστῶν καὶ αὐξομένων πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν ἠθῶν καὶ προσώπων. καὶ τοὐναντίον αὖ πάλιν αἱ μὲν ἄκρατοι πονηρίαι συνεπιτείνουσι[3] τὸ μῖσος. τοὺς γοῦν Σωκράτη
538 συκοφαντήσαντας ὡς εἰς ἔσχατον κακίας ἐληλακότας[4] οὕτως ἐμίσησαν οἱ πολῖται καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν ὡς μήτε πῦρ αὔειν μήτε ἀποκρίνεσθαι πυνθανομένοις, μὴ[5] λουομένοις κοινωνεῖν ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζειν ἐκχεῖν[6] ἐκεῖνο τοὺς παραχύτας[7] ὡς μεμιασμένον, ἕως ἀπήγξαντο μὴ φέροντες τὸ μῖσος. αἱ δὲ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ὑπεροχαὶ καὶ λαμπρότητες πολλάκις τὸν φθόνον κατασβεννύουσιν. οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς[8] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τινὰ φθονεῖν οὐδὲ Κύρῳ κρατήσασι καὶ γενομένοις κυρίοις ἁπάντων. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος ὧν ἂν ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς γένηται καταχεό-
B μενος[9] τὸ φῶς ἢ παντάπασι τὴν σκιὰν ἀνεῖλεν ἢ

[1] μᾶλλον] L ?C^1 y omit. [2] μᾶλλον] LC^1 y^1 omit.
[3] συνεπιτείνουσι] συντείνουσι H.
[4] ἐληλακότας (and so a^2; -τα B)] συνεληλακότας (L illegible) C; συνηλακότας y HUa^1?. [5] μὴ] μήτε Reiske.
[6] ἐκχεῖν y a^{3}snBr^{c}E: ἔγχεῖν (sic) L; ἔχειν C; ἐγχεῖν HU.
[7] παραχύτας] -ης LC^{ac}. [8] εἰκὸς H A^{2}B: ἐοικός.
[9] καταχεόμενος a^{ras}snBr: καταχεάμενος C^{ac} ? y^1 H; καὶ καταχεόμενος LC^c Ua$^{a ras}$.

[a] In 537 A it was prosperity that excited envy. But virtue

our hatred increases as the hated progress in vice, envy on the other hand increases with the apparent progress of the envied in virtue.[a] This explains why when Themistocles was still a youth he said that he was doing nothing remarkable, as he was not yet envied.[b] For just as beetles appear most of all in grain when it is ripe for harvest and in roses when they are in full bloom, so envy fastens most of all on characters and persons that are good and increasing in virtue and fame. In contrast unredeemed villainies intensify hate. At any rate, those who brought false charges against Socrates, being held to have reached the limit of baseness, were so hated and shunned by their countrymen that no one would lend them light for a fire, answer their questions, or bathe in the same water, but made the attendants pour it out as polluted, until the men hanged themselves, finding the hatred unendurable.[c] On the other hand supreme and resplendent good fortune often extinguishes envy.[d] For it is hardly likely that anyone envied Alexander or Cyrus when they had prevailed and become masters of the world. But just as the sun, when it stands directly over a man's head, pouring down its light, either quite obliterates his shadow [e] or makes it small,

is the greatest blessing (*cf.* 538 D, *infra*), and there is no greater prosperity than the possession of it.

[b] *Cf.* Hippasos, Frag. 6 (Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], i, p. 109. 1-3); Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, Adespota, 385.

[c] Conflicting stories of the fate of Anytus and Meletus are found in Diogenes Laert. ii. 43, vi. 9-10; Diodorus, xiv. 37. 7; and Themistius, *Or.* 20 (239 C). Plutarch's story illustrates Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ix. 4. 8 (1166 b 11-13).

[d] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 10. 5 (1388 a 11 f.).

[e] For envy as the shadow of glory *cf.* Stobaeus, *Anth.* iii. 38. 35 (p. 715. 15-18 Hense).

(538) μικρὰν ἐποίησεν, οὕτω πολὺ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ὕψος λαβόντων καὶ γενομένων κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοῦ φθόνου συστέλλεται καὶ ἀναχωρεῖ καταλαμπόμενος· τὸ μέντοι μῖσος οὐκ ἀνίησιν ἡ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπεροχὴ καὶ δύναμις. ὁ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος φθονοῦντα μὲν οὐδένα εἶχεν, μισοῦντας δὲ πολλούς, ὑφ' ὧν τέλος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. ὁμοίως τοίνυν καὶ τὰ δυστυχήματα τοὺς μὲν φθονοῦντας παύει τὰς δ' αὖ ἔχθρας οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ. μισοῦσι γὰρ καὶ ταπεινοὺς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς γενομένους, φθονεῖ[1] δὲ οὐδεὶς τῷ δυστυχοῦντι,
C ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπό τινος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς σοφιστῶν, ὅτι[2] ἥδιστα οἱ φθονοῦντες ἐλεοῦσιν, ἀληθές ἐστιν. ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ[3] μεγάλην εἶναι τῶν παθῶν διαφοράν, ὡς τὸ μὲν[4] μῖσος οὔτε εὐτυχούντων οὔτε δυστυχούντων ἀφίστασθαι πέφυκεν, ὁ δὲ φθόνος πρὸς τὴν ἀμφοῖν ὑπερβολὴν ἀπαγορεύει.

7. Ἔτι τοίνυν—ἢ[5] μᾶλλον οὕτως—ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ αὐτὸ σκοπῶμεν. λύουσι γὰρ ἔχθρας καὶ μῖσος ἢ πεισθέντες μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι ἢ δόξαν ὡς χρηστῶν οὓς ἐμίσουν ὡς πονηροὺς λαβόντες ἢ τρίτον εὖ παθόντες· " ἡ γὰρ τελευταία[6] χάρις," ὡς[7] Θουκυδίδης φησί, " κἂν ἐλάττων ᾖ, καιρὸν ἔχουσα δύναται
D μεῖζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι." τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐ λύει τὸν φθόνον (πεπεισμένοι γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι φθονοῦσι), τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ παρ-

[1] φθονεῖ] φθονοῦσι LC[1]. [2] ὅτι] H omits.
[3] ταύτῃ Reiske : ταύτην.
[4] μὲν] LC[1] y omit.
[5] ἢ] καὶ a[3]snBr ; y omits ; Pohlenz puts it after μᾶλλον.
[6] τελευταία] τελευταῖα L HU[1] sn.
[7] ὡς] ὁ LC[1].

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch, Frag. xxiii. 2 Bernardakis.
[b] *Cf. Life of Alexander*, chap. lxx. 7 (707 A).

so when good fortune attains great elevation and comes to stand high over envy, then envy diminishes and withdraws, being overcome by the blaze of glory.[a] Hate, however, is not made to relent by the pre-eminence and power of one's enemies. Alexander certainly had none who envied, but many who hated him, and it was these who plotted against him and killed him in the end.[b] So too with misfortunes : they put a stop to envy but not to hate, for men hate even their humbled enemies,[c] whereas no one envies the unfortunate. Rather it is a true remark of a certain sophist [d] of our day that those who envy take the greatest delight in pitying. Here too, therefore, there is a great difference between the two passions, since it is the nature of hate to depart from neither the fortunate nor the unfortunate, whereas envy is no longer sustained when either fortune is at its height.[e]

7. Again—or rather this is what we have just been doing—, let us examine the same principle in its negative aspect. Men forgo hostility and hate either when convinced that no injustice is being done them, or when they adopt the view that those they hated as evil are good, or thirdly when they have received from them some benefit, " for the final service," as Thucydides [f] says, " though small, if opportunely bestowed, wipes out a greater disservice." Now the first of these circumstances does not wipe out envy ; for men feel it though persuaded from the first that no injustice is being done them.[g] The other two actually

[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 14).
[d] Unidentified.
[e] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 10. 5 (1388 a 11 f.).
[f] i. 42. 3.
[g] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 9. 3 (1386 b 20-25), and Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 8 (17).

(538) *οξύνει· τοῖς τε γὰρ δοκοῦσι χρηστοῖς βασκαίνουσι μᾶλλον, ὡς δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσι, κἂν εὖ πάσχωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχούντων, ἀνιῶνται φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἐστι τὸ δὲ εὐτυχίας, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἀμφότερα. διὸ παντελῶς ἕτερόν ἐστι τοῦ μίσους,*[1] *εἰ δι' ὧν ἐκεῖνο πραΰνεται τοῦτο λυπεῖται καὶ παροξύνεται.*

8. *Ἤδη τοίνυν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτὴν ἑκατέρου πάθους σκοπῶμεν. ἔστι δὲ μισοῦντος μὲν*
E *προαίρεσις κακῶς ποιῆσαι (καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὕτως ὁρίζονται, διάθεσίν τινα καὶ προαίρεσιν ἐπιτηρητικὴν τοῦ κακῶς ποιῆσαι), τῷ φθόνῳ δὲ τοῦτο γοῦν ἄπεστιν, πολλοὺς γὰρ*[2] *οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν συνήθων καὶ οἰκείων ἀπολέσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιεν οὐδὲ δυστυχῆσαι, βαρύνονται δὲ εὐτυχοῦντας· καὶ κολούουσι*[3] *μέν, εἰ δύνανται, τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ λαμπρότητα, συμφορὰς δὲ ἀνηκέστους οὐκ ἂν προσβάλοιεν,*[4] *ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἰκίας ὑπερεχούσης τὸ ἐπισκοτοῦν αὐτοῖς καθελόντες ἀρκοῦνται.*

[1] After *μίσους* LC y U[3ss] add *πάθος ὁ φθόνος*, which HU[1] omit.
[2] *γὰρ*] supplied by Stephanus.
[3] *κολούουσι* Bern. : *κωλύουσι*.
[4] *προσβάλοιεν* H ?U : *προβάλοιεν* (L illegible) C[1] y[2] (-λλ- y[1]).

[a] *Cf.* Basil, *De Invidia*, 93 c.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 87 B ; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 8) ; Diogenes Laert. vii. 113 (von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 396, p. 96) : *μῖσος δέ ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία τις τοῦ κακῶς εἶναί τινι μετὰ προκοπῆς τινος καὶ παρατάσεως.*
[c] Thus Aristotle speaks of an "intention" in friendship and says that the intention proceeds from a "habit" : *Eth.*

exasperate it : for enviers eye more jealously those who enjoy a reputation for goodness, feeling that they possess the greatest blessing, virtue ; and even if they receive some benefit from the fortunate, are tormented,[a] envying them for both the intention and the power. For the intention proceeds from their virtue, the power from their good fortune, and both are blessings. It is therefore quite distinct from hate, if what soothes the one torments and embitters the other.

8. Let us therefore now take the intention of each of the two passions and examine it by itself. The intention of the hater is to injure,[b] and the meaning of hate is thus defined : it is a certain disposition and intention [c] awaiting the opportunity to injure.[d] In envy this, at any rate, is absent. For there are many of their intimates and connexions [e] that the envious would not be willing to see destroyed [f] or suffer misfortune, although tormented by their good fortune ; and while they abridge their fame and glory if they can, they would not, on the other hand, afflict them with irreparable calamities, but as with a house towering above their own, are content to pull down the part that casts them in the shade.[g]

Nic. viii. 5. 4 (1157 b 29-31) ; *cf. Eudemian Ethics*, vii. 2. 35 (1237 a 33 f.).

[d] For " awaiting the opportunity to injure " *cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 5. 8 (1382 b 10 f.), and the Stoic definition of κότος (von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 395, 397, 398, pp. 96. 17 and 42 and 97. 25 f.), which was suggested, like that of χόλος, by Homer, *Il.* i. 81-83.

[e] For friends as the object of envy *cf.* Plato, *Philebus*, 48 B 11, 49 D 6, 50 A 2-3, the *Definitions*, 416. 13, and Xenophon, *Mem.* iii. ix. 8.

[f] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 15).

[g] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Mem.* iii. ix. 8 and Chrysippus' definition of envy (*Mor.* 1046 B-C).

ON PRAISING ONESELF INOFFENSIVELY
(DE SE IPSUM CITRA INVIDIAM LAUDANDO)

INTRODUCTION

In this essay Plutarch takes a topic of the rhetorical schools, " How to praise oneself inoffensively," [a] and treats it as a moralist. Neither Plato nor Aristotle discusses self-praise ; the nearest approach is the passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (iv. 7) on the *alazōn* and the *eirōn* (the " boastful " and the " mock-modest " man, as Ross translates). These Aristotle judges according to the truth or falsity of their claims, whereas Plutarch supposes his statesman virtuous and truthful and deals with the ends that justify him in praising himself and the devices that by making the self-praise palatable enable him to use it so as to achieve those ends.

This adaptation of rhetorical precepts to a moral use has led to a certain enlargement of the point of view. Thus in the earlier and more rhetorically

[a] See L. Radermacher's illuminating discussion, " Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Rhetorik, II: Plutarchs Schrift de se ipso citra invidiam laudando," *Rheinisches Museum*, lii (1897), pp. 419-424, and M. Pohlenz' concluding remarks in " Eine byzantinische Recension Plutarchischer Schriften," *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1913, pp. 358 f. The very term for self-praise, *periautologia*, that is used by the rhetoricians (see Alexander in Spengel, *Rhet. Graec.* iii, p. 4. 9 and Plutarch, 539 E) comes from the softened expression " to speak about myself " that Demosthenes uses in the oration *On the Crown* (4 and 321) ; and it is probable that the whole topic was suggested to the rhetoricians by that oration.

coloured parts of the essay Plutarch speaks of " the statesman " [a] ; later he speaks more generally of " us " [b] ; again he at times has an actual oration in mind,[c] but elsewhere writes as if the scene of the self-praise were an ordinary conversation or the circle of some grandee. Plutarch doubtless felt that only the statesman was justified in praising himself ; in any case the expansion is natural enough : the rhetorical precepts were formulated for actual speech-making, whereas the moralist is concerned with all self-praise, not least when it occurs in daily life.

The essay falls into three main parts : the introduction, the discussion of the circumstances that justify self-praise and of the devices that make it acceptable, and advice for avoiding it when it is uncalled for.

1. Self-praise is offensive for a number of reasons. The statesman will however risk it when to accomplish some worthy end he must establish his own character with the audience. Other justifications Plutarch will consider later.[d] Everywhere, however, we must see to it that the self-praise does not have a " frivolous " [e] and offensive character.

2. Plutarch now tells how offence is avoided and

[a] *Cf.* 539 E, 539 F, 541 C, 542 E, 545 D, and 545 E.

[b] *Cf.* ἕκαστος 546 B and the first person plural at 546 F (δοκῶμεν), 547 A (οἱ δ' ἄλλοι . . . ὀφείλομεν), and 547 F (ἀφεξόμεθα).

[c] *Cf.* 540 C and ἀκροατήν at 542 C and 545 D.

[d] They are given in chapters 15-17, summarized in the second part of the following paragraph.

[e] " Frivolous " or " purposeless " or " vain "—*kenos* is literally " empty "—self-praise is defined (540 A) as that of persons *thought* to praise themselves for no other reason than to receive praise. One might have expected to hear that ill-advised self-praise *is* praise of themselves by such persons. But Plutarch, unlike the rhetoricians, supposes the speaker

gives further reasons for self-praise. Self-praise escapes censure when the speaker is defending himself, is unfortunate, or is the victim of injustice ; again it is acceptable when it is presented indirectly, the speaker showing that the opposite of the conduct with which he is charged would have been shameful ; when it is interwoven with praise of the audience ; when it appears as praise of others of similar merit[a] ; when the credit is given partly to chance and partly to God ; when praise has already been introduced by others, and the speaker corrects it ; when he includes in it certain shortcomings of his own ; or when he mentions the hardships endured in winning the praise. But suspicion of vanity is also avoided when the self-praise is beneficial. A man then might praise himself to arouse emulation in his hearers, to check the headstrong, to overawe an enemy or raise the spirits of his friends ; and to prevent vice from being commended he might even set his own praises against those of others.

3. Lastly precepts are given for avoiding unseasonable self-praise. There are circumstances of special danger : when we hear others praised, when we recount some lucky exploit of our own (and especially when we tell of praises received), and when we censure others. Those with a craving for glory must be especially careful to abstain from self-praise when praised by others. The best precaution of all is to

virtuous and truthful, and therefore not really guilty of mere vanity. Yet for self-praise, even by such a speaker, to achieve its worthy end it must not alienate the audience, or be *thought* to proceed from a mere hunger for praise.

[a] Plutarch hints (542 E) that this device can be used at all times, even when the speaker is under no compulsion to praise himself.

remember vividly the bad impression made on us by others' praise of themselves.[a]

If, as seems likely, the Herculanus to whom the essay is addressed is C. Julius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius (for whom see Groag in Pauly-Wissowa x, coll. 580-585), it belongs to Plutarch's old age. It is No. 85 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

There are Latin translations by Julius Gabrielius (Gabrielli) [b] and Thomas Naogeorgus (Kirchmeyer),[c] and an Italian translation by L. Domenichi.[d]

The text rests on C G Xυ I W 𝔍 D RySs hki JK Zab N Mϵ Vvw Ylfpq. Once α^2 is quoted for a conjecture.

[a] In moral treatises of this sort it was common to pass from the disorder to the cure : *cf. Mor.* 510 c-d, 517 c, 536 c-d, and Pohlenz, " Ueber Plutarchs Schrift περὶ ἀοργησίας," *Hermes*, xxxi (1896), pp. 328-329.

[b] *Quomodo aliquis sese laudare sine invidia possit. Plutarchi libellus ad Herculanum,* à Iulio Gabrielio Eugubino Latine redditus. Rome, 1552.

[c] *Plutarchi . . . Libelli septem in latinum conversi, . . .* Thoma Naogeorgo . . . interprete. Basle, 1556.

[d] *Opere Morali di Plutarcho,* nuovamente tradotte, per M. Lodovico Domenichi . . . Come altri possa lodarsi da se stesso senza biasimo . . . Lucca, 1560.

539 # ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ ΑΝΕΠΙΦΘΟΝΩΣ[1]

1. Τὸ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ[2] λέγειν ὥς τι ὄντος ἢ δυναμένου πρὸς ἑτέρους, ὦ Ἡρκλανέ,[3] λόγῳ μὲν ἐπαχθὲς
B ἀποφαίνουσιν,[4] ἔργῳ δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ τὴν ἀηδίαν αὐτοῦ διαπεφεύγασιν οὐδὲ τῶν ψεγόντων. ὁ γοῦν Εὐριπίδης εἰπὼν

εἰ δ' ἦσαν ἀνθρώποισιν ὠνητοὶ λόγοι
οὐδεὶς ἂν αὑτὸν[5] εὖ λέγειν ἐβούλετο·
νῦν δ', ἐκ βαθείας γὰρ πάρεστιν αἰθέρος[6]
λαβεῖν ἀμισθί, πᾶς τις ἥδεται λέγων
τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μή· ζημίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει·

C φορτικωτάτῃ κέχρηται μεγαλαυχίᾳ τῷ συγκαταπλέκειν[7] τοῖς τραγῳδουμένοις πάθεσι καὶ πράγμασι μηδὲν προσήκοντα τὸν περὶ αὑτοῦ λόγον. ὁμοίως ὁ Πίνδαρος φήσας

καὶ τὸ καυχᾶσθαι παρὰ καιρὸν μανίαις[8] ὑποκρέκειν[9]

[1] π. τοῦ ἑαυτ. ἐπ. ἀν.] πῶς ἄν τις ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινέσειεν ἀν. Lamprias ; ἐν ἄλλῳ περὶ τοῦ πότε καὶ πῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν χρὴ υ^{1mg} S^{2mg} ; π. τοῦ ἐπ. ἀν. y^2 (y^1 omits).

[2] ἑαυτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ τί C ; αὑτοῦ G^c (αὐτοῦ G^{ac} Vvw).

[3] Ἡρκλανέ Kontos and Hatzidakis : ἥρκλανε I^2 (ἤρκλανε C G X^{1}υ I^1 W DZab M^2 Vvw) ; ἠρκλάνε (no accent in y ; ἡρκλάνε fpq).

ON PRAISING ONESELF INOFFENSIVELY

1. In theory, my dear Herculanus, it is agreed that to speak to others of one's own importance or power is offensive, but in practice not many even of those who condemn such conduct avoid the odium of it. Thus Euripides [a] says :

> If speech were got by purchase, there is none
> Would care to lay out money on self-praise.
> But since the bounteous air provides it free
> There's none but dwells with pleasure on his merits
> Real or fancied, for it costs him nothing.

Yet he brags most intolerably, interweaving with the calamities and concerns of his tragedies the irrelevant theme of his own praise. Pindar does the like. Though he says [b]

> Untimely vaunting plays the tune for madness

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* pp. 675 f., Eur. no. 978.
[b] *Olympian Odes*, ix. 41 f.

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4 *ἀποφαίνουσιν* D Ry^1S^1s N M Yl : *ἀποφαίνουσι πάντες καὶ ἀνελεύθερον.*
5 *αὑτὸν* or *αὐτὸν*] *αὐτῶν* G $Ry^1S^1s^1$ hki^1(*αὑ-* i^2) Z N^2 l^2.
6 *αἰθέρος*] *αἰθρίας* D^2.
7 *τῶ συγκ.* $X^3\epsilon$: *καὶ τὸ συγκ.* C G^1? $X^1\upsilon$ I Ry^1Ss hi K^{1t} N^2 M Vvw Yl ; *καὶ τῷ συγκ.* G^4k W y^2 JK^{1ss} Zab N^1 fpq ; *συνκαταπλέκων* D.
8 *μανίαις*] *μανίαισιν* Pindar and s ; *μανίας* X^3 W^{ac} M^1 w.
9 *ὑποκρέκειν* (*-κέ-* M^1)] *ὑποκραίκειν* Ry^1S^1 i ; *κηθερίζειν ὑποκρέκκειν* N.

(539) οὐ παύεται μεγαληγορῶν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως, ἀξίας μὲν[1] ἐγκωμίων οὔσης—τίς γὰρ οὔ φησιν;—ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στεφανουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἕτεροι νικῶντας ἀναγορεύουσι, τὴν ἀηδίαν τῆς περιαυτολογίας ἀφαιροῦντες. ᾗ[2] καὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Φρύνιδος νίκῃ γράφοντα,

μακάριος ἦσθα, Τιμόθεος,[3] εὖτε[4] κᾶρυξ[5]
εἶπεν, "νικᾷ Τιμόθεος
Μιλήσιος[6] τὸν Κάμωνος[7] τὸν ἰωνοκάμπταν,"[8]

D εἰκότως δυσχεραίνομεν ὡς ἀμούσως καὶ παρανόμως ἀνακηρύττοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην. αὑτῷ μὲν γὰρ ὁ παρ' ἄλλων ἔπαινος ἥδιστον ἀκουσμάτων ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἴρηκεν, ἑτέροις δὲ ὁ περὶ αὑτοῦ λυπηρότατον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀναισχύντους ἡγούμεθα τοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας, αἰδεῖσθαι προσῆκον αὐτοῖς κἂν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινῶνται· δεύτερον δὲ ἀδίκους, ἃ λαμβάνειν ἔδει παρ' ἑτέρων αὐτοὺς αὑτοῖς[9] διδόντας· τρίτον ἢ σιωπῶντες ἄχθεσθαι καὶ φθονεῖν δοκοῦμεν, ἢ τοῦτο δεδοικότες ἀναγκαζόμεθα συνεφάπτεσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τῶν ἐπαίνων
E καὶ συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν, πρᾶγμα κολακείᾳ μᾶλλον ἀνελευθέρῳ προσῆκον ἢ τιμῇ τὸ ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας ὑπομένοντες.

2. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω τούτων ἐχόντων

[1] μὲν] μὴ y^{1} ; X^{ras}ε y^{2} ab^{ras} omit.
[2] ᾗ (ἧ Yq)] ἡ C^{1} G^{1} X^{1}υ W M^{1} Vvw l ; N omits.
[3] Τιμόθεος Hartung : τιμόθεε.
[4] εὖτε Wilamowitz : ὅτε (ὅτι G$^{ac?}$ X^{1}υ).
[5] κᾶρυξ W s k Vvw Y^{2} l^{2} (κάρυξ G^{1} υ D RyS hi N MC^{2} Y^{1}l^{1}fpq) : κῆρυξ C^{1} G^{3} X$^{3?}$ JK ab (κήρυξ X^{1} Z).
[6] Μιλήσιος Bergk : ὁ μιλήσιος (-εως N).
[7] Κάμωνος Pollux : κάρωνος D^{c} (from -να) y ; κάρβωνος.

he never wearies of extolling his own powers, which indeed deserve all praise—who denies it ?— ; but even the winners of the crown at the games are proclaimed victors by others, who thus remove the odium of self-praise. Thus when Timotheüs [a] writes in celebration of his triumph over Phrynis,

> O blest wert thou, Timotheüs, when the herald
> Called forth : " Timotheüs of Miletus wins
> The prize from Camon's son, the modulator
> Of soft Ionic cadences,"

we are properly disgusted at this jarring and irregular [b] heralding of his own victory. For while praise from others, as Xenophon [c] said, is the most pleasant of recitals, praise of ourselves is for others most distressing. For first we regard self-praisers as shameless, since they should be embarrassed even by praise from others [d] ; second as unfair, as they arrogate to themselves what it is for others to bestow ; and in the third place if we listen in silence we appear disgruntled and envious, while if we shy at this we are forced to join in the eulogies and confirm them against our better judgement, thus submitting to a thing more in keeping with unmanly flattery than with the showing of esteem—the praise of a man to his face.

2. Yet in spite of all this there are times when the

[a] Frag. 27 (ed. Wilamowitz).
[b] It violated the regulations that governed such contests.
[c] *Memorabilia*, ii. 1. 31.
[d] *Cf.* Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 128, quoted also by Quintilian, *Education of the Orator*, xi. 1. 22.

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8 *ἰωνοκάμπταν* G[1t] X*υ* y[2]S[2] MC[3?] Vvw Ypq (*-παν* C[1] W D Ry[1]S[1]s hki N f [*οἰονοκάμπαν* l] ; *-πτην* G[1ss]) : *οἰωνοκάμπτην* J[1]K ; *πιτυοκάμπτην* Z (*-πην* ab).
9 *αὑτοὺς αὑτοῖς* Kronenberg : *αὐτοῖς* or *αὑτοῖς* (*αὐτοὺς* X[1]).

(539) ἔστιν ᾗ παρακινδυνεύσειεν ἂν ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ
ἅψασθαι τῆς καλουμένης περιαυτολογίας, πρὸς οὐ-
δεμίαν αὑτοῦ δόξαν ἢ χάριν, ἀλλὰ καιροῦ καὶ
πράξεως ἀπαιτούσης ὡς περὶ ἄλλου τι[1] λεχθῆναι
καὶ περὶ αὑτοῦ[2] τῶν ἀληθῶν[3]· μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ᾖ
τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ προσόντα χρηστὰ μὴ[4] φεισά-
μενον εἰπεῖν[5] διαπράξασθαί τι τῶν ὁμοίων. καλὸν
γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔπαινος ἐκφέρει[6] καρπόν, ὥσπερ
F ἀπὸ σπέρματος πλειόνων ἑτέρων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
κρειττόνων φυομένων ἐπαίνων. καὶ γὰρ τὴν δόξαν
ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὥς τινα μισθὸν ἢ παραμυθίαν
τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπαιτεῖ καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ταῖς πράξεσι παροῦ-
σαν ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ πιστεύεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν χρηστὸν
εἶναι πλειόνων καὶ καλλιόνων πράξεων ἀφορμὰς
δίδωσι. πειθομένους γὰρ ἅμα καὶ φιλοῦντας ἡδὺ
καὶ ῥᾴδιον ὠφελεῖν, πρὸς δὲ ὑποψίαν καὶ διαβολὴν
οὐκ ἔστι χρήσασθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ, φεύγοντας εὖ
παθεῖν προσβιαζόμενον. εἰ δὲ καὶ δι' ἑτέρας αἰτίας[7]
540 ὁ πολιτικὸς ἂν[8] αὑτὸν ἐπαινέσειε σκεπτέον,[9] ὅπως
ἐξευλαβούμενοι τὸ κενὸν καὶ δυσχεραινόμενον, εἴ τι
χρήσιμον ἔχει μὴ παραλίπωμεν.[10]

3. Ἔστιν οὖν κενὸς ἔπαινος ὁ τῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν ὅπως ἐπαινεθῶσι δοκούντων, καὶ καταφρονεῖται μάλιστα, φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα γίνεσθαι καὶ δόξης ἀκαί-

[1] ὡς περὶ ἄλλου τι Wyttenbach : ὥς περί ἄλλό τι $K^{3(?)}$; ὥσπερ ἄλλό τι (ὥσπερ ἀλλ' ὅτι $X^1υ$).

[2] αὑτοῦ (αὐ-)] αυτοῦ τι D.

[3] ἀληθῶν] ἀληθινῶν W D hki.

[4] μὴ Pohlenz : τὸ μὴ (τῶ μὴ $Dϵ^{2ss}$ $S^{2?}$s hki JK w^1 ; τὸν μὴ R ; τῶν μὴ $y^{1?}S^1$).

[5] εἰπεῖν D : εἰπεῖν ἤ.

[6] ἐκφέρει (ἐκφέρεται Z)] ἐπιφέρει C.

[7] ἑτέρας αἰτίας Pohlenz : ἑτέρας αἰτίας τινὰς D ; ἑτέρας (-ων S^{1t}) τινὸς Ry^1Ss ; ἑτέρας τινὰς.

[8] ἂν] Dϵ RySs hk^1i omit.

statesman might venture on self-glorification, as it is called,[a] not for any personal glory or pleasure, but when the occasion and the matter in hand demand that the truth be told about himself, as it might about another—especially when by permitting himself to mention his good accomplishments and character he is enabled to achieve some similar good. For such praise as this yields a handsome return, as a greater harvest of yet nobler praise springs up from it as from a seed. Indeed it is not as a reward or compensation for his merit that the statesman demands recognition and values it when accorded to his acts: he does so rather because the enjoyment of confidence and good repute affords means for further and yet nobler actions.[b] For when men are trusting and friendly it is pleasant and easy to do them good; whereas in the presence of distrust and dislike it is impossible to put one's merit to use and force benefits on those who shun them. Whether there are also other reasons for a statesman's self-praise is a question to consider, so that, while avoiding all that is frivolous and offensive in the practice, we may not overlook its possible uses.

3. Now the praise is frivolous which men are felt to bestow upon themselves merely to receive it; and it is held in the greatest contempt, as it appears to aim at gratifying ambition and an unseasonable appetite

[a] *Periautologia* (self-glorification) is a technical term in rhetoric: see Introduction, p. 110, note.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 777 E-F, 821 C.

[9] *σκεπτέον* Pohlenz: *τίνες εἰσὶν αὗται* (*αὗται* X[1]) *σκ.* G X[3]*ε υ* W ab; *σκ. τίνες εἰσὶν* (*σκ. τινές εἰσιν* [*σκ. τινές ει-* N[1]] N[2] M Yfpq) *αὗται* (*τίνες αὗται εἰσὶ σκ.* J[1]K; *τίνες* [-*ος* v] *σκ. εἰσὶν αὗται* Vvw).
[10] *παραλίπωμεν* (-*πο-* N)] *παραλείπωμεν* D*ε*[2ss] p[1].

(540) ρου φαινόμενος. ὡς γὰρ οἱ τροφῆς ἀποροῦντες ἐξ[1] αὑτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀναγκάζονται παρὰ φύσιν τρέφεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ λιμοῦ τέλος ἐστίν, οὕτως οἱ πεινῶντες ἐπαίνων, ἂν μὴ τυγχάνωσιν[2] ἑτέρων ἐπαινούντων, αὐτοὶ τῇ φιλοδοξίᾳ παρ' αὑτῶν ἐπ-
B αρκεῖν τι βούλεσθαι καὶ συνεισφέρειν δοκοῦντες ἀσχημονοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ μηδὲ[3] ἁπλῶς καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς[4] ἐπαινεῖσθαι ζητῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἁμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους ἐπαίνους ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἀντιπαραβάλλωσιν[5] αὑτῶν ὡς ἀμαυρώσοντες[6] ἑτέρους, πρὸς τῷ κενῷ βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ κακόηθες ποιοῦσιν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ χορῷ πόδα τιθέντα[7] περίεργον ἡ παροιμία καὶ γελοῖον ἀποδείκνυσι,[8] τὴν δὲ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπαίνοις εἰς μέσον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας ἐξωθουμένην περιαυτολογίαν εὖ μάλα δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ ἑτέρων ὑπομένειν ἐπαι-
C νούντων αὑτόν,[9] ἀλλὰ παραχωρεῖν τοῖς τιμωμένοις ἀξίοις οὖσιν[10]· ἂν δὲ ἀνάξιοι καὶ φαῦλοι δόξωσιν εἶναι, μὴ[11] τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπαίνοις ἀφαιρώμεθα τοὺς ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἐλέγχοντες καὶ δεικνύντες οὐ προσηκόντως εὐδοκιμοῦντας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δῆλον ὅτι φυλακτέον.

4. Αὑτὸν δὲ ἐπαινεῖν ἀμέμπτως ἐστὶ πρῶτον μὲν

[1] ἐξ] W omits.
[2] τυγχάνωσιν (-σι $X^{1γρ}υ^{1γρ}$)] τύχωσιν (-σι X^{1t})$υ^{1t}$ I JK Zab M^2.
[3] μηδὲ] μὴ G^{ac}.
[4] αὑτοὺς] ἑαυτοὺς Dε $y^{2?}$ JK Zab M.
[5] ἀντιπαραβάλλωσιν (-περι- vw)] ἀντιπαραβάλωσιν $R^{ac?}$y h^1? N M^1 Yfpq.

for fame. For just as those who can find no other food are compelled to feed unnaturally on their own persons,[a] and this is the extremity of famine, so when those who hunger for praise cannot find others to praise them, they give the appearance of seeking sustenance and succour for their vainglorious appetite from themselves, a graceless spectacle. But when they do not even seek to be praised simply and in themselves, but try to rival the honour that belongs to others and set against it their own accomplishments and acts in the hope of dimming the glory of another, their conduct is not only frivolous, but envious and spiteful as well. For the proverb [b] makes of him who sets foot in another's chorus a meddler and a fool; and self-praise that is thrust by envy and jealousy among praises of others should be most diligently avoided; indeed we should not even endure such praise from others, but should give place to those on whom honour is conferred when they deserve it. If we hold them undeserving and of little worth, let us not strip them of their praise by presenting our own, but plainly refute their claim and show their reputation to be groundless. Here then is something we clearly must avoid.

4. In the first place self-praise goes unresented if

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 1100 B.

[b] *Cf.* Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 690, and *Mor.* 673 D.

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[6] ἀμαυρώσοντες] ἀμαυρώσαντες G[1] X[1]υ I W Vvw.
[7] τιθέντα] κινοῦντα W.
[8] ἀποδείκνυσι] δείκνυσι D.
[9] ὑπ. ἐπ. αὐτὸν (αὐτὸν s[1] M[c] p)] ἐπ. αὐτ. ὑπ. D (ἐπ. ὑπ. αὐτὸν ε).
[10] ἀξίοις οὖσιν G X[1t]ευ[1t] W JK M[2]: ἂν ἄξιοι ὦσιν (-σι X[1γρ]υ[1γρ]; ἂν ὦσιν ἄξιοι Zab).
[11] μὴ] μηδὲ D[1] N.

(540) ἂν[1] ἀπολογούμενος τοῦτο ποιῇς[2] πρὸς διαβολὴν ἢ κατηγορίαν, ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς· "καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε[3] ὃς οὐδενὸς ἥσσων οἴομαι εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων." οὐ γὰρ μόνον
D ἀλαζονείαν καὶ κενότητα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐκπέφευγε τὸ[4] λέγειν τι[5] τηνικαῦτα περὶ αὑτοῦ[6] σεμνόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρόνημα καὶ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς διαδείκνυσι τῷ[7] μὴ ταπεινοῦσθαι ταπεινούσης καὶ χειρουμένης τὸν φθόνον. οὐδὲ γὰρ κρίνειν ἔτι[8] τοὺς τοιούτους ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίρονται καὶ γάνυνται[9] καὶ συνενθουσιῶσι ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις, ἄνπερ ὦσι βέβαιοι[10] καὶ ἀληθεῖς, ὡς[11] ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ τὰ γινόμενα.[12] Θηβαῖοι γοῦν ἐγκαλουμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅτι τοῦ χρόνου τῆς βοιωταρχίας ἐξήκοντος αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπανῆλθον ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐνέβαλον καὶ
E τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην διῴκησαν Πελοπίδαν μὲν ὑποπίπτοντα καὶ δεόμενον μόλις ἀπέλυσαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδου δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων μεγαληγορήσαντος, τέλος δὲ φήσαντος ὡς ἕτοιμός ἐστιν ἀποθνῄσκειν ἂν ὁμολογήσωσιν ὅτι τὴν Μεσσήνην ᾤκισε[13] καὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν διεπόρθησε[14] καὶ συν-

[1] ἂν] G^{ac} omits.
[2] ποιῇς (ποιῇὶς X^1[?]; ποιεῖς Y^1[?]): ποιῇ G^c υ I Vvw^c (ποιεῖ G^{ac} w^{ac}).
[3] ὀργίζεσθε] ὀργίζεσθαι X^1?υ I D^{ac} R^{ac} J^1? N^1 l^2.
[4] τὸ] τῷ X^3 y^2 JK fpq.
[5] λέγειν τὶ 𝔍 (as Meziriacus had conjectured): λέγειν.
[6] αὑτοῦ (αὑ-)] ἑαυτοῦ G; αὐτοῦ (αυ- D; ἑαυ- ε) τι (τί Zab) DεZab.
[7] τῷ] τὸ G^1 w; τῶν y; τὰ v.
[8] ἔτι] ἔτι καὶ hki; ἔτι followed by an erasure of six letters in M.

you are defending your good name or answering a charge, as Pericles was when he said [a]:

> "Yet I, with whom you are angry, yield to none, I believe, in devising needful measures and laying them before you; and I love my country and cannot be bought."

For not only is there nothing puffed up, vainglorious, or proud in taking a high tone about oneself at such a moment, but it displays as well a lofty spirit and greatness of character, which by refusing to be humbled humbles and overpowers envy. For men no longer think fit even to pass judgement on such as these, but exult and rejoice and catch the inspiration of the swelling speech, when it is well-founded and true.[b] The facts confirm this. Thus when the generals were tried on the charge that they had not returned home at once on the expiration of their term as Boeotarchs, but had invaded Laconia and handled the Messenian affair, the Thebans came near to condemning Pelopidas, who truckled to them and entreated mercy; but when Epameinondas expatiated on the glory of his acts and said in conclusion that he was ready to die if they would admit that he had founded Messenê, ravaged Laconia, and united

[a] Thucydides, ii. 60. 5.

[b] The rhetoricians observe that the highest eloquence overpowers judgement: *cf.* Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 42 (178); Quintilian, *Education of the Orator*, viii. 3. 3-4; and the treatise *On the Sublime*, 1. 4.

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[9] *γάνυνται* ε Ry : *γάννυνται.* [10] *βέβαιοι*] *καὶ βέβαιοι* D.

[11] *ὡς*] *ὥσπερ* D.

[12] *γινόμενα* (*γιγνόμενα* Ss²)] *γενόμενα* D y¹; *λεγόμενα* V²ˢˢw.

[13] *ᾤκισε* Gᶜ υ² (-*εν* W) RᶜySs hki JK Zab : *ᾤκησε* (*ὤκησαι* N¹; *διώκησε* X³ε).

[14] *τὴν μ. ᾤκ. καὶ τὴν λ. διεπόρθ.*] *τὴν λ. διεπόρθ.* (*ἐπόρθ.* ε) *καὶ μ.* (*τὴν μ.* M²; *μ.* M³) *ᾤκ.* (for *μ. ᾤκ.* X³ε have *τὰ περὶ μ. διώκησε*) G X¹υ W ℑ J¹K Zab M².

(540) ἔστησεν Ἀρκαδίαν ἀκόντων[1] ἐκείνων, οὐδὲ τὰς ψήφους ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζοντες[2] τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ χαίροντες ἅμα καὶ γελῶντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ Σθενέλου παντάπασιν αἰτιατέον τό

ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι

F μεμνημένους[3] τοῦ[4]

ὤ μοι, Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο
τί πτώσσεις; τί δ' ὀπιπεύεις πολέμοιο γεφύρας;

οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀκούσας κακῶς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ φίλου λοιδορηθέντος ἠμύνατο, τῇ περιαυτολογίᾳ[5] παρρησίαν συγγνώμονα[6] τῆς αἰτίας διδούσης. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι Κικέρωνι μὲν ἐδυσχέραινον ἐγκωμιάζοντι πολλάκις ἑαυτοῦ τὰς περὶ Κατιλίναν πράξεις, Σκιπίωνι[7] δὲ εἰπόντι μὴ πρέπειν αὐτοῖς κρίνειν περὶ Σκιπίωνος,[8] δι' ὃν ἔχουσι τὸ κρίνειν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, στεφανωσάμενοι συνανέβησαν[9] εἰς
541 τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ συνέθυσαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐχρῆτο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, τοῦ δὲ ἀφῄρει τὸν φθόνον ὁ κίνδυνος.

5. Οὐ μόνον δὲ κρινομένοις καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυστυχοῦσι μᾶλλον ἁρμόζει μεγαλαυχία καὶ κόμπος ἢ εὐτυχοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἷον ἐπι-

[1] ἀκόντων] ἑκόντων X[1] M[1] Vvw; ἀπόντων ℑ l[1]; ἀκουόντων J[1]K.
[2] θαυμάζοντες] θαυμάσαντες G.
[3] μεμνημένους] μεμνημένοις Dε.
[4] τοῦ G[4] W (του D) JK: τὸ (τὲ R).
[5] τῇ περιαυτολογίᾳ (and so y[2ss]?)] τὴν περιαυτολογία G[1] υ Z; τὴν περιαυτολογίαν X[1] Ry[1]Ss hki N M[1] Vvw Y[1].
[6] συγγνώμονα] εὐγνώμονα D.

Arcadia against their will, they did not even wait to take up the vote against him, but with admiration for the man commingled with delight and laughter broke up the meeting.[a] Neither then should we altogether blame Sthenelus in Homer [b] for saying

> Far better men are we than were our sires,

but remember the words [c]

> For shame! Why dost thou, valiant Tydeus' son,
> Hang back? Why peer about the paths of war?

For Sthenelus had not even received the insult himself; he was answering the affront to his friend, and the imputation gave a pardonable latitude to his self-praise. The Romans again were annoyed with Cicero for frequently vaunting his success with Catiline [d]; but when Scipio said that it ill befitted them to sit in judgement over Scipio, to whom they owed the power to sit in judgement for all mankind, they put garlands on their heads, escorted him to the Capitol, and joined him in the sacrifice. For Cicero boasted not from necessity but for glory; whereas the peril of the other did away with envy.[e]

5. This holds not only of those on trial and in peril; the unfortunate as well can boast and extol themselves with better grace than the fortunate. For the

[a] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xxv. 2-3 (290 E), and *Mor.* 194 A-C with the note.
[b] *Il.* iv. 405; quoted also in *Mor.* 29 A.
[c] *Il.* iv. 370-371.
[d] *Cf.* Quintilian, *Education of the Orator*, xi. 1. 17.
[e] *Cf. Mor.* 196 F and Livy, xxxviii. 50. 12.

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[7] *σκιπίωνι* X[1, 3]*v* D R[ac]? J[1](-*ονι*)K N Yl : *σκηπίωνι*.
[8] *σκιπίωνος* X[1]*v* y[2]? JK N V[1]? Yl : *σκηπίωνος*.
[9] *συνανέβησαν* (and so G[4])] *συνέβησαν* G[1] v p[1].

(541) δράττεσθαι τῆς δόξης καὶ ἀπολαύειν χαριζόμενοι τῷ φιλοτίμῳ δοκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πόρρω φιλοτιμίας διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὄντες ἐξαναφέρειν πρὸς τὴν τύχην καὶ ὑπερείδειν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ φεύγειν ὅλως τὸ ἐλεεινὸν καὶ συνεπιθρηνοῦν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις καὶ ταπεινούμενον. ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν B ἐπαιρομένους καὶ ὑψαυχενοῦντας ἀνοήτους ἡγούμεθα καὶ κενούς, ἂν δὲ πυκτεύοντες ἢ μαχόμενοι διεγείρωσι καὶ ἀνάγωσιν ἑαυτούς, ἐπαινοῦμεν, οὕτως ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ τύχης σφαλλόμενος[1] ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὀρθὸν καθιστὰς καὶ ἀντίπαλον

πύκτης ὅπως εἰς χεῖρας

ἐκ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ οἰκτροῦ τῇ μεγαλαυχίᾳ μεταφέρων εἰς τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ὑψηλόν, οὐκ ἐπαχθὴς οὐδὲ θρασὺς ἀλλὰ μέγας εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀήττητος, ὥς που καὶ τὸν Πάτροκλον ὁ ποιητὴς μέτριον καὶ ἀνεπίφθονον ἐν τῷ κατορθοῦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευτᾶν μεγαληγόρον[2] πεποίηκε λέγοντα

C τοιοῦτοι δ' εἴπερ μοι ἐείκοσιν[3] ἀντεβόλησαν·

καὶ Φωκίων τἆλλα πρᾶος ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν καταδίκην ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς διεδείκνυε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, καὶ πρὸς ἕνα τῶν συναποθνησκόντων ὀδυρόμενον καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντα, "τί λέγεις," εἶπεν, "οὗτος;[4] οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς ἀποθνῄσκων μετὰ Φωκίωνος;"

6. Ἔτι τοίνυν οὐχ ἧττον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀδικουμένῳ τῷ πολιτικῷ δέδοται τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ αὑτοῦ

[1] σφαλλόμενος (φαλ- M)] σφαλλόμενον G X[1]υ W.
[2] μεγαληγόρον X[1]υ hi N[2] (from -όρων) M Yl: μεγαλήγορον.

fortunate are felt to lay hands on glory, as it were, and take their pleasure of it in gratification of their pride, but the others, far removed from ambition by their plight, are looked upon as breasting ill-fortune, shoring up their courage, and eschewing all appeal to pity and all whining and self-abasement in adversity. And so, just as we regard those who strut on a walk and hold up their chin as fatuous and vain, but when in boxing or fighting men rise to their full height and hold the head erect, we applaud; so the man cast down by fortune, when he stands upright in fighting posture

Like a boxer closing in,[a]

using self-glorification to pass from a humbled and piteous state to an attitude of triumph and pride, strikes us not as offensive or bold, but as great and indomitable. Thus in Homer Patroclus is moderate and inoffensive in success, but boastful in death, when he says[b]

Had twenty faced me such as thou . . .

Again Phocion, who was at other times of mild temper, gave after his condemnation many signs of his great spirit, notably when he said to one of those sentenced to die with him, who was lamenting and showing impatience, "What's the matter, my good man? Are you not content to die with Phocion?"[c]

6. Further, it is no less, nay even more, permissible for a statesman when wronged to make some boast to

[a] Sophocles, *Trachinian Women*, 442. [b] *Il.* xvi. 847.
[c] *Cf. Life of Phocion*, chap. xxxvi. 3 (758 D); *Mor.* 189 A.

[3] ἐείκοσιν] εἰείκοσιν M; ἔἴκοσιν (ει- N[1]; εἴ N[2]) Ylfpq; εἴκοσιν Vvw.
[4] οὗτος (οὕτως N[1])] ὦ οὗτος ℑ; Θούδιππε Wyttenbach.

(541) *πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνωμονοῦντας. ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄλλως μὲν ὑφίετο τῷ θείῳ τῆς δόξης καὶ μέτριος ἦν λέγων*[1]

αἴ κέ ποθι Ζεύς
δῷσι πόλιν Τροΐην[2] *εὐτείχεον ἐξαλαπάξαι·*

ὑβρισθεὶς δὲ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ἐφίησι τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν τῇ ὀργῇ·

D *δώδεκα δὴ*[3] *σὺν νηυσὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ' ἀνθρώπων*

καί

οὐ γὰρ ἐμῆς κόρυθος λεύσουσι[4] *μέτωπον*[5]
ἐγγύθι λαμπομένης.

δέχεται γὰρ ἡ παρρησία, μέρος οὖσα[6] *τῆς δικαιολογίας, τὴν μεγαληγορίαν. ἀμέλει δὲ*[7] *καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων εἰπὼν οὐδὲ ποιήσας ἐπαχθές, ὁπηνίκα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἑώρα μεστοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ καὶ περιορῶντας οὐκ ἐφείδετο λέγειν*[8]*·*
E *"τί, ὦ μακάριοι, κοπιᾶτε πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν εὖ πάσχοντες;" καὶ ὅτι "χειμαζόμενοι μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δένδρον*[9] *ὑποφεύγετε, γενομένης*[10] *δὲ εὐδίας τίλλετε παρεξιόντες."*

7. *Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλως ἀδικούμενοι τῶν κατωρθωμένων*[11] *ἐμέμνηντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνωμονοῦντας· ὁ*

[1] *λέγων*] *τῶι λέγειν* W.
[2] *τροΐην* (and so G[4]; *τροίην* s k J[2] ab N[2] f; *τροΐκυ* D; *τρόην* N[1])] *τρωΐην* G[1] X[1] Y[c?]l; *τρώην* Y[ac?].
[3] *δὴ* W and Homer: *γάρ*.
[4] *λεύσουσι*] *λεύσσουσι* Dε k JK M[2] w with some MSS. of Homer.
[5] *μέτωπον*] *μέτωπα* X[1ss]? hki J[1]K with some MSS. of Homer.
[6] *οὖσα*] *οὖσαν* D.
[7] *δὲ*] s J[1]K Vvw omit.
[8] *λέγειν*] *λέγων* ℑ N.

those who deal hardly with him. Thus Achilles at other times yielded the glory to Heaven and showed his modesty by saying:

> If we by Zeus' high will
> Shall take at last the lofty walls of Troy [a];

but when wrongfully affronted and outraged he let his anger give full course to vaunting:

> Twelve cities with my fleet have I made empty [b]

and:

> For they see not
> The glancing light upon my helm draw nigh. [c]

For the freedom of speech that is involved in a plea for justice gives scope for self-praise. Thus Themistocles neither said nor did anything invidious at the time of his successes; but when he saw that the Athenians had grown weary of him and indifferent, he did not hesitate to say: "My innocent friends, why so tired of repeated benefits from the same hands?" [d] And again: "In a storm you take shelter with me, as under a tree; but in fair weather you pluck the leaves as you pass me by." [e]

7. Now the wrongs of these men did not bear directly on the triumphs that they recalled to their

[a] Homer, *Il.* i. 128 f.; quoted also in *Mor.* 29 A.
[b] Homer, *Il.* ix. 328.
[c] Homer, *Il.* xvi. 70-71.
[d] *Cf. Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxii. 2 (123 A); *Mor.* 812 B.
[e] *Cf. Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. 4 (121 A); *Mor.* 185 E.

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9 δένδρον] δένδρων X¹υ W; δένδρον μ' Kronenberg.
10 γενομένης] γινομένης W 𝔍 R Z N l.
11 κατωρθωμένων Stegmann (κατορθωμένων D): κατορθωμάτων W h¹k ε; κατορθουμένων (κατωρθουμένων N).

(541) δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ψεγόμενος οἷς κατώρθωκε καὶ[1] παντά-
πασι συγγνωστός[2] ἐστι καὶ ἄμεμπτος ἐγκωμιάζων
τὰ πεπραγμένα· δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ[3] ὀνειδίζειν ἀλλ' ἀπο-
λογεῖσθαι. τοῦτο γοῦν λαμπρὰν τῷ Δημοσθένει
παρρησίαν ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν κόρον ἀφῄρει τῶν ἐπαί-
νων οἷς παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὁμοῦ τι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
F στεφάνου κέχρηται σεμνυνόμενος οἷς ἐνεκαλεῖτο
περὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρεσβεύμασι καὶ ψηφίσμασιν.

8. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτου[4] τεταγμένον ἔχει τινὰ
χάριν τὸ τῆς ἀντιθέσεως, ὅταν ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἐγκαλεῖται[5]
τούτου τοὐναντίον αἰσχρὸν ἀποδεικνύῃ[6] καὶ φαῦλον.
ὡς ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεικέναι
τὸν συκοφάντην ἀργυρίου λοιδορούμενος, "εἶτα,"
ἔφη, "ποῖός τις ὑμῖν[7] δοκῶ εἶναι πολίτης, ὃς τοσοῦ-
τον χρόνον τὰ δημόσια πράττων παρ' ὑμῖν διδοὺς
μᾶλλον ἀδίκως ἢ λαμβάνων εἴλημμαι;" καὶ ὁ
542 Κικέρων, τοῦ Μετέλλου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὅτι
πλείονας ἀνῄρηκε καταμαρτυρήσας ἢ συνηγορήσας
σέσωκε, "τίς δέ," εἶπεν, "οὔ φησιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πλέον
εἶναι[8] πίστεως ἢ δεινότητος;" καὶ τὰ Δημο-
σθένους τοιαῦτα· "τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν[9] ἀπέκτεινέ με δι-
καίως εἴ τι τῶν τῇ πόλει καλῶν ὑπαρχόντων λόγῳ
μόνον[10] αἰσχύνειν[11] ἐπεχείρησα;" καὶ "τί ἂν οἴεσθε
λέγειν τοὺς μιαροὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους εἰ τότε μου

[1] καὶ] 𝔍 D RySs omit.
[2] παντάπασι συγγνωστός] παντάπασι γνωστός G^1𝔍; παντάπασιν ἄγνωστός W.
[3] οὐκ] D omits.
[4] τούτου] τούτων G^4 W JK Z l (?).
[5] ἐγκαλεῖται] -ῆται G Xυ W 𝔍 s^2? i Z M^2 w Y.
[6] ἀποδεικνύῃ] ἀποδείκνυται 𝔍; ἀποδεικνύει X^1υ D S^1 hki N^1? Ylp.
[7] ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν υ J^{ac}; D omits.
[8] εἶναι] ἐνεῖναι G Xευ W J^1K Z.

persecutors. But a man reproached for his very triumphs is entirely pardonable and escapes all censure if he extols what he has done. For this, it is felt, is not recrimination [a] but self-defence. It was this, for example, that allowed Demosthenes to speak with full freedom and made palatable the self-praise with which he fills nearly the whole oration *On the Crown*, as he glories in the very charges brought against him: his conduct as ambassador and statesman in the war.

8. Not far removed from this is the use of contrast. There is a certain graceful effect in showing that the opposite of what one is charged with would have been shameful and base.[b] Thus Lycurgus [c] said at Athens when abused for buying off an informer: "What do you think of my character as a citizen, when after all these years in office I am caught giving money dishonestly, instead of taking it?" And when Metellus told Cicero [d] that his testimony had killed more men than his pleading had saved, he replied: "Who denies that I am more honest than eloquent?" Such too are the words of Demosthenes [e]: "Who would not rightly have condemned me to death if even by word I had tried to sully any of our country's glories?" And "What do you think these blackguards would have said if the cities had deserted us

[a] For the word *cf.* Hermogenes, *How to be Forceful*, chap. 25: ἵνα δοκοίη τὸν ἐχθρὸν λυπεῖν, μὴ Ἀθηναίοις ὀνειδίζειν.

[b] *Cf.* Apsines, *Art of Rhetoric*, chap. vii (pp. 273. 18–274. 20, ed. Hammer).

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 842 A-B.

[d] *Cf. Life of Cicero*, chap. xxvi. 6 (873 F), and *Mor.* 204 E–205 A.

[e] *On the Crown*, 101.

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[9] ἂν (and so G⁴)] G¹ X¹ omit.

[10] μόνον] μόνῳ S N Vvw l.

[11] αἰσχύνειν (-ην N) with MS. A of Demosthenes: καταισχύνειν the rest of the MSS. of Demosthenes.

(542) *περὶ τούτων*[1] *ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πό-
λεις ;" καὶ ὅλως*[2] *ὁ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου λόγος
εὐφυεστάταις*[3] *ἀντιθέσεσι ταῖς*[4] *λύσεσι τῶν αἰτιῶν
ἐπεισάγει τοὺς ἐπαίνους.*

9. *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο χρήσιμόν ἐστιν ἐν*
B *ἐκείνῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι μιγνύων ἐμ-
μελέστατα τῷ περὶ αὑτοῦ λόγῳ τὸν περὶ τῶν
ἀκουόντων ἔπαινον ἀνεπίφθονον ἐποίει καὶ ἀφίλαυ-
τον, οἵους μὲν Εὐβοεῦσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρέσχον
αὑτούς,*[5] *οἵους δὲ Θηβαίοις, ὅσα δὲ Βυζαντίους*[6]
ἀγαθὰ καὶ Χερρονησίτας[7] *ἐποίησαν, αὑτῷ δὲ τῆς
διακονίας μετεῖναι φάσκων. λανθάνει γὰρ οὕτως
ὁ ἀκροατὴς*[8] *τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπαίνοις συνυποδυόμενον
τὸν τοῦ λέγοντος ἡδέως προσδεχόμενος,*[9] *καὶ χαίρει
μὲν*[10] *ἐφ' οἷς κατώρθωσε λεγομένοις,*[11] *τῷ δὲ χαίρειν
εὐθὺς ἕπεται τὸ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν δι' ὃν*[12]
κατώρθωσεν. ὅθεν καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας Μενεκλείδου
C *ποτὲ χλευάζοντος αὐτὸν ὡς μεῖζον τοῦ Ἀγαμέ-
μνονος φρονοῦντα, "δι' ὑμᾶς γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες
Θηβαῖοι, μεθ' ὧν μόνων*[13] *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ κατέλυσα
τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχήν."*

1 *τούτων*] *τούτου* W.

2 *ὅλως*] *ὅλος* RySs$^{2?}$ hki fp^{2}.

3 *εὐφυεστάταις* (*-ες* D) RySs hk^{1}i K^{1t} N : *εὐφυέστατα ταῖς* (*τὰς* Z^{1}) K^{1γρ} and the rest. 4 *ταῖς* Pohlenz : *καὶ*.

5 *οἱ* (and so G^{4} ; G^{1} D omit) *ἀθ. παρ. αὑτούς* (or *αὐτούς* ; *αὐτοῖς* N)] *παρ. οἱ ἀθ. αὐτούς* (*αὐτοὺς* Vv) M^{1} Vvw.

6 *βυζαντίους* G^{4} S^{1} Z N M^{3} fpq : *-οις*.

7 *χερρονησίτας* G X^{1}*υ* W N M^{2} fq (*χεροννη-* Z p) : *χερρονησίταις* (*χεροννησίταις* X^{3} i ; *χερονησίταις* hk l).

8 *οὕτως ὁ ἀκροατὴς* G^{4} : *οὕτω τὸν ἀκροατὴν*.

9 *συνυποδυόμενον τὸν τοῦ λ. ἡδ. προσδεχόμενος* G^{4} : *σ. τὸ* (*τὸν* W Z^{2}) *τοῦ λ. ἡδ. προσδεχόμενον* G^{1} X W Z^{1} fpq ; *συνεπιδυόμενον* (*συναποδυόμενος* Vv ; *-οι* w) *τὸ τοῦ λ. ἡδ. προσδεχόμενον υ* hk^{1}i JK N M Yl ; *συνεπιδυόμενον* R (*συμπιδυόμενον* [*-ος* y^{2ss}],

while I was busy quibbling about that ?" [a] And in general the oration *On the Crown* uses the most felicitous contrasts, as each charge is refuted, to introduce self-praise.

9. There is in that oration a further point that it is useful to note : by most harmoniously blending the praises of his audience [b] with his own he removed the offensiveness and self-love in his words, praising the Athenians for their conduct toward the Euboeans and toward the Thebans, and for all the good that they had done the people of Byzantium and of the Chersonese, claiming for himself but a share in carrying out instructions.[c] For in this way the hearers, taken off guard, accept with pleasure the praise of the speaker, which insinuates itself along with the praise of themselves ; and their delight in the rehearsal of their own successes is followed at once with admiration and approval of him who made them possible. Hence Epameinondas said when Menecleidas derided him as prouder than Agamemnon : "But it is your doing, men of Thebes ; with your help alone I overthrew the Spartan empire in a day."

[a] *On the Crown*, 240, also quoted in this connexion by Apsines, *Art of Rhetoric*, chap. vii (p. 274. 4-7, ed. Hammer).

[b] *Cf.* Cicero, *On Invention*, i. 16 (22) : "ab auditorum persona benivolentia captabitur si res ab eis fortiter, sapienter, mansuete gestae proferentur . . ."

[c] *On the Crown*, 80 ff., and especially 88.

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y^{1} ; *συνεπιδυόμενος* Ss) RySs, omitting the rest ; *συναποδυόμενος ὃς τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ λεγομένοις ἥδεται* D.

10 *χαίρει μὲν* a^{2} Vvw : *χάριν μὲν* G^{1} X^{1}*υ* W D RySs Z N^{1} M^{1} Ylfpq ; *χαίρειν μὲν* G^{3} hki K N^{2} M^{2} (*χαίρειν* J^{1}, omitting *μὲν . . . τῷ δὲ χαίρειν*) ; *χαίροντα* X^{3}*ε*.

11 *λεγομένοις*] *ἔχει* D ; RySs omit.

12 *ὃν*] *ὧν* X^{1} RySs hki J^{2}.

13 *μόνων*] *μόνον* *υ* W 𝔍 R^{ac} Z w^{1}.

(542) 10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινοῦντι πολεμοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ σφόδρα καὶ ἄχθονται, τῷ δὲ ἕτερον[1] οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρουσι πολλάκις καὶ συνεπιμαρτυροῦσι προθύμως, εἰώθασιν ἔνιοι τοὺς ταὐτὰ[2] προαιρουμένους καὶ πράττοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅλως ὁμοιοτρόπους[3] ἐπαινοῦντες ἐν καιρῷ συνοικειοῦν καὶ συνεπιστρέφειν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ἀκροατήν· ἐπιγινώσκει[4] γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ λέγοντι, κἂν περὶ D ἄλλου λέγηται, δι' ὁμοιότητα τὴν ἀρετὴν[5] τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν ἐπαίνων οὖσαν.[6] ὡς γὰρ ὁ λοιδορῶν ἕτερον οἷς[7] αὐτὸς ἔνοχός ἐστιν οὐ[8] λανθάνει λοιδορῶν μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν[9] ἢ ἐκεῖνον, οὕτως οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶντες ἀναμιμνήσκουσιν αὑτῶν τοὺς συνειδότας· ὥστε εὐθὺς ἐπιφωνεῖν· " σὺ γὰρ οὐ τοιοῦτος ; " Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν[10] Ἡρακλέα τιμῶν καὶ πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀνδρόκοττος[11] αὑτοὺς[12] εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι προῆγον[13] ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων· Διονύσιος δὲ τὸν Γέλωνα διασύρων καὶ γέλωτα τῆς Σικελίας ἀποκαλῶν ἐλάνθανεν ὑπὸ φθόνου καθαιρῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς περὶ αὑτὸν δυνάμεως.

E 11. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίστασθαι καὶ παραφυλάττειν[14] τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει. τοὺς δὲ

[1] ἕτερον] ἑτέρους D ; ἑτέρῳ RySs hki.
[2] ταυτὰ (or ταὐτὰ) X^3 𝔍 D^c k JK Z N M^2 Vw fpq : ταῦτα.
[3] ὁμοιοτρόπους] ὁμοιοτρόπως W R(-ὁτρόπως y)Ss i^{ac} v ; ὁμοτρόπους 𝔍.
[4] ἐπιγινώσκει $X^3\epsilon$ D^c(ω from ο) S^2s : ἐπιγινώσκειν.
[5] δι' ὁμ. τὴν ἀρετὴν G^4 𝔍 : ὁμ. ἀρετῆς $X^3\epsilon$; τὴν ὁμ. τῆς ἀρετῆς D : δι' ὁμ. ἀρετῆς.
[6] τῶν αὐτ. ἀξίαν (-ων W ; hk^1i omit) ἐπ. (𝔍 omits) οὖσαν] τῶν αὐτ. ἐπ. ἀξίαν οὖσαν J^1K Z ; ἐπ. τῶν αὐτ. ἀξίαν οὖσαν Vvw.
[7] οἷς] ἐφ' οἷς D ; W omits.
[8] οὐ] D omits.
[9] ἑαυτὸν] αὑτὸν W.
[10] οὖν] γὰρ $X^3\epsilon$,

10. Since towards one who praises himself the generality of men feel a great hostility and resentment, but do not feel so strongly against one who praises another, but often even listen with pleasure and voice their agreement, some, when the occasion allows, are in the habit of praising others whose aims and acts are the same as their own and whose general character is similar. In this way they conciliate the hearer and draw his attention to themselves; for although they are speaking of another, he at once recognizes in the speaker a merit that from its similarity deserves the same praises. For as one who vilifies another in terms that apply to himself does not deceive the audience, which sees that he vilifies himself rather than the other, so when one good man commends another he reminds hearers conscious of his merit of himself, so that they at once exclaim: "And are not you one of these?" Alexander by honouring Heracles, and again Androcottus [a] by honouring Alexander, won esteem for themselves for similar merit; whereas when Dionysius [b] made sport of Gelon and dubbed him the jest [c] of Sicily, he unwittingly in his envy defamed the greatness and majesty of his own power.

11. This the statesman must in any case understand and for this he must seize the proper occasions.

[a] *Cf. Life of Alexander*, chap. lxii (699 F).
[b] *Cf. Life of Dion*, chap. v. 9 (960 B).
[c] *Gelōs* in Greek.

[11] Ἀνδρόκοττος Xylander: ἀνδρόκοπος (-όκοτος S[2?] J[1]?K; -οκόπος Yl).
[12] αὐτοὺς or αὑτοὺς (αὐτὸς X[1])] ἑαυτοὺς D[c] (from ἑ-) RySs hki N M Ylfpq.
[13] προῆγον (and so G[4])] προήγαγον G[1].
[14] παραφυλάττειν] παραφυλάσσειν G X J[1]K Z (φυλάσσειν W).

(542) ἀναγκασθέντας ἐπαινεῖν αὐτοὺς[1] ἐλαφροτέρους παρέχει καὶ τὸ μὴ πάντα προσποιεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ φορτίου[2] τῆς δόξης τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν τύχην τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀποτίθεσθαι. διὸ καλῶς μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς

ἐπεὶ δὴ τόνδ'[3] ἄνδρα θεοὶ δαμάσασθαι ἔδωκαν·

καλῶς δὲ Τιμολέων ἐν Συρακούσαις[4] Αὐτοματίας βωμὸν ἱδρυσάμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι καθιερώσας· ἄριστα δὲ Πύθων ὁ Αἴνιος, ἐπειδὴ Κότυν ἀποκτείνας ἧκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας
F καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν διαμιλλωμένων τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ᾔσθετο βασκαίνοντας ἐνίους καὶ βαρυνομένους, παρελθών, "ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεός τις ἔπραξεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐχρήσαμεν." ἀφῄρει δὲ καὶ[5] Σύλλας τὸν φθόνον ἀεὶ τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν, καὶ τέλος Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε.[6] μᾶλλον γὰρ εὐτυχίας ἢ ἀρετῆς ἡττᾶσθαι βούλονται, τὸ μὲν ἀλλότριον ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δὲ οἰκεῖον ἔλλειμμα καὶ παρ'
543 αὐτοὺς[7] γενόμενον.[8] οὐχ ἥκιστα γοῦν λέγουσιν ἀρέσαι Λοκροῖς τὴν Ζαλεύκου νομοθεσίαν ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔφασκεν αὐτῷ φοιτῶσαν εἰς ὄψιν ἑκάστοτε τοὺς νόμους ὑφηγεῖσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ

[1] αὐτοὺς or αὑτοὺς] ἑαυτοὺς W ε l.

[2] φορτίου X^{3}ε D S^{2}s Z$^{c?2?}$: φορτικοῦ (φορτικῆς R; φροντικοῦ M^{1}?).

[3] τόνδ' G (τὸν δ' W D): τὸν.

[4] Συρακούσαις] συρακούσσαις G^{3} D; συρρακούσαις G^{1} X^{aras} 𝔍.

[5] δὲ καὶ] καὶ 𝔍 J^{1} M Vvw; δὲ h.

[6] ἀνηγόρευσε (-εν Y$^{1(\text{ἀνη ss})}$] προσανηγόρευσε (-ἀ- D) RySs h(-εν k^{1})i (-εν l$^{1(\text{ανη ss})}$)f$^{1(\text{ανη ss})}$p; προάνηγόρευσε N; προσηγόρευσεν Y^{1t}l^{1t}(-ε f^{1t}); προανησηγόρευσε q.

But those who are forced to speak in their own praise are made more endurable by another procedure as well: not to lay claim to everything, but to disburden themselves, as it were, of honour, letting part of it rest with chance, and part with God. For this reason Achilles did well to say

> Since I by Heaven's will have slain this man,[a]

and Timoleon did well to erect an altar at Syracuse to the Goddess of Accidents in commemoration of his acts, and to consecrate his house to the Good Daemon.[b] Best of all is what Python of Aenos did.[c] After killing Cotys he had come to Athens and the speakers were outdoing one another in extolling him to the assembly. Noticing that some persons were jealous and disaffected he came forward and said: "This, men of Athens, was the doing of some god; I did but lend my arm." Sulla too got rid of envy by always praising his luck, eventually proclaiming himself the Fortunate.[d] For men would rather be bested by luck than by merit, feeling that in the first event another has had an advantage, in the second, that the failure lies in themselves and is their own doing. Thus the code of Zaleucus[e] found favour with the Locrians not least, it is said, because he asserted that Athena had constantly appeared to him and had in each case guided and instructed him in his legislation, and that

[a] Homer, *Il.* xxii. 379.
[b] *Cf. Life of Timoleon*, chap. xxxvi. 6 (253 D); *Mor.* 816 E.
[c] *Cf. Mor.* 816 E, 1126 C.
[d] *Felix* in Latin, *Epaphroditos* in Greek. *Cf. Life of Sulla*, chap. xxxvi. 6 (253 D); *Mor.* 318 C.
[e] *Cf.* Aristotle, Frag. 548 (ed. Rose).

[7] αὐτοὺς or αὑτοὺς] αὐτοῖς or αὑτοῖς Ry?Ss hki N M (αυ- Y) lfpq. [8] γενόμενον] γινόμενον X³ε D (γυ- y) l.

(543) μηδὲν εἶναι διανόημα μηδὲ βούλευμα τῶν εἰσφερομένων.

12. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως πρὸς τοὺς παντάπασι χαλεποὺς καὶ βασκάνους ἀνάγκη τὰ φάρμακα καὶ τὰ[1] παρηγορήματα μηχανᾶσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μετρίους οὐκ ἄτοπόν ἐστι χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἐπανορθώσεσι τῶν ἐπαίνων, εἴ τις ὡς λόγιον ἢ πλούσιον
B ἢ δυνατὸν ἐπαινοίη, κελεύοντα μὴ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰ χρηστὸς καὶ ἀβλαβὴς καὶ ὠφέλιμος. οὐ γὰρ εἰσφέρει τὸν ἔπαινον ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἀλλὰ μετατίθησιν, οὐδὲ χαίρειν δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐγκωμιάζουσιν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ προσηκόντως μηδὲ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ δυσχεραίνειν, καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ φαυλότερα τοῖς βελτίοσιν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπαινεῖν ὡς[2] χρὴ διδάσκων. τὸ γὰρ "οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ[3] σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα[4] καὶ ἵππους καὶ συμμάχους" τοιούτου τινὸς ἔοικεν ἅπτεσθαι. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους
C ἔτι μᾶλλον· ὀλοφυρόμενοι γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤδη καταστρέφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δυσφοροῦντες[5] οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι τῶν στρατηγιῶν ἐμέμνηντο καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ὅσα δὴ τρόπαια καὶ νίκας καὶ πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις κτησάμενος ἀπολέλοιπεν· ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπαναστὰς ἐμέμψατο αὐτοὺς ὡς κοινὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἔνια μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγκώμια λέγοντας, τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ παραλείποντας,[6] ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς Ἀθη-

[1] τὰ φ. καὶ τὰ] τὰ φ. τὰ Stegmann ; φ. καὶ Wilamowitz.
[2] ὡς] ἃ (ᾇ D) RySs.
[3] βούλῃ G² W 𝔍 s M² w fq : βούλει (εἰ βούλει Y²).

nothing he proposed was of his own invention or devising.

12. But it is perhaps for the altogether intractable and envious that such medicines and palliatives must be invented. With the fair-minded it is not amiss to use another device, that of amending the praise: when praised as eloquent, rich, or powerful, to request the other not to mention such points but rather to consider whether one is of worthy character, commits no injuries, and leads a useful life. He that does this does not introduce the praise, but transfers it; and he leaves the impression not of delighting in encomiasts but of being displeased with them for praise that is unbecoming and bestowed for the wrong reasons, using his better points to draw attention from the worse, not from a desire for praise, but to show how to praise aright. Indeed the words "Not with stone did I encircle Athens nor with brick; survey the wall I built and you will discover arms, cavalry, and allies" [a] appear to reflect such a procedure. Still more does the saying of Pericles. His friends, we are told, lamented as he lay dying and were disconsolate, recalling his commands and power and the many trophies, victories, and cities he had won and left to Athens. Rallying a moment he rebuked them for extolling what many others had done as well and what was in part the work of fortune rather than of merit, while they passed over the noblest and greatest encomium and his alone, that no Athenian for any

[a] Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 299; *cf.* Hermogenes, *How to be Forceful*, chap. xxv.

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[4] ὅπλα (and so Demosthenes)] καὶ ὅπλα M.
[5] δυσφοροῦντες G²? X³ε D JK N Y²?1: δυσφοροῦντος.
[6] παραλείποντας Dε hki: παραλιπόντας (περι- R).

(543) ναίων μέλαν ἱμάτιον ἀνείληφε. τοῦτο δὴ[1] τὸ παράδειγμα καὶ ῥήτορι δίδωσιν, ἄνπερ ᾖ χρηστός,
D ἐπαινουμένῳ περὶ λόγου δεινότητα μεταθεῖναι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ ἦθος· καὶ στρατηγῷ θαυμαζομένῳ δι' ἐμπειρίαν πολεμικὴν ἢ δι'[2] εὐτυχίαν περὶ πραότητός τι[3] καὶ δικαιοσύνης αὑτοῦ παρρησιάσασθαι· καὶ τοὐναντίον αὖ πάλιν, ὑπερφυῶν τινων λεγομένων ἐπαίνων, οἷα πολλοὶ κολακεύοντες ἐπίφθονα λέγουσιν, εἰπεῖν·

" οὔ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐίσκεις ;

ἀλλ' εἴ με γινώσκεις ἀληθῶς ἐπαίνει τὸ ἀδωροδόκητον ἢ τὸ σῶφρον ἢ τὸ εὔγνωμον ἢ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον." ὁ γὰρ φθόνος οὐκ ἀηδῶς τῷ τὰ μείζονα παραιτουμένῳ τὰ μετριώτερα δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐγ-
E κώμιον οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ κενὰ[4] μὴ προσδεχομένων. διὸ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὴ θεοὺς μηδὲ παῖδας θεῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι θέλοντας[5] ἀλλὰ Φιλαδέλφους ἢ Φιλομήτορας ἢ Εὐεργέτας ἢ Θεοφιλεῖς οὐκ ἤχθοντο ταῖς καλαῖς μὲν ἀνθρωπικαῖς

[1] δὴ] δει y ; δεῖ N[1] ; W omits.
[2] δι'] D RySs hki omit.
[3] τι] τε D RySs hki M (τὲ V)vw l.
[4] ψευδῆ καὶ κενὰ] κενὰ καὶ ψευδῆ W.
[5] θέλοντας] μέλλοντας X[3?ss] S[2] M Vvw.

[a] *Cf. Life of Pericles*, chap. xxxviii. 3-4 (178 B-E) ; *Mor.* 186 D ; Julian, *Or.* 3 (128 D) ; and *Eclogae Vaticanae*, 15 (*ap.* Stobaeus, vol. iii, p. ix Hense). He had not caused the death of political opponents : see H. N. Couch in *Classical Journal*, xxxi (1935–36), pp. 495-499.

[b] Homer, *Od.* xvi. 187 ; also quoted in *Mor.* 81 D.

[c] Among the Seleucids Antiochus II, IV, and VI and Demetrius II and III bore the title " god " ; and of course all deified rulers were " gods."

act of his had put on mourning.[a] This precedent allows the orator, if meritorious, when praised for eloquence, to transfer the praise to his life and character, and the commander admired for skill or success in war to speak freely of his clemency and justice; and again, when the praise runs on the contrary to extravagance, as with the invidious flattery used by many, it permits one to say:

> " No god am I; why likenest thou me
> To the immortals?[b]

If you know me truly, commend my probity, temperance, reasonableness, or humanity." For to him who declines the greater honours envy is not displeased to grant the more moderate, and does not cheat of true praise those who reject what is false and vain. Hence those kings who were unwilling to be proclaimed a god[c] or son of a god,[d] but rather Philadelphus[e] or Philometor[f] or Euergetes[g] or Theophiles,[h] were ungrudgingly honoured by those who gave them these

[d] Thus Alexander was called " son of Zeus " (*cf. Life of Alexander*, chap. xxvii. 9, 680 F), Demetrius Poliorcetes " son of Poseidon " (*cf.* Athenaeus, vi. 62, 253 c, e).

[e] That is " lover of his (her) brother (sister)," a title of the Seleucids Demetrius II, Antiochus XI, and Philippus, of the Parthian Artabanus I, of Iotapê, queen of Commagenê, of Mithridates IV of Pontus, of the Egyptian monarchs Arsinoê I, Ptolemy II, X, and XIII, Arsinoê II, and Berenicê III, of the Cappadocian king Ariarathes X, and of Attalus II.

[f] That is, " lover of his (her) mother," a title of Ptolemy VI, VII, X, and XI, Cleopatra II and III, and Berenicê III; of Ariarathes VII, Paerisades IV, and Attalus III.

[g] That is, " benefactor," a title of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VII, and Ptolemy III, VI, and VII.

[h] That is " dear to God (a god) "; we have found no such royal title.

(543) δὲ ταύταις προσηγορίαις τιμῶντες. ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ τῶν γραφόντων καὶ λεγόντων βαρυνόμενοι τοὺς τὸ τῆς[1] σοφίας ἐπιγραφομένους ὄνομα[2] χαίρουσι τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ προκόπτειν ἤ τι τοιοῦτο[3] περὶ αὑτῶν ἀνεπίφθονον καὶ μέτριον λέγουσιν. οἱ δὲ ῥητορικοὶ
F σοφισταὶ τὸ "θείως" καὶ τὸ "δαιμονίως"[4] ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεσι προσδεχόμενοι καὶ τὸ "μετρίως" καὶ τὸ "ἀνθρωπίνως" προσαπολλύουσιν.

13. Καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμιῶντας ἐνοχλεῖν φυλαττόμενοι τοῖς ἄγαν λαμπροῖς σκιάν τινα παραμιγνύουσιν, οὕτως ἔνιοι τοὺς αὑτῶν ἐπαίνους μὴ παντελῶς λαμπροὺς μηδὲ ἀκράτους προσφέροντες, ἀλλά τινας ἐλλείψεις ἢ ἀποτεύξεις ἢ ἁμαρτίας ἐλαφρὰς ἐμβάλλοντες ἀφαιροῦσι τὸ ἐπαχθὲς αὐτῶν καὶ νεμεσητόν. ὥσπερ ὁ Ἐπειός, οὐ μέτρια περὶ τῆς[5] πυκτικῆς εἰπὼν καὶ θρασυνάμενος[6] ὡς

ἀντικρὺ χρόα τε ῥήξει σύν τ' ὀστέ' ἀράξει,[7]

ἦ[8] οὐχ ἅλις,

φησίν,[9]

ὅττι μάχης ἐπιδεύομαι;

544 ἀλλ' οὗτος[10] μὲν ἴσως γελοῖος[11] ἀθλητικὴν ἀλαζονείαν δειλίας καὶ ἀνανδρίας ἐξομολογήσει παραμυθούμενος· ἐμμελὴς δὲ καὶ χαρίεις ὁ λήθην τινὰ καθ' αὑτοῦ[12] λέγων ἢ ἄγνοιαν ἢ φιλοτιμίαν[13] ἢ πρός

[1] τὸ τῆς W X^3 D v : τῆς. [2] ὄνομα] τοὔνομα Pohlenz.
[3] τοιοῦτο] τοιοῦτον G Ss M Vvw.
[4] δαιμονίως] δαιμονίως καὶ τὸ μεγάλως X ; μεγάλως $v^{1γρ}$.
[5] τῆς] Xε omit.
[6] θρασυνάμενος G^2 X^3ε W D Ry hi N Vv Ylfpq : θρασυνόμενος.
[7] ῥήξει σύν τ' ὀστέ' ἀράξει (-τέα ῥάξει D) Homer and D : ῥήξει (ῥήξηι W). [8] ἦ Bern. from some MSS. of Homer : ἤ.

noble yet human titles. So again, while men resent the writers and speakers who assume the epithet "wise," they are delighted with those who say that they love wisdom [a] or are advancing in merit, or put forward some other such moderate and inoffensive claim. Whereas the rhetorical sophists who at their displays of eloquence accept from the audience the cries of "how divine" and "spoken like a god" lose even such commendation as "fairly said" and "spoken as becomes a man."

13. Again, as those who would spare the susceptibilities of sufferers from sore eyes temper with shade whatever is unduly brilliant, so some do not present their own praise in all its brilliance and undimmed, but throw in certain minor shortcomings, failures, or faults, thus obviating any effect of displeasure or disapproval. Thus Epeius says after his extravagant talk about boxing and his vaunt that a blow from him would rip clean through the skin and smash the bones [b]:

> Nay is it not enough
> That I am slack in war? [c]

But he indeed is perhaps ridiculous for mitigating his athlete's bragging by a confession of cowardice and unmanliness. There is tact, however, and grace in one who tells of some slip of his own or some mistake or

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus*, 278 D.
[b] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 673.
[c] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 670.

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[9] φησὶν is put after μάχης in W.
[10] οὗτος (οὗτος M[1])] οὕτως X[1]υ N[1].
[11] γελοῖος] γελοίως W.
[12] αὑτοῦ W (αυ- D ; αὐτοὺ h[2] ; ἑαυτοῦ X[3]ε) : αὑτὸν or αὐτὸν (αυτὸν y).
[13] φιλοτιμίαν] φιλονεικίαν D.

(544) τινα μαθήματα καὶ λόγους ἀκρασίαν[1] ὡς ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς·

αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ
ἤθελ' ἀκουέμεναι, λῦσαι δ' ἐκέλευον ἑταίρους
ὀφρύσι νευστάζων,

καὶ πάλιν·

B ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην—ἦ[2] τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον ἦεν—
ὄφρ' αὐτόν τε[3] ἴδοιμι, καὶ εἴ μοι ξείνια[4] δοίη.

καὶ ὅλως ὅσαι μὴ παντάπασιν αἰσχραὶ μηδ'[5] ἀγεννεῖς ἁμαρτίαι, παρατιθέμεναι[6] τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιροῦσιν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πενίας καὶ ἀπορίας[7] καὶ νὴ Δία δυσγενείας ἐξομολόγησιν ἔστιν ὅτε τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις παρεμβάλλοντες[8] ἀμβλυτέρῳ τῷ φθόνῳ χρῶνται. καθάπερ Ἀγαθοκλῆς χρυσᾶ[9] ποτήρια καὶ τορευτὰ τοῖς νέοις προπίνων ἐκέλευσε καὶ κεραμεᾶ[10] κομισθῆναι, καὶ "τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς καὶ φιλόπονον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον·
C ἡμεῖς πάλαι[11] ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦμεν." ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐν κεραμείῳ[12] τεθράφθαι διὰ δυσγένειαν καὶ πενίαν ὁ Ἀγαθοκλῆς, εἶτα συμπάσης ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐβασίλευσε Σικελίας.

14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔξωθέν ἐστιν ἐπεισάγεσθαι

[1] ἀκρασίαν Meziriacus: ἀκρόασιν (ἀκρόασιν ὀλιγωρίαν D).
[2] ἦ] ἢ G¹ X³? Yl.
[3] αὐτόν τε (-ὸν ται N¹)] αὐτόν τ' G⁴ Xυ W D hki JK Z Ylfpq; αὐτὸν G¹.
[4] ξείνια] ξεινήϊα G Xυ with mss. G P² U of Homer; ξένια JK.
[5] μηδ' Gk 𝔍 JK: μὴ δὲ.
[6] παρατιθέμεναι (-οι υ J¹K)] περιτιθέμεναι D R(-αιναι y)Ss.
[7] ἀπορίας Wyttenbach: ἀπειρίας.

feeling of ambition or weakness for some piece of instruction or information, like Odysseus :

> But my heart
> Was fain to hear, and nodding with my brows
> I bade my mates unbind me [a]

and again :

> I hearkened not—far better had it been—
> For I would see the man himself, and hoped
> To have from him some hospitable gift.[b]

And in general when faults not altogether degrading or ignoble are set down beside the praise they do away with envy. Many also blunt the edge of envy by occasionally inserting into their own praise a confession even of poverty and indigence or actually of low birth. Thus when Agathocles [c] at a banquet was presenting the young men with cups of enchased gold he ordered earthen cups also to be brought and said : "You see what perseverance, diligence, and courage can do ; I once fashioned cups of clay ; I now fashion them of gold." For Agathocles was believed to have been brought up in the potter's trade because of his low birth and poverty ; and from this state he rose to become king of well-nigh the whole of Sicily.

14. These antidotes for self-praise we can introduce

[a] Homer, *Od.* xii. 192-194.
[b] Homer, *Od.* ix. 228-229.
[c] *Cf. Mor.* 176 E.

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[8] παρεμβάλλοντες (and so G^4)] παραβάλλοντες G^1 ; παραμβάλοντες N^1.
[9] χρυσᾶ] χρυσὰ $X^1 v$? W D^1 y.
[10] κεραμεᾶ $X^3 \epsilon$ D RySs hki J^2 Z : κεράμεα G $X^1 ? v^c$ J^1?K N M^2 Ylfpq : κεράμια v^{ac} W M^1 w ; κεράμεια Vv f.
[11] πάλαι] πάλαι μὲν M^3.
[12] κεραμείῳ] κεραμίῳ G^1 $X^1 v$ W.

(544) φάρμακα τῆς περιαυτολογίας· ἕτερα δὲ αὐτοῖς τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις ἔνεστιν· οἷς καὶ[1] Κάτων ἐχρῆτο φθονεῖσθαι λέγων ὅτι τῶν ἰδίων ἀμελεῖ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα· καὶ τό

πῶς δ' ἂν φρονοίην, ᾧ παρῆν ἀπραγμόνως
ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖς ἠριθμημένῳ στρατοῦ
ἴσον μετασχεῖν τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τύχης;

καὶ τό

ὀκνῶν[2] δὲ μόχθων τῶν πρὶν ἐκχέαι χάριν
καὶ τοὺς παρόντας[3] οὐκ ἀπωθοῦμαι πόνους.

D ὡς γὰρ οἰκίαν καὶ χωρίον, οὕτω καὶ δόξαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῖς προῖκα καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἔχειν δοκοῦσιν, οὐ τοῖς πριαμένοις πόνων πολλῶν καὶ κινδύνων φθονοῦσιν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀλύπως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρησίμως καὶ ὠφελίμως προσοιστέον ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο πράττειν ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι διὰ τούτου[4] δοκῶμεν, ὅρα πρῶτον εἰ προτροπῆς[5] ἕνεκα[6] καὶ ζήλου καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῶν ἀκουόντων αὑτὸν ἄν τις ἐπαινέσειεν, ὡς[7] ὁ Νέστωρ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ διηγούμενος ἀριστείας καὶ μάχας τόν τε Πάτροκλον παρώρμησε[8] καὶ τοὺς ἐννέα πρὸς τὴν

[1] καὶ] W omits.
[2] ὀκνῶν Cobet: ὀκνῶ.
[3] παρόντας D: πίπτοντας (πιτνοῦντας Valckenarius).
[4] διὰ τούτου] διατοῦτο G (διὰ τοῦτο k) l; 𝔍 omits.
[5] προτροπῆς] προκοπῆς D.

from outside; others are in a way inherent in the very content of the praise. Such Cato used when he said that he was envied for neglecting his own affairs and spending sleepless nights to serve his country.[a] So too with the lines

> I wise? I could have rested at my ease
> Unmarked among the mass of those who served
> And shared an equal fortune with the wisest

and

> Since I would not my former credit lose
> So hardly won, I take upon myself
> This present task as well.[b]

For it is with reputation and character as with a house or an estate: the multitude envy those thought to have acquired them at no cost or trouble; they do not envy those who have purchased them with much hardship and peril.[c]

15. It is not enough, however, to praise ourselves without giving offence and arousing envy; there should be some use and advantage in it as well, that we may appear not merely to be intent on praise, but to have some further end in view. Consider first, then, whether a man might praise himself to exhort his hearers and inspire them with emulation and ambition, as Nestor by recounting his own exploits and battles incited Patroclus[d] and roused the nine cham-

[a] *Cf. Life of Cato the Elder*, chap. viii. 15 (340 F).
[b] Euripides, *Philoctetes*, Frags. 787 and 789 (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* pp. 616-617).
[c] For this chapter *cf.* Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 52 (210).
[d] Homer, *Il.* xi. 655-762.

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6 ἕνεκα] εἵνεκα W.
7 ὡς G Xυ W ℑ JK Z: ὥσπερ.
8 παρώρμησε] παρώρμισε X[1] N M[1] Yl; ἐξώρμησε hk[1] (lacuna of 16 letters followed by σε i).

(544) μονομαχίαν[1] ἀνέστησεν. ἡ γὰρ ἔργον ὁμοῦ καὶ
E λόγον ἔχουσα προτροπὴ καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ ζῆλον οἰκεῖον ἔμψυχός[2] ἐστι καὶ κινεῖ καὶ παροξύνει καὶ μεθ' ὁρμῆς καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐλπίδας ὡς ἐφικτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀδυνάτων παρίστησι. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι χορῶν ᾄδουσιν οἱ μὲν τῶν γερόντων·

ἁμές[3] ποτ'[4] ἦμες[5] ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι,

οἱ δὲ τῶν παίδων·

ἁμὲς[6] δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα[7] πολλῷ κάρρονες,[8]

οἱ δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων·

ἁμὲς[9] δέ γ' εἰμές[10]· αἰ δὲ λῇς, αὐγάσδεο,[11]

F καλῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς τοῦ νομοθέτου τὰ πλησίον καὶ οἰκεῖα παραδείγματα τοῖς νέοις δι' αὐτῶν τῶν εἰργασμένων ἐκτιθέντος.

16. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ συστολῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ ταπεινῶσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ὑποχείριον τὸν αὐθάδη καὶ ἰταμὸν οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστι

[1] μονομαχίαν] μοναρχίαν W ; συμμαχίαν 𝔍 ; μοναχίαν N¹.

[2] ἔμψυχός] εὔψυχός D.

[3] ἁμές Bergk : ἅμες X M¹ Ylfq (ἄμες G¹ υ JK M²) ; ἄμμες (and so G³ and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxi. 3 [53 B]).

[4] πότ' (ποτ D ; ποτ' Vvw fp)] πόθ' (ποθ' k Y) RySs hki N M¹ Yl ; ποη X¹(?) ; ποὴ υ ; ποκ' *Life of Lycurgus*, *ibid.*

[5] ἦμες S¹ˀˢˢs¹ˢˢ M Y (ἦμες Ry ; ἧμες N l) : ἦμεν (ἦμεν D ; εἶμεν fq).

[6] ἁμὲς Bergk : ἅμες M¹ Yʳlfq (ἄμες G¹ Xυ JK M² p) : ἄμμες (and so G³ ; ἅμμες Yᵃʳ).

[7] ἐσσόμεσθα D M² : ἐσσόμεθα (ἐσόμεθα G υ Ry Z Vvw l) ; ε followed by a lacuna in hk¹i.

[8] κάρρονες (κάρροντες υ ; κάρονες S hk¹ Z ; κάρσονες J¹K)] κάρρωνες N M¹ Y (κάρωνες l).

[9] ἁμὲς Bergk : ἅμες M¹ Ylfpq (ἄμες G¹ Xυ JK M²) : ἄμμες (and so G³).

pions to offer themselves for the single combat.[a] For exhortation that includes action as well as argument and presents the speaker's own example [b] and challenge is endued with life: it arouses and spurs the hearer, and not only awakens his ardour and fixes his purpose, but also affords him hope that the end can be attained and is not impossible. Therefore in the Spartan choruses the old men sing [c]:

> Time was when we were valiant youths;

the boys sing:

> So we shall be, and braver far;

and the young men:

> So now we are: you need but look.

Here the legislator acted well and like a statesman in proposing to the young examples close at hand and taken from their own people, employing as spokesmen the very men whose actions were to be their model.

16. But there are also times when in order to overawe and restrain the hearer and to humble and subdue the headstrong and rash, it is not amiss to make

[a] Homer, *Il.* vii. 123-160; *cf.* Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 35 (p. 153. 6-10, ed. Keil).

[b] *Cf.* Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 141 (p. 186. 23 f., ed. Keil).

[c] *Carm. Pop.* 17, ed. Diehl; *cf. Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxi. 3 (53 B), and *Mor.* 238 A.

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[10] *εἰμές* Bergk: *εἰμέν* (*εἰμεν* G[1] D; *ειμεν* i; *εμὲν* h; *ἐμὲν* k); *εἶμεν* X[1]*υ* N M[1] Yl.

[11] *αἰ δὲ λῆς* (variously accented) *αὐγάσδεο* (-*άσδεο* W[R2] S[2] M[2] Vvw; -*άδεο* G X*υ* W Z Yl; -*αδέους* M[1][?]; -*άδες* N): *αἰ δὲ λῆς πεῖραν λάβε* D RyS[1]s hk[1] (*αἰ δὲ λῆς πεῖρ* followed by a lacuna i); *ἢν θέλης πεῖραν λάβε* (*θέλεις* W[R3mg]) J[1]K M[2γρ]; *ἢν θέλης πεῖραν λάβε· αἲ δὲ λῆς αὐγάσδεο* fpq.

(544) κομπάσαι τι περὶ αὑτοῦ καὶ μεγαληγορῆσαι, καθάπερ αὖ πάλιν ὁ Νέστωρ·

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἠέπερ ὑμῖν
ἀνδράσιν ὡμίλησα, καὶ οὔ ποτέ μ' οἵ γ' ἀθέριζον.

545 οὕτω δὴ[1] καὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ[2] Ἀριστοτέλης οὐ μόνον ἔφη τοῖς πολλῶν κρατοῦσιν ἐξεῖναι μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θεῶν[3] δόξας ἀληθεῖς ἔχουσι. χρήσιμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολεμίους καὶ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα·

δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μένει ἀντιόωσιν·

καὶ περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μεγάλου δὲ[4] καλουμένου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, "τί δ' ἐμοῦ[5] γε μείζων ἐκεῖνος, εἰ μὴ καὶ δικαιότερος;" καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγοροῦντας ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας· "ἡμεῖς μέντοι[6] ὑμᾶς βραχυλογοῦντας ἐπαύσαμεν."

B Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἐχθροὺς[7] καὶ πολεμίους· τῶν δὲ φίλων καὶ[8] πολιτῶν οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ τοὺς θρασυνομένους καταστορέσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ταπεινοτέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιφόβους καὶ καταπλῆγας ἐξᾶραι πάλιν καὶ παρορμῆσαι χρησάμενον ἐν δέοντι μεγαλαυχίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰς μάχας "ἐμεγαληγόρει," ἄλλοτε "δὲ οὐ μεγαληγόρος ἦν."[9] καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος

[1] δὴ] δὲ M ; ε Vvw omit. [2] ὁ] 𝔍 D J N omit.
[3] θεῶν (θαίων y)] θεὸν W^{ac} N. [4] δὲ] D omits.
[5] δ' ἐμοῦ (δὲ ἐμοῦ N)] δέ μου G X^{1}υ W 𝔍.
[6] μέντοι] μέν γε D ; μέν τε RySs.
[7] ἐχθροὺς] τοὺς ἐχθροὺς W.
[8] καὶ] καὶ τῶν G.
[9] μεγαληγόρος (so N M Y ; -ήγορος) ἦν] JK Zab omit.

some boast and extol oneself. To quote Nestor once more :

> Time was I served
> With better men than you, and never these
> Disdained my counsel.[a]

So too Aristotle[b] said to Alexander that not only the rulers of a great empire have a right to be proud but also those with true opinions about the gods. Useful too against public and private enemies are such remarks as these :

> Unhappy they whose sons oppose my power,[c]

and Agesilaüs'[d] saying about the King of the Persians (who was called " Great ") : " Wherein greater than I, if not more just ? " And Epameinondas'[e] reply to the Lacedaemonians when they denounced the Thebans : " We have at any rate put a stop to your Laconic speech."

These however are against enemies public and private ; among friends and countrymen we can not only calm and chasten the overbold, but also restore and rouse the spirits of the terrified and timorous by a seasonable recourse to self-praise. Thus in danger and in battle Cyrus " boasted, but at other times was not given to high talk."[f] And Antigonus the Second[g]

[a] Homer, *Il.* i. 260-261. *Cf.* Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lvii. 4.

[b] Frag. 664 (ed. Rose) ; *cf. Mor.* 78 D, 472 E.

[c] Homer, *Il.* vi. 127, quoted also by Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 108 (p. 176, ed. Keil).

[d] *Cf. Life of Agesilaüs*, chap. xxiii. 9 (608 F) ; *Mor.* 78 D, 190 F, 213 C.

[e] *Cf. Mor.* 193 D.

[f] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Cyropaedeia*, vii. 1. 17, also referred to by Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 105 (pp. 174-175, ed. Keil).

[g] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii. 4 (278 D), and *Mor.* 183 D.

(545) τἆλλα μὲν ἦν ἄτυφος[1] καὶ μέτριος, ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Κῶ[2] ναυμαχίᾳ τῶν φίλων τινὸς εἰπόντος, "οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅσῳ πλείους[3] εἰσὶν αἱ πολέμιαι νῆες;" "ἐμὲ
C δέ γε αὐτόν," εἶπεν, "πρὸς πόσας[4] ἀντιτάττετε;" καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἔοικεν συνιδεῖν Ὅμηρος· τὸν γὰρ Ὀδυσσέα πεποίηκεν ἀποδειλιώντων τῶν ἑταίρων πρὸς τὸν ψόφον καὶ κλύδωνα τὸν περὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν ἀναμιμνήσκοντα τῆς αὐτοῦ δεινότητος καὶ ἀνδρείας·

οὐ μὲν δὴ[5] τόδε μεῖζον ἔπι[6] κακὸν ἢ ὅτε[7] Κύκλωψ[8]
εἴλει ἐνὶ σπῆι γλαφυρῷ κρατερῆφι[9] βίηφι·
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνθεν ἐμῇ ἀρετῇ βουλῇ τε νόῳ τε
ἐκφύγομεν.

οὐ γάρ ἐστι δημαγωγοῦντος οὐδὲ σοφιστιῶντος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔπαινος οὐδὲ κρότον οὐδὲ ποππυσμὸν αἰτοῦντος,[10] ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐνέ-
D χυρον τοῦ θαρρεῖν τοῖς φίλοις διδόντος. μέγα γὰρ ἐν καιροῖς ἐπισφαλέσι πρὸς σωτηρίαν δόξα καὶ πίστις ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντος.

17. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸ πρὸς ἔπαινον ἀλλότριον καὶ δόξαν ἀντιπαραβάλλειν[11] ἑαυτὸν ἥκιστα πολιτικόν, εἴρηται πρότερον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅπου βλάπτει καὶ

[1] ἄτυφος] ἄταφος G^c y; ἄντυφος X^1.
[2] Κῶ (κῶι G^{aras} X^{aras} W J^1? M^1 Y^{ac})] κῶν M^2.
[3] πλείους] πλέους W.
[4] πόσας] πάσας D RySs hk^1i N M Vvw Y^1.
[5] μὲν δὴ k^2 and Homer: μὴν.
[6] τόδε μεῖζον ἔπι (ἔπει, ἔπει) most mss. of Homer: τόδε μεῖζον οἱ W N (οἱ M) Vvw (μέ- N Y)lfpq; τότε δὲ μέζον (τ. δε μεζον υ) οἱ X^1υ; τοῦτό γε μεῖζον G X^3; οἱ τόδε μεῖζον D RySs hk^1i; τόδε μεῖζον J^1K Zab.

was ordinarily sober and moderate, but in the sea-fight off Cos, when one of his friends said, " Do you not see how greatly the enemy's ships outnumber ours ? " he replied, " Yes, but against how many do you, my friends, set *me* ? " This too Homer appears to have understood, for he represents Odysseus, when his men were dismayed at the noise and raging waters of Charybdis, as recalling to them his own skill and stout heart :

> No greater peril this than when by force
> The Cyclops penned us in his hollow cave ;
> Yet from that cave my manhood and my wit
> Availed to save us.[a]

This is not the self-praise of a demagogue or would-be sophist or of one who courts plaudits and cheers,[b] but of a man who offers his virtue and understanding to his friends as security against despair. For at critical moments a successful outcome may depend largely on the regard and confidence that are placed in some man who possesses the experience and talents of a leader.

17. That it is most unstatesmanlike to pit oneself against the praise and fame of others was said earlier [c] ; yet where mistaken praise injures and corrupts by

[a] Homer, *Od.* xii. 209-212.
[b] Literally " tongue-smacking."
[c] Chapter 3, *supra.*

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[7] ἢ ὅτε X[3] D RySs (lacuna in h)k[1](.... ὅτε i) M[2] : ἢ ὁπότε G ; ποτε X[1]υ W N M[1] Ylfpq ; οἷόν ποτε J[1]K Zab Vvw.
[8] Κύκλωψ (κέκλωψ y ; κύκλωψε N ; κύκλω w)] W omits.
[9] κρατερῆφι G[1] Xευ Vvw Homer : κρατερῇ γε (and so G[4] ; καρτερῆι γε M).
[10] αἰτοῦντος] ποιοῦντος RySs hk (ποιοῦν followed by a lacuna i) J[2?mg] Zab N M[1] Vvw Ylf[2γρ]p.
[11] ἀντιπαραβάλλειν] ἀντιβάλλειν D Ry[2] (from -άλειν) Ss[c] hk[1]i.

(545) διαφθείρει ζῆλον ἐμποιῶν πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα καὶ προαίρεσιν πονηρὰν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἡμαρτημένος ἔπαινος, οὐκ ἄχρηστον[1] ἐκκροῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀποστρέψαι[2] τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τὴν διαφορὰν ἐνδεικνύμενον. ἀγαπήσειε γὰρ ἄν τις οἶμαι E λοιδορουμένης κακίας καὶ ψεγομένης ἐθέλοντας ἀπέχεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁρῶν· εἰ δὲ προσλάβοι δόξαν ἡ κακία καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡδονὰς αὐτῆς ἢ[3] πλεονεξίας ἄγοντι προσγένοιτο τιμὴ[4] καὶ τὸ εὐδοκιμεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐτυχὴς οὕτως[5] οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὰ φύσις ἧς οὐκ ἂν κρατήσειεν. διὸ δεῖ[6] μὴ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαίνοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἄνπερ[7] ᾖ φαῦλα, πολεμεῖν τὸν πολιτικόν· οὗτοι γὰρ διαστρέφουσι καὶ τούτοις τὸ μιμεῖσθαι τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ζηλοῦν ὡς καλὰ συνεισέρχεται.

F Μάλιστα δὲ ἐξελέγχονται τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς παρατιθεμένοις· οἷον ὁ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ὑποκριτὴς Θεόδωρος εἰπεῖν ποτε πρὸς τὸν κωμικὸν λέγεται Σάτυρον ὡς οὐ θαυμαστόν ἐστι τὸ γελᾶν ποιεῖν τοὺς θεατὰς ἀλλὰ τὸ δακρύειν καὶ κλαίειν· ἂν δέ γε οἶμαι[8] πρὸς τοῦτον αὐτὸν εἴπῃ φιλόσοφος ἀνήρ, "ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὦ βέλτιστε, κλαίειν καὶ δακρύειν, τὸ δὲ παύειν λυπουμένους καὶ κλαίοντας σεμνόν ἐστιν," ἐπαινῶν ἑαυτὸν[9] ὠφελεῖ τὸν ἀκούοντα καὶ μετατίθησι τὴν κρίσιν. οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ζήνων πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Θεοφράστου μαθητῶν, "ὁ ἐκείνου χορός," ἔφη,

[1] ἄχρηστον G D RySs hk¹i: ἄχρηστόν ἐστιν.
[2] ἀποστρέψαι] ἀποτρέψαι ε M¹ Vvw.
[3] ἢ] καὶ D; ἐκ RySs hk¹i.
[4] τιμὴ] το μὴ M¹; μὴ Vw; v omits.
[5] εὐτυχὴς οὕτως] οὕτως εὐτυχὴς Dε RySs hki.
[6] δεῖ (and so G⁴)] δὴ G¹? X¹?υ Zaᵃᶜ N¹.
[7] ἄνπερ] ἂν D RySs i N Vvw.

arousing emulation of evil and inducing the adoption of an unsound policy where important issues are at stake, it is no disservice to counteract it, or rather to divert the hearer's purpose to a better course by pointing out the difference. One would be well content, I think, to see the multitude, when vice is denounced and censured, willing to abstain from it; but if vice should acquire good standing, and if honour and reputation should be added to its temptations in the way of pleasure or profit, there is no human nature so fortunate or strong as not to succumb. It is not then with the praise of persons, but with that of acts, when they are vicious, that the statesman must wage war. For this sort of praise perverts; it brings with it the imitation and emulation of what is shameful as if it were noble.

Such praise is best shown for what it is when true praise is set beside it. For example the tragic actor Theodorus [a] once remarked, it is said, to the comedian Satyrus that there was nothing wonderful in making the audience laugh, but in making them weep and lament. Now I think if a philosopher replies to this same Theodorus: " Sir, it is not making men lament and weep, but putting an end to sorrow and lamentation that is admirable," this self-praise [b] benefits the hearer and corrects his judgement. Thus Zeno [c] said of the great number of Theophrastus' pupils: " His

[a] Theodorus and Satyrus were celebrated actors of the fourth century. The story is apparently not told elsewhere.

[b] Consolation was a recognized function of a philosopher.

[c] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 280; *cf. Mor.* 78 D.

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[8] ἂν δέ γε οἶμαι] ἄμεινον δ' οἶμαι, ἂν D.

[9] ἑαυτὸν G X[1]ευ W J[1]K: γὰρ (γὰρ ὡς y) ἑαυτόν.

546 "μείζων, οὑμὸς δὲ συμφωνότερος." καὶ ὁ Φωκίων ἔτι τοῦ Λεωσθένους εὐημεροῦντος[1] ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐρωτώμενος τί τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸν πεποίηκεν, "οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ[2] ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἐπιτάφιον λόγον μὴ εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐν τοῖς πατρῴοις μνήμασι θάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας." πάνυ δὲ χαριέντως καὶ ὁ Κράτης πρὸς τό

ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα[3] καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος
τέρπν' ἔπαθον[4]

ἀντέγραψε τό

ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν
B σέμν' ἐδάην.

καλὸς γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔπαινος καὶ ὠφέλιμος καὶ διδάσκων τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἀντὶ τῶν κενῶν καὶ περιττῶν. διὸ τοῦτο μὲν συγκατατετάχθω τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα.

18. Λείπεται δὲ ἡμῖν,[5] τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐφεξῆς ἀπαιτοῦντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος, εἰπεῖν ὅπως[6] ἂν ἕκαστος ἐκφύγοι τὸ ἐπαινεῖν ἀκαίρως ἑαυτόν. μέγα γὰρ ἡ περιαυτολογία τὴν φιλαυτίαν ὁρμητήριον ἔχουσα καὶ τοῖς πάνυ δοκοῦσι μετρίως ἔχειν πρὸς

[1] εὐημεροῦντος (and so G¹γρ)] εὐδοκιμοῦντος G¹ᵗ.
[2] ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ D: ἀλλὰ τοῦτο (ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο G⁴ ε; ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο τὸ JK).
[3] ἐφύβρισα W D RySs hki JK: ἐνύβρισα (-ησα N¹).
[4] καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος (μεθ' ἔρωτος W; μετ' ἔρωτα S²γρ) τέρπν'

is the larger chorus, mine the more harmonious." And while Leosthenes still prospered in his campaign Phocion replied when the speakers asked what service *he* had done the state: "Only that when I was general you speakers delivered no funeral oration, as all who died were buried in their family graves." [a] And the lines

> This have I: what I ate, what with high hand
> I seized, the lover's soft delight [b]

were very happily answered by Crates [c] when he wrote

> This have I: what I learned, what with deep thought
> I grasped, the Muses' stern delight.

Such praise as this is good and helpful, teaching admiration and love of the useful and profitable rather than of the vain and superfluous. So let this point take its place with the others in our discussion of the subject.

18. As the discussion now requires and invites us to proceed to the next point, it remains to state how we may each avoid unseasonable self-praise. Boasting has in self-love a powerful base of operations, and we can often detect its assaults even against those

[a] *Cf. Life of Phocion*, chap. xxiii. 2 (751 F). The dead in war were buried in a public grave: *cf.* Thucydides, ii. 34. 5.
[b] *Cf.* G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graec. Frag.* i. 308-311, and *Mor.* 330 F with the note (where read *Philology* for *Philosophy*). The lines passed for the epitaph of Sardanapalus: *cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 35 (101).
[c] Frag. 8 (ed. Diels).

ἔπαθον G Xυ W S²γρ JK Z M²: ἠδὲ (εἰ δὲ h; ἡ δὲ M¹ V; καὶ w) μετ' ἔρωτος (μετέρωτος D) τέρφθην (τέρφην y; ἐτέρφθην w).
[5] ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν JK N.
[6] ὅπως] πῶς Wilamowitz.

(546) δόξαν ἐμφαίνεται[1] πολλάκις ἐπιτιθεμένη. καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν ὑγιεινῶν ἕν ἐστι παραγγελμάτων τὸ τὰ C νοσώδη χωρία φυλάττεσθαι παντάπασιν ἢ προσέχειν μᾶλλον αὑτῷ γινόμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὕτως ἔχει τινὰς ἡ περιαυτολογία καιροὺς καὶ λόγους[2] ὀλισθηροὺς καὶ περιφέροντας εἰς[3] αὐτὴν ἐκ πάσης προφάσεως.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπαίνοις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὸ φιλότιμον ἐξανθεῖ τὴν περιαυτολογίαν· καί τις αὐτὸ καταλαμβάνει δακνόμενον[4] καὶ γαργαλιζόμενον οἷον ὑπὸ κνησμοῦ δυσκαρτέρητος ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὁρμὴ[5] πρὸς δόξαν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἕτερος ἢ[6] τοῖς ἐλάττοσιν ἐπαινῆται.[7] καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ πεινῶντες ἑτέρων ἐσθιόντων ἐν D ὄψει μᾶλλον ἐρεθίζονται καὶ παροξύνονται τὴν ὄρεξιν,[8] οὕτως ὁ τῶν[9] πλησίον ἔπαινος ἐκκαίει τῇ ζηλοτυπίᾳ τοὺς πρὸς δόξαν ἀκρατῶς[10] ἔχοντας.

19. Δεύτερον αἱ[11] τῶν εὐτυχῶς καὶ κατὰ νοῦν πεπραγμένων[12] διηγήσεις λανθάνουσι[13] πολλοὺς εἰς μεγαλαυχίαν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐκφέρουσαι καὶ κόμπον· ἐμπεσόντες γὰρ εἰς τὸ λέγειν νίκας τινὰς[14] αὐτῶν[15] ἢ κατορθώσεις ἐν πολιτεύμασιν ἢ παρ' ἡγεμόσι πράξεις καὶ λόγους εὐδοκιμήσαντας οὐ κρατοῦσιν οὐδὲ μετριάζουσιν. ᾧ γένει μάλιστα τῆς περιαυτολογίας τὸ αὐλικὸν[16] ἰδεῖν ἐστι καὶ στρατιωτικὸν

[1] ἐμφαίνεται (-φέ- N^1)] ἐμφύεται M^2.
[2] λόγους] τόπους Reiske.
[3] εἰς] D RySs omit.
[4] δακνόμενον (and so G^2)] γιγνόμενον G^1 ; γινόμενον $υ^{1γρ}$ 𝔍.
[5] ὁρμὴ (-ῇ i)] ὀργὴ G^1 (ὁ- X^1)υ W J^1?
[6] ἢ] ᾖ G^1 (ἧι X^1)υ RySs.
[7] ἐπαινῆται] ἐπαινεῖται G^1 X^1υ S^1 N M^1 V^1v Yl.
[8] τὴν ὄρεξιν] W omits : πρὸς ὄρεξιν hk.
[9] τῶν G Xευ W JK Z : τοῦ.

who are held to take but a modest interest in glory. For as one of the rules of health is either to avoid unwholesome places altogether, or being in them to take the greater care, so with self-love: there are certain treacherous situations and themes that make us blunder into it on the slightest occasion.

First, when others are praised, our rivalry erupts, as we said,[a] into praise of self; it is seized with a certain barely controllable yearning and urge for glory that stings and tickles like an itch, especially when the other is praised for something in which he is our equal or inferior. For just as in the hungry the sight of others eating makes the appetite sharper and keener, so the praise of others not far removed inflames with jealousy those who are intemperate in seeking glory.

19. Second, in telling of exploits that have been lucky and have turned out according to plan, many are so pleased with themselves that before they know it they have drifted into vainglorious boasting. For once they come to talk of some victory or political success or act or word of theirs that found favour with leading men, they get out of hand and go too far.[b] To this sort of self-glorification one may observe that courtiers and the military most readily succumb.

[a] Chapter 3, *supra*.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 630 B ff.

[10] *ἀκρατῶς*] *ἀκράτως* W.
[11] *αἱ*] *δὲ αἱ* Vvw.
[12] *πεπραγμένων*] *πεπραχότων* W.
[13] *λανθάνουσι* $X^3\epsilon$ D hki: *λαμβάνουσι*.
[14] *τινὰς*] G omits.
[15] *αὑτῶν* or *αὐτῶν* G X*υ* W JK Vvw: *ἑαυτῶν*.
[16] *τὸ αὐλικὸν* G^{4mg} $X^1\upsilon$ D RySs hki J^2 N M^1 Yl: *τὸ αὐλητικὸν* G^1; *τὸ ναυλιτικὸν* $X^{rec\ mg}$; *τὸ ναυτικὸν* J^1K Vvw; *τὸ ναυτιλικὸν* M^2 W^{R2} fpq; W is wanting.

(546) ἁλισκόμενον. συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ πότων[1] E ἡγεμονικῶν καὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἐπανήκουσι τοῦτο πάσχειν ἐπιεικῶς· μεμνημένοι γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν συγκαταπλέκουσι περὶ αὑτῶν εὐφημίας τινὰς ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένας, καὶ νομίζουσιν οὐχ αὑτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν ἀλλ' ἑτέρων ἐπαίνους διηγεῖσθαι περὶ αὑτῶν γενομένους. οἱ δὲ ὅλως οἴονται λανθάνειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὅταν βασιλέων καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἀπαγγέλλωσιν, ὡς οὐχ αὑτῶν ἐπαίνους, ἀποδείξεις δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπιεικείας καὶ F φιλανθρωπίας διεξιόντες. ὅθεν εὖ μάλα δεῖ προσέχειν ἑαυτοῖς περὶ τοὺς ἑτέρων ἐπαίνους, ὅπως καθαροὶ καὶ ἀνύποπτοι φιλαυτίας καὶ περιαυτολογίας ὦσιν καὶ μὴ δοκῶμεν "Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν," σφᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς δι' ἐκείνων[2] ἐπαινεῖν.

20. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ψόγους καὶ τὰς καταιτιάσεις γένος ἐπισφαλές ἐστι καὶ παρέχον ἐκτροπὰς τοῖς περὶ δόξαν νοσοῦσιν. ᾧ μάλιστα περιπίπτουσιν οἱ γέροντες ὅταν εἰς τὸ[3] νουθετεῖν ἑτέρους καὶ κακίζειν ἔθη φαῦλα καὶ πράξεις ἡμαρτημένας προαχθῶσι, μεγαλύνοντες αὑτοὺς ὡς περὶ 547 ταὐτὰ[4] θαυμασίους δή τινας γενομένους. τούτοις[5] μὲν οὖν, ἂν μὴ μόνον ἔχωσιν ἡλικίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἀρετήν, δοτέον (οὐ γὰρ ἀνωφελὲς ἀλλὰ μέγα,[6] ζῆλον ἐμποιοῦν ἅμα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τινὰ τοῖς οὕτω

[1] πότων D[1t] : τόπων (and so D[1ss] ; W is wanting).
[2] ἐκείνων] ἐκεῖνον C G[1].
[3] εἰς τὸ] εἰ (εἰ R?) τὸ RySs ; 𝔍 omits.
[4] ταὐτὰ Pohlenz : ταῦτα.

But it may also attack those who have returned from a governor's banquet or from handling affairs of state. For with the mention of illustrious and royal personages they interweave certain gracious remarks that these personages have addressed to them, and fancy that they are not praising themselves but recounting praise received from others. Some even suppose that the self-praise is quite unobserved by their audience when they report the greetings, salutations, and attentions of kings and generals, feeling that what they recite is not their own praise but proofs of the courtesy and affability of others. We must therefore look warily to ourselves when we recount praise received from others and see that we do not allow any taint or suggestion of self-love and self-praise to appear, lest we be thought to make Patroclus our excuse,[a] while we are really singing our own praise.

20. But the topic of censure and reproof also has its dangers and offers opportunities of deviation to those who suffer from a morbid craving for glory. Here old men especially go astray: once they have been drawn into admonishing others and rating unworthy habits and unwise acts, they magnify themselves as men who in the like circumstances have been prodigies of wisdom. These indeed, if not merely distinguished by years but by reputation and merit as well, must have licence. What they do is not unprofitable—far from it—: it arouses emulation and a kind of ambition in the persons so rebuked. But the

[a] *Cf.* Homer, *Il.* xix. 302, where the slave women lament ostensibly the death of Patroclus, but in reality their own woes: see Eustathius *ad loc.* and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 294.

[5] *τούτοις*] *τούτους* X[1]*v* 𝔍. [6] *μέγα v* 𝔍 D R hki N : *μέγαν*.

(547) κολαζομένοις)· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι σφόδρα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι τὴν ἐκτροπὴν ταύτην ὀφείλομεν. ἀνιαροῦ γὰρ ὄντος[1] ἄλλως καὶ μόλις ἀνεκτοῦ τοῦ τῶν πλησίον[2] ἐλέγχου καὶ δεομένου πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ὁ μιγνύων ἔπαινον ἴδιον ἀλλοτρίῳ ψόγῳ καὶ δι' ἀδοξίας ἑτέρου δόξαν αὑτῷ θηρώμενος ἐπαχθὴς παντάπασι καὶ φορτικός ἐστιν, ὡς ἐνευδοκιμεῖν[3] ἀσχημονοῦσιν ἄλλοις βουλόμενος.

21. Ἔτι τοίνυν τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς γέλωτας[4]
B εὐκαταφόροις φύσει καὶ προχείροις μάλιστα φεύγειν προσήκει καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς γαργαλισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ψηλαφήσεις ἐν αἷς τὰ λειότατα τοῦ σώματος ὀλισθάνοντα[5] καὶ συρρέοντα κινεῖ καὶ συνεξορμᾷ τὸ πάθος· ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἐμπαθέστερον ἐρρυήκασιν, τούτοις[6] ἂν τις οὐχ ἥκιστα παραινέσειεν ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν ὅταν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινῶνται. δεῖ γὰρ ἐρυθριᾶν ἐπαινούμενον, οὐκ ἀπερυθριᾶν, καὶ καταστέλλειν τοὺς μέγα τι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντας, οὐκ ἐλέγχειν[7] ὡς ἐνδεέστερον ἐπαινοῦντας· ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες
C αὐτοὶ καὶ προσεμφοροῦντες ἄλλας τινὰς πράξεις καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἄχρι οὗ[8] τῷ[9] παρ' αὑτῶν[10] καὶ τὸν[11] παρ' ἑτέρων ἔπαινον διαφθείρωσιν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν

[1] ὄντος] ὄντως C^{ac} X^{aras} N.
[2] πλησίον (and so G^4)] πλησίων G^1 X^1v R^{1ss} N.
[3] ἐνευδοκιμεῖν] εὐδοκιμεῖν RySs hk^1i v.
[4] γέλωτας C (γελωτας X^r) D $S^{2\gamma\rho}$ hki $JK^{1\gamma\rho}$ M^2 Y^2lfpq : γελῶντας (and so K^{1t}).
[5] ὀλισθάνοντα Bern. : ὀλισθαίνοντα (ὀ- C^1 ; -αι- in an erasure in Y).
[6] τούτοις] τούτους G^1.
[7] ἐλέγχειν (ἔχειν s ; ἐλέγχων N)] ἐπελέγχειν C.
[8] ἄχρι οὗ G^1 Xυ W : ἄχρις οὗ (οὗ from οὖ C) G^3 JK Z M^2 Vvw fpq ; ἄχρις ἂν Dε RySs hk^1i ; ἄχρις N M^1 Yl.

rest of us must carefully avoid and be wary of this deviation. For to point out the faults of our neighbours in any case gives pain, can hardly be borne, and requires great tact; but when a man intermingles praise of himself with censure of another, and uses another's disgrace to secure glory for himself, he is altogether odious and vulgar, as one who would win applause from the humiliation of another.[a]

21. Again, as those who are naturally prone and prompt to laugh should take special care to avoid being tickled or so handled that the smoothest particles [b] of the body glide and flow together and thus bring on and precipitate the fit, in the same way those with a too ardent weakness for fame should especially be advised to abstain from praising themselves when they are praised by others. For you should blush when praised, not be unblushing [c]; you should restrain those who mention some great merit of yours, not find fault with them for doing you scant justice, as most do, going on themselves to recall and gorge [d] themselves on other actions and feats of prowess until by thus commending themselves they undo the com mendation of others. Now some [e] tickle these men

[a] The word *eneudokimein* may have been suggested by Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 198.

[b] An atomistic explanation: *cf. Mor.* 765 C, 766 E for a similar explanation of love.

[c] Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 128; Menander, frag. 527 (vol. ii, p. 176 Körte).

[d] *Cf.* the comparison of the appetite for praise with hunger (540 A-B and 546 C-D, *supra*).

[e] *Cf. De Garrulitate*, chap. 20.

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9 τῷ X³ε D : τὸν (τῶν C M¹).

10 παρ' αὐτῶν Xylander (παρ' ἑαυτῶν X³ε) : περὶ αὑτῶν or περὶ αὐτῶν.

11 καὶ τὸν] καὶ τῶν D J N Y^acl fq (καὶ K¹).

(547) κολακεύοντες αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ γαργαλίζουσι καὶ φυσῶσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ κακοήθως οἷόν τι δέλεαρ μικρὸν εὐλογίας ὑποβάλλοντες ἐκκαλοῦνται τὴν περιαυτολογίαν, οἱ δὲ[1] προσπυνθάνονται καὶ διερωτῶσιν, ὡς παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ τὸν στρατιώτην, ἵνα γελάσωσιν·

—πῶς[2] τὸ τραῦμα τοῦτ' ἔχεις;
—μεσαγκύλῳ.—πῶς πρὸς θεῶν;—ἐπὶ κλίμακα
πρὸς τεῖχος ἀναβαίνων . . . ἐγὼ μὲν δεικνύω
ἐσπουδακώς, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἐπεμυκτήρισαν.

D 22. Ἐν ἅπασιν οὖν τούτοις εὐλαβητέον ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα μήτε συνεκπίπτοντα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις μήτε ταῖς[3] ἐρωτήσεσιν ἑαυτὸν προϊέμενον. ἐντελεστάτη[4] δὲ τούτων εὐλάβεια καὶ φυλακὴ τὸ προσέχειν ἑτέροις ἑαυτοὺς[5] ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ μνημονεύειν ὡς ἀηδὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ λυπηρὸν ἅπασι[6] καὶ λόγος ἄλλος οὐδεὶς[7] οὕτως ἐπαχθὴς οὐδὲ βαρύς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν ὅ τι πάσχομεν ἄλλο κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν αὑτοὺς ἐπαινούντων ὥσπερ φύσει βαρυνόμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ φεύγοντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σπεύδομεν· ὅπου καὶ[8] κόλακι καὶ παρασίτῳ καὶ E δεομένῳ δύσοιστον ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ δυσεγκαρτέρητον[9] ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζων πλούσιός τις ἢ σατράπης ἢ βασιλεύς, καὶ συμβολὰς ταύτας ἀποτίνειν μεγίστας

[1] οἱ δὲ] οἳ W.
[2] πῶς] πῶς δὴ D.

as it were by flattery and puff them up; others maliciously throw out a little tribute as a kind of bait to elicit self-praise; still others press for details and interrogate them for the fun of it, as with Menander's[a] soldier:

> —What made this scar?—A javelin.—O please
> Tell us the story.—I was on a ladder
> Scaling a wall . . . I in all seriousness
> Proceed to demonstrate; and then once more
> They sneered at me.

22. In all these circumstances we cannot be too cautious, not allowing ourselves to be drawn out by the praise nor to be led on by the questions. The surest precaution and safeguard is to attend closely to the self-praise of others and to remember the distaste and vexation that was felt by all: no other kind of talk is so odious or offensive. For although we can point to no further harm than the mere hearing of the self-praise, yet as though instinctively irked by the performance and uncomfortable we are eager to escape and breathe freely again. Why even a flatterer, a hanger-on, a man in need, finds it hard in his necessity to stomach and endure a rich man or satrap or king bestowing praises on himself, and calls it the most exorbitant reckoning he ever paid. Wit-

[a] Frag. 745 (vol. ii, p. 234 Körte).

[3] ταῖς] ἐν ταῖς Ws.
[4] ἐντελεστάτῃ (and so G4)] ἐντελέστατα ᾗ υ I Ws (ἐντελέστατον ᾗ G1 X).
[5] ἑαυτοὺς] ἑαυτοῖς C1 X1υ I Ws.
[6] ἅπασι] ἐν ἅπασι Ws Z.
[7] ἄλλος οὐδεὶς] οὐδεὶς ἄλλος G; οὐδεὶς R.
[8] ὅπου καὶ D and Reiske: ὅπως RySs; ὅπου.
[9] δυσεγκαρτέρητον C Garas? Xυ I Ws: δυσκαρτέρητον.

(547) λέγουσιν, ὡς ὁ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ·

σφάττει[1] με, λεπτὸς γίνομ' εὐωχούμενος·
τὰ σκώμμαθ'[2] οἷα τὰ σοφὰ καὶ στρατηγικά[3]·
οἷος[4] δ'[5] ἀλαζὼν ἐστιν ἀλιτήριος.[6]

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ πρὸς στρατιώτας μόνον οὐδὲ νεοπλούτους εὐπάρυφα καὶ σοβαρὰ διηγήματα περαίνοντας,[7] ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς σοφιστὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους καὶ στρατηγοὺς ὠγκωμένους[8] ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μεγαληγοροῦντας εἰωθότες πάσχειν[9] καὶ λέγειν, ἂν μνημονεύωμεν ὅτι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπαίνοις ἀλλότριος
F ἕπεται ψόγος ἀεὶ καὶ γίνεται τέλος ἀδοξία τῆς κενοδοξίας ταύτης, καὶ τὸ λυπεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης φησίν, περίεστιν, οὐ τὸ[10] δοκεῖν εἶναι τοιούτους, ἀφεξόμεθα τοῦ λέγειν περὶ αὑτῶν, ἂν μή τι μεγάλα[11] μέλλωμεν ὠφελεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

[1] σφάττει] σφάτει Xυ I W^{sac}.
[2] σκώμμαθ' (and so G^4)] σκώμαθ' C^2 (ώ from ῶ) G^1 X^{1}υ I W^s S w Yl.
[3] τὰ σοφὰ καὶ στρατηγικά] τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ σοφά G.
[4] οἷος (οἷος C^2)] οἷο C^1 ; οἷς RySs hk^{1}i N.
[5] δ'] Xε omit ; δι- N.
[6] ἀλιτήριος υ$^{2?}$ I W^s (ὁ ἀλιτήριος N ; ἀλητήριος X^1) : ἀλιτήριος (-λη- R$^{ac?}$ J v$^{ac?}$).

ness the character in Menander [a]:

> He murders me. The feasting makes me thin.
> Good God! The wit! The military wit!
> What airs he gives himself, the blasted windbag!

These are the feelings and language to which we are prompted not only by soldiers and the newly rich with their flaunting and ostentatious talk, but also by sophists, philosophers, and commanders who are full of their own importance and hold forth on the theme; and if we remember that praise of oneself always involves dispraise from others, that this vainglory has an inglorious end, the audience being left, as Demosthenes [b] says, with a feeling of vexation, not with any belief in the truth of the self-portrait, we shall avoid talking about ourselves unless we have in prospect some great advantage to our hearers or to ourselves.

[a] Frag. 746 (vol. ii, p. 234 Körte).
[b] *On the Crown*, 128.

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[7] *περαίνοντας* (and so G[4]; *παι-* N; *-ες* X[1]? w; *-ος* s)] *παραινοῦντας* G[1].
[8] *ὠγκωμένους* nos (*ὀγκωμένους* N; *ὀγκονομένους* W[s]): *ὀγκουμένους*.
[9] *πάσχειν* W[s]: *φάσκειν*.
[10] *οὐ τὸ*] *οὐ τῷ* X[1]v I; *οὕτω* J[1]K.
[11] *τι μεγάλα*] *τινα μεγάλα* Dϵ; *τι μέγα* Z and Reiske.

ON THE DELAYS OF THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

(DE SERA NUMINIS VINDICTA)

INTRODUCTION

This is perhaps the most admired of Plutarch's philosophical writings. Proclus [a] transcribed and adapted large portions of it in antiquity. In modern times it has received high praise from Christians as diverse in belief as Joseph de Maistre [b] and A. P. Peabody.[c] In an American edition we find this note [d] :

[a] In " The Ten Objections Brought Against Providence " (περὶ τῶν δέκα πρὸς τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀπορημάτων), preserved in the translation of William of Moerbeke, and published in Victor Cousin, *Procli Philosophi Platonici Opera Inedita* . . . (Paris, 1864), second edition, coll. 76-145. The borrowings, confined to the eighth and ninth " objections," were apparently first pointed out by A. Chassang in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* edited by Dr. Hoefer, Paris, Didot, vol. xl, p. 509, *s.v.* " Plutarque."

[b] *Cf.* Joseph de Maistre, *Sur les délais de la justice divine* . . . (Paris, 1858), pp. ii-iii : " Enfin je ne vois pas trop ce qu'on pourrait opposer à cet Ouvrage, parmi ceux des anciens philosophes. On trouvera sans doute çà et là, et dans Platon surtout, des traits admirables, de superbes éclairs de vérité ; mais nulle part, je crois, rien d'aussi suivi, d'aussi sagement raisonné, d'aussi fini dans l'ensemble."

[c] A. P. Peabody, *Plutarch on the Delay of the Divine Justice* (Boston, 1885), p. xxvi : " The most remarkable of all Plutarch's writings, the most valuable equally in a philosophical and an ethical point of view, and the most redolent of what we almost involuntarily call Christian sentiment, is that ' On the Delay of the Divine Justice,' . . ."

[d] *Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in Punishing the Wicked*, Revised Edition, with Notes, by Professors H. B. Hackett and W. S. Tyler, New York, 1868, p. 66, note.

It is within the knowledge of the writer that the reading of this very treatise of Plutarch, which we are about to examine, had a salutary effect on the mind of Professor Tholuck, at a time when he was inclined to scepticism, and was among the providential means of leading him to find the best solution of his doubts in the teachings of the Bible.

To the translations listed in the Preface may be added, apart from others that we have not seen,[a] those of Bilibaldus Pirckheymerus,[b] Joseph de Maistre,[c] Charles W. Super,[d] and Georges Méautis.[e]

Quietus,[f] to whom the dialogue is addressed, is presumably the same as the Quietus of the *De Fraterno Amore* (478 B), where a brother Nigrinus is mentioned, and of the *Quaestiones Convivales* (632 A), where it is implied that he had administered a pro-

[a] J. G. Berndt, *Zwei Abhandlungen*, 1) Axiochus. 2) Vom Verzuge der göttlichen Strafen. Stendal, 1784.

Dialogo di Plutarco del tardo gastigo della Divinità, tradotto dall' Ab. Sebastiano Ciampi. Florence, 1805.

Plutarchus over het Verwyl der goddelyke straffe: uit het Grieksch vertaald, met aanteekeningen door C. Groen, Dordrecht, 1826.

[b] *Plutarchi . . . de his qui tarde a Numine corripiuntur libellus.* Nuremberg, 1513.

[c] *Sur les délais de la justice divine dans la punition des coupables*; ouvrage de Plutarque, nouvellement traduit, avec des additions et des notes . . . Lyons and Paris, 1816.

[d] *Between Heathenism and Christianity*: Being a translation of Seneca's De Providentia, and Plutarch's De Sera Numinis Vindicta, together with Notes, Chicago, New York, Toronto, 1899.

[e] *Des délais de la justice divine par Plutarque.* Traduction nouvelle, précédée d'une introduction et accompagnée de notes explicatives. Lausanne, 1935.

[f] Here and in the *De Fraterno Amore* the restoration of the name is due to Patzig. In our dialogue the archetype had κύνιε; in the *De Fraterno Amore*, κύντε.

vince. Perhaps he is the T. Avidius Quietus, senator and sometime proconsul of Achaia,[a] mentioned by the younger Pliny in a letter assigned to the year 102 (*Ep.* vi. 29. 1)[b] in language that implies he was no longer living. If the letter is correctly dated, and if this identification of Quietus is right, we could infer that the dialogue was written before 103. There was, however, a second T. Avidius Quietus, who was consul in 111 and proconsul of Asia shortly before 127.[c] Pohlenz[d] identifies Plutarch's friend with this younger man on the ground that the essay *De Fraterno Amore* is subsequent to the essays *De Amicorum Multitudine* and *De Adulatore et Amico*; but the date of none of the three essays is known,[e] and the friendship of Plutarch's addressee with Sosius Senecio is chronologically more appropriate to the older man.[f] Plutarch's mention of a brother named Nigrinus also favours this identification. There appear to have been an older and a younger Avidius Nigrinus, generally taken to be father and son. The father was

[a] *Cf.* Groag and Stein, *Prosop. Imp. Rom. Saec.* I. II. III. Pars I² (1933), no. 1410, pp. 288 f.

[b] *Cf.* A. von Premerstein, "C. Julius Quadratus Bassus," in *Szb. d. bayr. Ak.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., no. 3 (Munich, 1934), p. 84, note 4.

[c] *Cf.* Groag and Stein, *op. cit.* no. 1409, pp. 287 f.; Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. vi, col. 18, *s.v.* "Avidius" 7a; J. and L. Robert, *Hellenika*, vol. vi (Paris, 1948), pp. 82 f.

[d] *Plutarchi Moralia*, vol. iii recc. et emendd. W. R. Paton, M. Pohlenz, W. Sieveking (Leipzig, 1929), p. 221. Pohlenz accepts Brokate's view of the chronological relation of the three essays involved: *cf.* K. Brokate, *De Aliquot Plut. Libellis* (Göttingen, 1913), pp. 17 ff.

[e] *Cf.* G. Hein. *Quaestiones Plut.* (Berlin, 1916).

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 478 B, 632 A. Sosius Senecio was consul in 99: *cf.* Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. iii A, coll. 1180 ff., *s.v.* "Q. Sosius Senecio."

probably the brother of the elder Quietus, the son the cousin of the younger.[a]

Thespesius, the hero of the myth, is doubtless a fiction of Plutarch's. The name was chosen for its meaning, *thespesios* being often used of things divine and strange.[b] "Aridaeus," the name borne by Thespesius before his vision, may be none other than the Ardiaeus of Plato.[c] His people, the Cilicians, enjoyed no favourable reputation, and to a Greek ear the very name of his city, Soli, suggested perversity.[d]

The scene of the dialogue is Delphi (*cf.* 552 F, 553 E, 556 F, 560 C), where Plutarch was for many years one of the two priests of Apollo.[e] The speakers are Plutarch himself, his son-in-law Patrocleas, his brother Timon, and Olympichus.

The dialogue was evidently not written before A.D. 81. In the myth the Sibyl foretells the eruption of Vesuvius (24-26 August 79) and speaks of a "good" emperor "of those days" who is to relinquish his

[a] *Cf.* Groag and Stein, *op. cit.* nos. 1407 and 1408.

[b] *Cf.* G. Soury, *La Démonologie de Plutarque* (Paris, 1942), p. 213, note 2: "Ce mot [that is, *thespesios*] qui signifie *divin*, *merveilleux*, s'applique bien à celui qui par une vraie faveur divine, une 'grâce,' a pu 'se convertir.'"

[c] *Cf.* Wyttenbach's note on 564 C. In quoting *Republic*, 615 E f., Justin Martyr (*Coh. ad Gent.* chap. xxvii, 25 D), Clement (*Strom.* v. 14. 90), and Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xiii. 5, 669 D) give the form Aridaeus.

[d] *Cf.* the use of σόλοικος in *Mor.* 817 B.

[e] *Cf.* K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1 (1951), col. 660. 3-39, who argues with Pomtow that Plutarch became priest in the middle or late nineties. It is perhaps not too fanciful to suppose that Plutarch refers at 559 B to his own experience of seeing Athens after a lapse of thirty years. As he was a student there in 66/7 (*Mor.* 385 B), we might feel justified in dating the dialogue at least thirty years later.

imperial power by dying of disease (566 E).[a] At the time of Thespesius' vision Nero was already dead (567 F). " Those days " must then refer to some time between Nero's death and the eruption. Of the five emperors who reigned in this interval only Vespasian and Titus [b] died a natural death. It is not likely that Vespasian is intended, as he expelled from Rome all the philosophers except Musonius (Dio Cassius, lxvi. 13), and revoked Nero's grant of freedom to Greece (Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* v. 41 ; Pausanias, vii. 17. 4), acts which might well have kept Plutarch from believing he could be called " good." [c] Titus, who died 13 September 81, was much beloved.[d] The dramatic date of the vision of Thespesius would fall between 24 June, the date of Titus' accession, and 24-26 August, when the eruption of Vesuvius took place, in A.D. 79.

The dialogue itself has two parts, the *logos* or argument, and the myth (563 E ff.).

[a] In *Mor.* 398 E, Plutarch mentions the " recent disasters in Cumae and Dicaearcheia " and the " bursting forth of mountain fire " as foretold long before the event in the Sibylline verses. There is no other evidence that Dicaearcheia (Pozzuoli) and Cumae were destroyed in the eruption (*cf.* R. Flacelière, *Plutarque Sur les Oracles de la Pythie*, Paris, 1937, p. 8, note 3). Some Sibylline verses doubtless mentioned such a disaster—catastrophes were a favourite subject with prophets—and the prediction came close enough to the truth to satisfy Plutarch.

[b] It is clear from *Mor.* 123 D that Plutarch did not accept the rumour that Titus was poisoned.

[c] In *Mor.* 771 C, Plutarch expresses his abhorrence of Vespasian's execution of the faithful Emponê, and says he was punished by the extinction of his line.

[d] *Cf.* Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, chap. i. A reference to Titus would be particularly apt as he had begun his career with many violent and vicious acts (*cf.* Suetonius, *ibid.* chapters vi-vii ; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 3)

When the conversation opens, "Epicurus,"[a] who had inveighed against divine providence, has just disappeared. Plutarch is left with his brother, his son-in-law, and Olympichus, all firm believers in the gods. The ensuing discussion is confined to one of the many objections raised by "Epicurus": the late punishment of the wicked.

Plutarch's three interlocutors present each a difficulty involved in such delay; and the *logos* ends with Plutarch's reply to Bion's objection that it is as absurd for God to punish the children for their fathers' sins as for a physician to treat a descendant for the diseases of an ancestor.

Patrocleas finds that late punishment fails to check further crimes or to comfort the victim (548 D). Olympichus adds that the delay promotes disbelief in providence and makes the punishment of no profit to the culprit. Timon is ready with a third objection, but is diverted for the moment (549 D-E).

In reply Plutarch disclaims any dogmatism; he pretends to do no more than establish a probability or likelihood (549 E). Four reasons are first given for God's delay:

(1) God is our model; he is slow to punish so that we may imitate his slowness and thus escape error (550 C).

(2) God allows the offender who is not incurable a certain period in which to recover; incurables he does away with at once (551 C).

(3) Some offenders are capable of eventually producing great benefits. It is better that their punish-

[a] *Cf.* Cherniss in *Mor.* xii, p. 6. The name may hint that a book of Epicurus (the Περὶ θεῶν?) has just been read aloud.

ment should wait until the benefits have been received (552 D).

(4) The manner and time of punishment should be appropriate ; hence punishment is often deferred (553 D).

At this point Plutarch indicates that heretofore the company has assumed that punishment is postponed ; but it can be argued that punishment is actually contemporary with the crime, and consists in the anguish of the guilty soul (553 F).

Timon now comes forward with the third objection : it is unjust to punish a descendant for an ancestor's crime (556 E).[a]

The answer falls into two parts, separated by a discussion of the survival of the soul. In the first three points are made :

(1) Many of Timon's stories of late punishment are fabulous (557 E ; Plutarch as much as admits that this answer is made merely to gain time).

(2) Timon approves the rewarding of descendants for services rendered by their ancestors ; he must also approve the punishment of descendants for their ancestors' crimes (557 F).

(3) A city counts as an individual, and has the same sort of continuity ; it is right, then, that it should suffer for its past misdeeds (558 F). What holds for a city holds for a family as well (559 C).

Olympichus interrupts to point out that Plutarch assumes the survival of the soul (560 A). Plutarch justifies the assumption, and says that punishments

[a] Contrast the explanations of Hermias (*Hermiae Alexandrini in Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, pp. 96-97, ed. Couvreur).

are inflicted after death through the medium of descendants for two reasons: that the living may see them and be deterred, and because such punishment is especially ignominious and painful (561 A).

Bion had said that God was more ridiculous in punishing a descendant for the crimes of an ancestor than a physician who treats a descendant for an ancestor's disease (561 C). Plutarch's reply is that the analogy holds when the punishment is preventive, and saves a descendant from succumbing to an inherited vicious bent.

The myth now follows (563 B). The "intelligent part" (τὸ φρονοῦν)[a] of the soul of a certain Aridaeus (who is renamed Thespesius in the course of his adventure) leaves his body (563 E), the rest of the soul remaining behind as an anchor (564 C), and preventing it from ascending very far (566 D). Four different scenes are visited: the place of emergence, where Thespesius sees the pure and impure souls, the latter showing certain colours due to the passions, and receives an explanation of the three kinds of punishment; the chasm of Lethe; the crater of dreams; and the place of punishment.[b]

The scene of the emergence is at the confines of the sublunary region, where the atmosphere of air gives way to one of fire or aether. Thus the souls of the dead "make a flamelike bubble as the air is displaced" (563 F) and the stars appear larger and more distant from one another than when seen from the earth. Thespesius is next taken to a vast chasm (565 E) extending clear through to the earth. This

[a] For Plutarch's views on the relation of the rational and emotional parts of the soul *cf. Mor.* 1025 D-E, 1026 C-D.

[b] *Cf.* Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*³, pp. 43 f.

" place of Lethe " is doubtless the earth's shadow, ending at the upper limit of the sublunary region (*cf. Mor.* 591 A and note). It represents the pleasures of the body which cause the soul to lose its buoyancy and sink down to another birth. A second journey, of equal length with the first, takes him to a mirage-like crater, which turns out on closer view to be a chasm in the ambient. Here he is close enough to the moon to be caught in its wash, but cannot rise high enough to behold the oracle of Apollo. Presumably, then, the crater is also at the confines of the sublunary region and of the empyrean ; it is probably the shadow of the moon. Next he views the punishments of wicked souls, including that of his own father. The punishment of ancestors whose crimes have been visited on their descendants is especially noted, as is the punishment that would have awaited him if he had persisted in his covetous way of life. No journey to this scene is mentioned, nor is its situation indicated ; perhaps it was thought to be in the southern hemisphere of the earth [a] or of the sublunary region. The final spectacle, which doubtless makes part of this scene, is that of the souls being reshaped for birth in the forms of lower animals (567 E). The Platonic doctrine of reincarnation is here assumed.[b]

As Thespesius is about to turn back, he is snapped

[a] *Cf. Axiochus*, 371 A-B, and Cumont, " Les Enfers selon l'Axiochos " in *Comptes-Rendus*, Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, 1920, pp. 272-285.

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 617 D. It had been objected that the souls of men could not be incarnated in lower animals, as the bodies of brutes could not provide the proper organs for a human soul (*cf.* Aristotle, *De Anima*, i. 3 [407 b 20-26], and Nemesius, chap. ii [pp. 119 f. Matthaei]). Plutarch meets this objection by letting artisans reshape the souls.

back to his body in a great rush of wind, opening his eyes again, like Er in Plato, at his grave.

The essay is No. 91 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on GXFZI DRy(SK)hki N M(*αυζ*)Vv Y(J) CW(W^{R} qflp). MSS. only occasionally cited are here enclosed in parenthesis.

(548) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ[1]

1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος[2] εἰπών, ὦ Κυῆτε,[3]
B καὶ πρὶν ἀποκρίνασθαί τινα, πρὸς τῷ πέρατι τῆς στοᾶς γενομένων ἡμῶν, ᾤχετο ἀπιών· ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅσον τι θαυμάσαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐπιστάντες σιωπῇ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαβλέψαντες ἀνεστρέφομεν πάλιν ὥσπερ ἐτυγχάνομεν περιπατοῦντες.

Εἶτα πρῶτος ὁ Πατροκλέας,[4] "τί οὖν;" εἶπεν. "ἐᾶν δοκεῖ τὴν ζήτησιν, ἢ τῷ λόγῳ καθάπερ παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος[5] ἀποκρινώμεθα[6] τοῦ εἰπόντος;"

Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Τίμων, "ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ βαλών," εἶπεν, "ἀπηλλάγη, καλῶς εἶχε περιορᾶν τὸ βέλος
C ἐγκείμενον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Βρασίδας ὡς ἔοικεν ἐξελκύσας τὸ δόρυ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν βαλόντα πατάξας ἀνεῖλεν· ἡμῶν δὲ ἀμύνασθαι μὲν οὐδὲν

[1] π. τ. ὑπὸ τ. θ. βρ. τιμ.] περὶ βραδέως κολαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου Lamprias; [περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ] θείου [βραδέως κολα]ζομένων F[1] K[1] at the end (the bracketed letters are lost in F); ὅτι βράδιον οἱ θεοὶ τιμωροῦνται Sopater (Photius, *Bibl.* 104a40).

[2] ἐπίκουρος (*cf.* p. 175 note, *supra*)] Ἐπικούρειος Fabricius.

[3] Κυητέ Patzig: κύνιε (κύριε Vv).

[4] Πατροκλέας] Vv have πατροκλέης and its cases everywhere (at 549 B V[1ss] has -εις); Y[2] has -έης here and at 548 C; G X[1t]

ON THE DELAYS OF THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

1. When he had made this speech, my dear Quietus, Epicurus did not even wait for an answer, but made off on our reaching the end of the colonnade. The rest of us, pausing only long enough to exchange mute glances of astonishment at the fellow's singularity, turned about and resumed our walk.

Patrocleas was the first to speak. "Well, what shall we do?" he asked. "Shall we drop the question, or answer the arguments of the speaker in his absence as we should have done in his presence?"

Timon replied: "Why, if he had escaped after striking us with a real shaft,[a] we could not have left it sticking in us. We are told, indeed, that Brasidas plucked the spear from his body and with that very weapon struck and killed the thrower.[b] It is, how-

[a] *Cf.* the proverbial expression βαλὼν φεύξεσθαι οἴει (do you, having cast your weapon, think to get off scot-free?), Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 52, ii, p. 18, and Plato, *Symposium*, 189 B.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 190 B and 219 C.

F Z[2] I have -εις at 549 B; G[3?] F have -εις at 553 D. The error spread from 549 B, where all except D W[2] have -έους for -έου.

[5] παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος] παρόντος G[1] hki.

[6] ἀποκρινώμεθα X[3] K[2] M Vv Y[2]: ὑποκρινώμεθα (so N[2]) or ὑποκρινόμεθα (ὑπὸκρινόμεθα N[1]).

(548) ἔργον ἐστὶ δήπου τοὺς ἄτοπον ἢ ψευδῆ λόγον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀφέντας, ἀρκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὶν ἅψασθαι τὴν δόξαν ἂν ἐκβάλωμεν."[1]

"Τί οὖν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "μάλιστα κεκίνηκεν ὑμᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων; ἀθρόα γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τάξιν οὐδέν, ἄλλο δὲ ἀλλαχόθεν ἄνθρωπος[2] ὥσπερ ὀργῇ τινι καὶ λοιδορίᾳ σπαράττων ἅμα κατεφόρει[3] τῆς προνοίας."

2. Καὶ ὁ Πατροκλέας, "ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας," εἶπε, "τῶν πονηρῶν βραδυτὴς τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ D μέλλησις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μάλιστα δεινὸν εἶναι· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὥσπερ πρόσφατος γέγονα τῇ δόξῃ καὶ καινός· ἔκπαλαι δὲ ἠγανάκτουν ἀκούων Εὐριπίδου λέγοντος

μέλλει, τὸ θεῖον δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον φύσει.

καίτοι πρὸς οὐθέν,[4] ἥκιστα δὲ πρέπει πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ῥάθυμον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, οὐ ῥαθύμους ὄντας αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ 'ἀμβολιεργοὺς' τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀξυτάταις ὁρμαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν φερομένους πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας. καὶ μὴν 'τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τῷ[5] παθεῖν,' ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, 'ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω E κείμενον' εὐθὺς ἀντιφράττει τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εὐροούσῃ τῇ κακίᾳ χρωμένοις. οὐθὲν γὰρ οὕτω χρέος[6] ὡς τὸ τῆς δίκης ὑπερήμερον γινόμενον ἀσθενῆ μὲν ταῖς ἐλπίσι ποιεῖ καὶ ταπεινὸν

[1] ἐκβάλωμεν] ἐκβάλλωμεν Ry N² (-ο- N¹) M Y.
[2] ἄνθρωπος l and Dübner (ὁ ἄνθρωπος D Ry K): ἄνθρωπος.
[3] κατεφόρει] κατεφρόνει G¹ X¹ᵐᵍ F¹ᵐᵍ.
[4] οὐθέν] οὐθέν' Capps.
[5] τὸ ἀμύνασθαι (ἀμύνεσθαι hki) τῷ] τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ D Ry

ever, no business of ours to strike back at those who have let fly at us an absurd or false argument; for us it is enough to get rid of the doctrine before it becomes lodged in us."

"What did you find most disturbing in his speech?" I asked. "For it was with a jumble of disordered remarks, picked up here and there, that the fellow pelted providence, lashing out at it the while as if in an outburst of scurrilous fury."

2. Patrocleas replied: "The delay and procrastination of the Deity in punishing the wicked appears to me the most telling argument by far, and at this moment these words of his have made me fresh and new, as it were, in my old feeling of exasperation. Yet that feeling dates from long ago, when it would chafe me to hear Euripides [a] say:

> Apollo lags; such is the way of Heaven.

But God should be indolent in nothing [b]; least of all does it become him to be so in dealing with the wicked, who are not indolent themselves or 'postponers of their work' [c] of doing wrong; nay, their passions drive them headlong to their crimes. Furthermore, as Thucydides [d] says, when 'requital follows closest on the injury' it at once blocks the path of those who are carried farthest by their successful facility in vice. For no debt as it falls overdue so weakens the cheated victim in his hopes and breaks

[a] *Orestes*, 420. [b] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, 901 E.
[c] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 413. [d] iii. 38. 1.

S[2mg] K[1ss]. The MSS. of Thucydides are divided between ἀμύνασθαι τῷ and ἀμύνεσθαι τῷ, both anarthrous. *Cf.* also 551 A, *infra.*

[6] χρέος] χρέως D[1] v Y[1].

(548) τὸν ἀδικούμενον, αὔξει δὲ θρασύτητι καὶ τόλμῃ τὸν μοχθηρόν· αἱ δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῖς τολμωμένοις[1] ἀπαντῶσαι τιμωρίαι καὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰσὶν ἐπισχέσεις ἀδικημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τὸ παρηγοροῦν τοὺς πεπονθότας ἔνεστιν αὐταῖς. ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βίαντος ἐνοχλεῖ πολλάκις ἀναλαμβάνοντι
F τὸν λόγον· ἔφη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, πρός τινα πονηρὸν ὡς οὐ δέδιεν μὴ οὐ δῷ δίκην, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐπίδῃ. τί γὰρ Μεσσηνίοις ὄφελος τοῖς προαναιρεθεῖσι τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους τιμωρίας, ὃς προδοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ Κάπρῳ[2] μάχην καὶ λαθὼν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ πάντα ταῦτα βασιλεύσας Ἀρκάδων ὕστερον ἔδωκεν δίκην φωραθείς, οἱ δὲ οὐκέτ' ἦσαν; ἢ τίνα Ὀρχομενίων τοῖς ἀποβαλοῦσι παῖδας καὶ φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ὑπὸ Λυκίσκου προδοθέντας ἤνεγκε παραμυθίαν ἡ χρόνοις ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἁψαμένη
549 νόσος καὶ[3] κατανεμηθεῖσα τοῦ σώματος, ὃς[4] ἀεὶ βάπτων καὶ βρέχων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ὤμοσε καὶ κατηράσατο σαπῆναι, προδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδικήσαντος; τὰς μὲν γὰρ Ἀθήνησι[5] τῶν ἐναγῶν σωμάτων ῥίψεις καὶ νεκρῶν ἐξορισμοὺς οὐδὲ παίδων παισὶν ἐπιδεῖν[6] ὑπῆρξε τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἐκείνων.

[1] *τολμωμένοις*] *γινομένοις* G F¹ᵗ v Y¹ᵐᵍ.
[2] *Κάπρῳ* Reiske (from Pausanias, iv. 19. 3) : *κύπρῳ* (*Τάφρῳ* Ald.²).
[3] *νόσος καὶ* Gᶜ X³ F D Ry K k Vv : *νόσος*.
[4] *ὃς*] *ὅσον* D.
[5] *ἀθήνησι* X³ D S K M Y³ : *ἐν ἀθήνησι*.
[6] *ἐπιδεῖν* G X F Z Vv : *ἰδεῖν*.

[a] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 126. 12-16 (ed. Cousin²).
[b] Plutarch has apparently confused the treason of Aristocrates at the "trench" (for which *cf.* Polybius, iv. 33. 5-6, and Pausanias, iv. 17. 2, viii. 5. 13) with the victory of Aris-

his spirit, and so strengthens the wrongdoer in confidence and boldness, as the debt of merited punishment[a]; whereas the chastisement that at once confronts audacious acts both serves as a check to future crimes and is of greatest comfort to the injured. Hence, as I consider the argument, I am repeatedly plagued by the saying of Bias. We are told that he remarked to a certain scoundrel : 'I do not fear that you will fail to get your deserts, but that I shall not live to see it.' For what did the punishment of Aristocrates profit those Messenians who were already slain, when, after betraying them in the battle at the Cairn of the Boar[b] and escaping detection for over twenty years (during all which time he was king of the Arcadians), he was later found out and paid the penalty—but his victims were no more ? Or what comfort did those Orchomenians who had lost children, friends, and kin through the treason of Lyciscus derive from the disease that attacked him long after and spread over his body, when he was always dipping and wetting it in the river, and with an oath called down a curse that it should rot—after he had betrayed them and done the wrong?[c] As for the casting out at Athens of the polluted dead and banishment of corpses beyond the borders, these were acts that not even the children's children of the slaughtered victims lived to see.[d] And so Euripides[e] is absurd

tomenes at the Cairn of the Boar (for which *cf.* Pausanias, iv. 19. 3).

[c] Lyciscus and his fate are otherwise unknown ; both text and translation are doubtful. Perhaps the destruction of Minyan Orchomenus in 364 B.C. is meant, for which *cf.* Diodorus, xv. 79. 5.

[d] *Cf. Life of Solon*, chap. xii. 3-4 (84 c), and Thucydides, i. 126. 12.

[e] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 979.

(549) ὅθεν Εὐριπίδης ἄτοπος εἰς ἀποτροπὴν κακίας τούτοις χρώμενος·

> οὔτοι προσελθοῦσ' ἡ Δίκη σε, μὴ τρέσῃς,
> παίσει πρὸς ἧπαρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων βροτῶν
> τὸν ἄδικον, ἀλλὰ σῖγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ
> B στείχουσα μάρψει[1] τοὺς κακοὺς ὅταν τύχῃ.

οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα δήπου, ταῦτα δὲ αὐτὰ τοὺς κακοὺς[2] εἰκός ἐστιν ἑαυτοῖς διακελευομένους καὶ παρεγγυῶντας ἐπιχειρεῖν[3] τοῖς παρανομήμασιν, ὡς τῆς ἀδικίας τὸν μὲν καρπὸν εὐθὺς ὡραῖον καὶ προὔπτον ἀποδιδούσης, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν ὀψὲ καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως καθυστεροῦσαν."

3. Ταῦτα τοῦ Πατροκλέου διελθόντος ἐπιβαλὼν ὁ Ὀλύμπιχος,[4] "ἐκεῖνο δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Πατροκλέα, πηλίκον αἱ περὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θείου διατριβαὶ καὶ μελλήσεις ἄτοπον ἔχουσιν, ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἡ βραδυτὴς ἀφαιρεῖ[5] τῆς προνοίας, καὶ τὸ μὴ παρ' ἕκαστον C ἀδίκημα τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐπακολουθοῦν κακόν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, εἰς ἀτυχήματος χώραν τιθέμενοι καὶ συμφοράν, οὐ τιμωρίαν, ὀνομάζοντες οὐθὲν ὠφελοῦνται, τοῖς μὲν συμβαίνουσιν ἀχθόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πεπραγμένοις μὴ μεταμελόμενοι. καθάπερ γὰρ ἵππον ἡ[6] παραχρῆμα τὸ πταῖσμα καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν διώκουσα πληγὴ καὶ νύξις ἐπανορθοῖ καὶ μετάγει πρὸς τὸ δέον, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνον σπαραγμοὶ καὶ ἀνακρούσεις καὶ περιψοφήσεις ἑτέρου τινὸς ἕνεκα μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν[7] ἢ διδασκαλίας, δι' ὃ τὸ λυποῦν ἄνευ τοῦ παιδεύειν ἔχουσιν, οὕτως

[1] μάρψει] μάρπτει Stobaeus.
[2] κακοὺς] κακῶς G X^1 F Z^1 k^{ac} N.
[3] ἐπιχειρεῖν M^2: ἐπιχαίρειν.

when he would deter us from evil with thoughts like these :

> Not to thy face, fear not, nor any villain's
> Will Justice deal the fatal blow ; but soft
> And slow of tread, she will, in her own season,
> Stalking the wicked, seize them unawares.

Why, these and none other are the very thoughts with which the wicked are likely to encourage and incite one another when they set out to do wrong—that injustice yields at once a timely and certain harvest, while punishment comes tardily and far too late to prevent the enjoyment."

3. When Patrocleas had done Olympichus added : " But there is another absurdity, Patrocleas—and how great it is !—involved in all this procrastination and delay of the Deity : that his slowness destroys belief in providence, and the wicked, accounting the ill that does not follow close upon each separate misdeed, but comes later, ill luck, and naming it not punishment, but mischance, derive no profit : they are to be sure distressed by the consequences, but feel no regret for the act. For just as the blow or prick that at once follows a misstep or fault serves to correct a horse and put him in the right path, whereas if you belabour the animal, pull at the reins, and crack the whip later, when time has elapsed, such action, being felt to have some other purpose than that of training, torments without instructing, in like manner

[4] Ὀλύμπιχος Bern. (from *Mor.* 654 B) : ὀλυμπικὸς (ὀλυμπιακὸς is found at 561 B in X[1] F v ; at 563 B in X[1]v F S).

[5] ἀφαιρεῖ] ἀφαιρεῖται F D.

[6] ἵππον ᾗ Reiske : ᾗ ποινῇ ᾗ (ποινὴ ἢ X[3]).

[7] γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν nos : δοκοῦσι (-ν N) γίνεσθαι (from γενέσθαι G[4]). Pohlenz suggests that the hiatus might be removed by deleting ἢ διδασκαλίας.

(549) D ἡ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν πταίει καὶ προπίπτει[1] ῥαπιζομένη καὶ ἀνακρουομένη τῷ κολάζεσθαι κακία μόλις ἂν γένοιτο σύννους καὶ ταπεινὴ καὶ κατάφοβος πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι καὶ πάθεσιν οὐχ ὑπερήμερον δικαιωτήν· ἡ δὲ ἀτρέμα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ κατ' Εὐριπίδην καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπιπίπτουσα Δίκη τοῖς πονηροῖς τῷ αὐτομάτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ὅμοιον ἔχει τὸ πεπλανημένον καὶ ὑπερήμερον καὶ ἄτακτον. ὥστε οὐχ ὁρῶ τί χρήσιμον ἔνεστιν τοῖς ὀψὲ δὴ τούτοις E ἀλεῖν λεγομένοις μύλοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν δίκην ἀμαυρὰν καὶ τὸν φόβον ἐξίτηλον τῆς κακίας."

4. Ῥηθέντων οὖν τούτων κἀμοῦ πρὸς αὐτοῖς[2] ὄντος, ὁ Τίμων, "πότερον," εἶπεν, "ἐπιθῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη τῷ λόγῳ[3] τὸν κολοφῶνα τῆς ἀπορίας, ἢ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐάσω πρότερον αὐτὸν διαγωνίσασθαι;"

"Τί γάρ," ἔφην ἐγώ, "δεῖ τὸ τρίτον ἐπενεγκεῖν κῦμα καὶ προσκατακλύσαι τὸν λόγον, εἰ τὰ πρῶτα μὴ δυνατὸς ἔσται διώσασθαι μηδὲ ἀποφυγεῖν ἐγκλήματα;"

"Πρῶτον οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑστίας ἀρχόμενοι πατρῴας τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβείας τῶν ἐν[4]

[1] προπίπτει F[1] hki N M[1] Y[1] : προσπίπτει.
[2] αὐτοῖς Reiske (*cf. Mor.* 1100 E) : αὐτὸν or αὐτὸν (ἑαυτὸν S).
[3] λόγῳ G X F Z I M[ac] : λογισμῷ.
[4] ἐν X[3] hki Vv : μὲν ἐν.

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[a] *Cf.* 549 B, *supra.*
[b] A reference to the proverb

ὀψὲ θεῶν ἀλέουσι μύλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λεπτά

"The mills of the gods are slow in grinding, but grind fine,"

a viciousness that at every stumble and plunge is whipped and pulled up by punishment might at last become circumspect and humble and fearful of God as one who in his government of the affairs and passions of men is no procrastinating justicer; whereas the Justice that falls upon the wicked with soft tread and slow and in her own season, as Euripides [a] says, resembles the fortuitous rather than the providential in the want of certainty, of timeliness, and of order. I accordingly fail to see the good in that proverbial slow grinding of the mills of the gods,[b] which obscures the fact of punishment and allows the fear of wickedness to fade."

4. I was pondering these remarks when Timon said: "Shall I now speak in my turn and burden the argument with the crowning difficulty, or shall I first allow it to fight it out with these objections?"

"Why bring on the 'third wave,'" [c] said I, "and swamp the argument further, if it proves unable to repel or escape the first charges?"

"First, then, beginning as from our ancestral hearth [d] with the scrupulous reverence of the philo-

or in Longfellow's version of Friedrich von Logau:

"Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all."

[c] The "first wave" is the speech of Patrocleas, the "second" that of Olympichus, and the "third" the speech of Timon (556 E—557 E, *infra*). For the expression "third wave" *cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 472 A; the personification of the argument is also Platonic.

[d] 'Ἀφ' ἑστίας ἀρχόμενοι ("beginning with the hearth") is a proverbial expression for beginning with first things first. *Cf. Mor.* 93 E, 948 B, 1074 E, and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, pp. 14. 9, 385. 14, ii, pp. 62. 3, 321. 5.

(549) F Ἀκαδημίᾳ φιλοσόφων, τὸ μὲν ὡς εἰδότες τι περὶ τούτων λέγειν[1] ἀφοσιωσόμεθα. πλέον γάρ ἐστι τοῦ περὶ μουσικῶν ἀμούσους καὶ πολεμικῶν ἀστρατεύτους διαλέγεσθαι τὸ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ[2] δαιμόνια πράγματα διασκοπεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, οἷον ἀτέχνους τεχνιτῶν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ δόξης καὶ ὑπονοίας[3] κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς μετιόντας. οὐ γὰρ ἰατροῦ μὲν ἰδιώτην ὄντα συμβαλεῖν[4] λογισμόν, ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ἔτεμεν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, οὐδ' ἐχθὲς[5] ἔκαυσεν,[6] ἀλλὰ σήμερον, ἔργον ἐστί, περὶ θεῶν δὲ θνητὸν ῥᾴδιον ἢ βέβαιον εἰπεῖν ἄλλο πλὴν ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν
550 εἰδὼς ἄριστα τῆς περὶ τὴν κακίαν ἰατρείας ὡς φάρμακον ἑκάστῳ προσφέρει τὴν κόλασιν, οὔτε μεγέθους μέτρον κοινὸν οὔτε χρόνον ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχουσαν.[7] ὅτι γὰρ ἡ περὶ ψυχὴν[8] ἰατρεία, δίκη δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνη προσαγορευομένη, πασῶν ἐστι τεχνῶν μεγίστη, πρὸς μυρίοις ἑτέροις καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν, 'ἀριστοτέχναν' ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κύριον ἁπάντων θεόν, ὡς δὴ δίκης ὄντα δημιουργόν, ᾗ προσήκει τὸ πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ μέχρι πόσου κολαστέον ἕκαστον τῶν πονηρῶν ὁρίζειν. καὶ ταύτης φησὶ τῆς τέχνης ὁ

[1] περὶ τούτων λέγειν G X F Z I : λέγειν περὶ τούτων.
[2] καὶ τὰ G X F Z I : καὶ.
[3] ὑπονοίας Meziriacus : διανοίας (ἀγνοίας Post).
[4] συμβαλεῖν] συμβάλλειν G[1] X[1] F Z I.
[5] οὐδ' ἐχθὲς Bern. : οὐδὲ χθὲς (οὐδεχθὲς X[1] F k N[1]).
[6] ἔκαυσεν Klostermann : ἔλουσεν (ἔλυσεν K C).
[7] ἔχουσαν G[3?] X[3] hki M[1] Vv Y[2] : ἔχουσα.

sophers of the Academy for the Deity, we shall disavow any pretension to speak about these matters from knowledge. For it is presumptuous enough for those untrained in music to speak about things musical, and for those of no military experience about war; but it is more presumptuous for mere human beings like ourselves to inquire into the concerns of gods and daemons, where we are like laymen seeking to follow the thought of experts by the guesswork of opinion and imputation. It cannot be that while it is hard for a layman to conjecture the reasoning of a doctor—why he used the knife later and not before, and cauterized not yesterday but to-day—it should be easy or safe for a mortal to say anything else about God than this: that he knows full well the right moment for healing vice, and administers punishment to each patient as a medicine, a punishment neither given in the same amount in every case nor after the same interval for all.[a] For that the cure of the soul, which goes by the name of chastisement and justice,[b] is the greatest of all arts,[c] Pindar [d] has attested with countless others, when he invokes the god who is ruler and sovereign of the world as him 'of noblest art,' intimating that he is artificer of justice, which has the task of determining for each evil-doer the time, the manner, and the measure of his punishment. And of this art Minos son of Zeus

[a] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 128. 8-14; 127. 16-20; 132. 7-19 (ed. Cousin²).

[b] Perhaps an allusion to Plato, *Gorgias*, 464 B.

[c] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 127. 38-40 (ed. Cousin²).

[d] Frag. 57 (ed. Schroeder), quoted also in *Mor.* 618 B, 807 C, 927 B, and 1065 E. The god is Zeus.

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[8] ψυχὴν G X F Z hki Vv: τὴν ψυχήν.

(550) Πλάτων υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Διὸς γεγονέναι τὸν Μίνω
B μαθητήν, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαίοις κατορθοῦν οὐδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι τοῦ κατορθοῦντος τὸν μὴ μαθόντα μηδὲ κτησάμενον τὴν ἐπιστήμην. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὓς ἄνθρωποι νόμους τίθενται τὸ εὔλογον ἁπλῶς ἔχουσι καὶ πάντοτε φαινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἔνια καὶ δοκεῖ κομιδῇ γελοῖα τῶν προσταγμάτων. οἷον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κηρύττουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι παριόντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις ὡς μὴ χαλεποὶ ὦσιν αὐτοῖς· Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, οὓς ἂν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρῶνται, κάρφος αὐτῶν λεπτὸν ἐπιβάλλουσι τοῖς σώμασιν· ὅταν δὲ διαθήκας γράφωσιν, ἑτέρους μὲν ἀπολείπουσι κληρο-
C νόμους, ἑτέροις[1] δὲ πωλοῦσι τὰς οὐσίας· ὃ δοκεῖ παράλογον εἶναι. παραλογώτατον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέρᾳ μερίδι προσθέμενον μηδὲ συστασιάσαντα. καὶ ὅλως πολλὰς ἄν τις ἐξείποι νόμων ἀτοπίας μήτε τὸν λόγον ἔχων τοῦ νομοθέτου μήτε τὴν αἰτίαν συνιεὶς ἑκάστου τῶν γραφομένων. τί δὴ θαυμαστόν, εἰ, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὕτως ἡμῖν ὄντων δυσθεωρήτων, οὐκ εὔπορόν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν ᾧτινι λόγῳ τοὺς μὲν ὕστερον, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων κολάζουσιν;

[1] ἑτέροις Amyot: ἕτεροι.

[a] *Cf.* Pseudo-Plato, *Minos*, 319 B-E, and Plato, *Laws*, 624 A-B; *cf.* also *Mor.* 776 E.

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, Frag. 539 (ed. Rose), and Plutarch, *Lives of Agis and Cleomenes*, chap. xxx. 3 (808 D) and *Comm. on Hesiod*, Frag. 72 (vol. vii, p. 88 f. Bern.).

[c] The stalk is the *festuca*, for which *cf.* Gaius, *Inst.* iv. 16.

became a student, as Plato[a] says, who suggests by this that it is impossible to succeed in questions of justice or to recognize success in another if one has not studied and mastered the science. For even in the laws set up by man the reasonableness is not immediately and at all times apparent; indeed, some human ordinances appear downright absurd. Thus in Lacedaemon, as soon as they take office, the ephors make a proclamation forbidding the wearing of moustaches and enjoining men to obey the laws, that the laws may not be harsh with them[b]; while the Romans on emancipating a slave touch him with a light stalk,[c] and again, when they write their wills, appoint one set of persons as heirs but sell their property to another, a procedure which appears absurd.[d] Most absurd of all is Solon's law, that anyone who does not take sides and join in the quarrel when the city is rent by factions shall be disfranchised.[e] And in general, many oddities in laws could be brought up by one who did not know the principle that guided the lawgiver and did not see the cause of each enactment. What wonder, then, when we find it so hard to account for human rules, that it should be no easy matter to tell in the case of the gods on what principle they punish some wrongdoers later and others earlier?

[d] Gaius (*Inst.* ii. 102 f.) explains that in one kind of Roman will the testator designated in addition to the heirs an *emptor* or purchaser, who by a fictitious sale received the estate as his own property (*mancipio*), with full authority to dispose of it according to the wishes of the deceased. The "purchaser" would therefore act as an executor, protecting the interest of the heirs, and deriving his legal authority from the "sale."

[e] *Cf. Life of Solon*, chap. xx. 1 (89 A-B), and *Mor.* 823 F, 965 D.

(550) 5. "Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἀποδράσεως πρόφασίς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης αἴτησις, ὅπως ὁ λόγος οἷον εἰς λιμένα καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀποβλέπων εὐθαρσέστερον ἐξαναφέρῃ τῷ πιθανῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν.

D "'Αλλὰ σκοπεῖτε πρῶτον ὅτι κατὰ Πλάτωνα πάντων καλῶν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παράδειγμα θέμενος τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀρετήν, ἐξομοίωσιν οὖσαν ἁμωσγέπως πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐνδίδωσιν τοῖς ἕπεσθαι θεῷ δυναμένοις. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πάντων φύσις, ἄτακτος οὖσα, ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μεταβάλλειν καὶ γενέσθαι[1] κόσμος, ὁμοιότητι καὶ μεθέξει τινὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἰδέας καὶ ἀρετῆς· καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὸς[2] οὗτος ἀνὴρ[3] ἀνάψαι φησὶν τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἡμῖν ὅπως ὑπὸ θέας τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ φερομένων καὶ θαύματος ἀσπάζεσθαι[4] καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἐθιζομένη τὸ εὔσχημον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τεταγμένον ἀπεχθάνηται τοῖς ἀναρμό-
E στοις καὶ πλανητοῖς πάθεσι καὶ φεύγῃ τὸ εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ὡς κακίας καὶ πλημμελείας ἁπάσης γένεσιν. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὅ τι μεῖζον ἄνθρωπος ἀπολαύειν θεοῦ πέφυκεν ἢ τὸ μιμήσει καὶ διώξει τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν καθίστασθαι.

"Δι' ὃ καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐν χρόνῳ καὶ σχολαίως

[1] μεταβάλλειν καὶ γενέσθαι G[1] X[1] Z I N M[1] Vv Y CW[1] : μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι G[3] X[3] F D Ry M[2] W[3] (μεταβάλλειν καὶ γίνεσθαι hki).

[2] αὐτὸς nos (ὁ αὐτὸς Wyttenbach) : αὐτός.

[3] ἀνὴρ] ὁ ἀνὴρ K (ἀνὴρ Dübner).

[4] ἀσπάζεσθαι G[1] X[3] F D N[2] Vv Y[2] : ἀσπάζεται (ἀσπάζηται G[4] Ry hki M C).

[a] *Cf. Theaetetus*, 176 E.

[b] *Republic*, 613 A-B, *Theaetetus*, 176 B.

[c] The maxim "follow God" was attributed to Pythagoras (*cf.* Stobaeus, vol. ii, p. 29. 16 Wachsmuth) ; *cf.* also Plato, *Laws*, 716 B, and *Phaedrus*, 248 A.

5. " These remarks are not a pretext for evasion, but a plea for indulgence, that the argument, as though with a haven and refuge in view, may the more boldly in its bark of plausibility keep head against the difficulty.

" Consider first that God, as Plato [a] says, offers himself to all as a pattern of every excellence, thus rendering human virtue, which is in some sort an assimilation to himself,[b] accessible to all who can ' follow God.' [c] Indeed this was the origin of the change whereby universal nature, disordered before, became a ' cosmos ' [d] : it came to resemble after a fashion and participate in the form and excellence of God.[e] The same philosopher says further that nature kindled vision in us [f] so that the soul, beholding the heavenly motions and wondering at the sight, should grow to accept and cherish all that moves in stateliness and order, and thus come to hate discordant and errant passions and to shun the aimless and haphazard as source of all vice and jarring error [g] ; for man is fitted to derive from God no greater blessing than to become settled in virtue through copying and aspiring to the beauty and the goodness that are his.

" Hence it is that he is slow and leisurely in his

[d] That is, " order." *Cf. Life of Dion*, chap. x. 2 (962 B), and Plato, *Politicus*, 273 B.

[e] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 29 E—30 A, and Plutarch, *Mor.* 1014 B-C.

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 958 E. Plato does not use the word " kindled " (for which *cf.* Timaeus Locrus, chap. xi) in describing the framing of the eyes (*Timaeus*, 45 B ; *cf.* 39 B) ; further, he assigns the framing of the eyes to the lesser gods and not to nature.

[g] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 39 B, 47 A-C, and Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 130. 27-36 (ed. Cousin[2]).

(550) τὴν δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν, οὐκ αὐτός τινα τοῦ ταχὺ κολάζειν ἁμαρτίαν δεδιὼς ἢ μετάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας θηριῶδες καὶ λάβρον ἀφαιρῶν
F καὶ διδάσκων μὴ σὺν ὀργῇ μηδ' ὅτε μάλιστα φλέγεται καὶ σφαδᾴζει ᵃ

πηδῶν ὁ θυμὸς τῶν φρενῶν ἀνωτέρω

καθάπερ δίψαν ἢ πεῖναν ἀποπιμπλάντας ἐπιπηδᾶν τοῖς λελυπηκόσιν, ἀλλὰ μιμουμένους τὴν ἐκείνου πραότητα καὶ τὴν[1] μέλλησιν, ἐν τάξει καὶ μετ' ἐμμελείας,[2] τὸν ἥκιστα μετανοίᾳ προσοισόμενον χρόνον ἔχοντας σύμβουλον, ἅπτεσθαι τῆς δίκης. ὕδατι γὰρ τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσόντα χρῆσθαι δι' ἀκρασίαν ἧττόν ἐστι κακόν, ὡς Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν,
551 ἢ θολερὸν ὄντα καὶ διάπλεω τὸν λογισμὸν ὀργῆς καὶ μανίας, πρὶν ἢ καταστῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι καθαρόν, ἐμφορεῖσθαι τιμωρίας συγγενοῦς καὶ ὁμοφύλου σώματος. οὐ γὰρ 'ἐγγυτάτω τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ[3] παθεῖν,' ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπωτάτω 'κείμενον' ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ προσῆκον. ὡς γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς κατὰ τὸν Μελάνθιον

τὰ δεινὰ πράττει τὰς φρένας μετοικίσας,

οὕτως καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς τὰ δίκαια πράττει καὶ μέτρια τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἐκποδὼν θέμενος. ὅθεν ἡμεροῦνται καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις παραδείγμασιν,

[1] καὶ τὴν D : τὴν (τε καὶ Gᶜ Ry).
[2] μετ' ἐμμελείας X³ : μεταμελείᾳ (ἐμμελείᾳ D).
[3] τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ G X F Z I Ry : τοῦ ἀμύνασθαι τὸ (τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τῷ D).

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 390.
[b] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, coll. 130. 34–131. 7 (ed. Cousin²), and the *Life of Pericles*, chap. xviii. 2 (163 B).

punishment of the wicked: not that he fears for himself, that by punishing in haste, he may be involved in error or remorse, but because he would remove from us all brutishness and violence in the infliction of punishment, and would teach us not to strike out in anger at those who have caused us pain, or when in its fiercest fever and convulsion

Our rage o'erleaps our wits,[a]

as if we were appeasing thirst or hunger, but to imitate his mildness and delay and resort to chastisement with all due order and propriety, with Time as our counseller, who will be least likely to involve us in regret.[b] For to precipitate ourselves upon troubled water and from lack of self-control to drink it, is less of an evil, as Socrates[c] said, than while we are turbid and clouded in our judgement with rage and fury, before becoming settled and clear, to glut ourselves with vengeance on a being of our own kindred and race.[d] For it is not true, as Thucydides[e] said, that 'when requital follows closest on the injury' it then receives its due; it rather does so when farthest 'removed.' For as anger, in the words of Melanthius,[f]

Drives prudence from her seat, then does his worst,

so reason likewise acts with justice and moderation only after putting rage and anger out of the way.[g] For this reason even human patterns and examples

[c] The source has not been identified.
[d] All men are akin: *cf. Mor.* 601 B, and note.
[e] iii. 38. 1; quoted 548 D-E, *supra.*
[f] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Melanthius, 1; quoted also in *Mor.* 453 E.
[g] *Cf.* Frag. *On Anger* (vol. vii, p. 138. 4-6 Bern.).

(551) B ἀκούοντες ὡς Πλάτων τε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἀνατεινάμενος τῷ παιδὶ πολὺν ἔστη χρόνον, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη, τὸν θυμὸν κολάζων, καὶ Ἀρχύτας, οἰκετῶν τινα πλημμέλειαν ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἀταξίαν καταμαθών, εἶτα ἑαυτοῦ συναισθανόμενος ἐμπαθέστερον ἔχοντος καὶ τραχύτερον πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν ἀλλ' ἢ τοσοῦτον, ἀπιών, ' εὐτυχεῖτε,' εἶπεν, ' ὅτι ὀργίζομαι ὑμῖν.' εἴπερ οὖν ἀνδρῶν λόγοι μνημονευόμενοι καὶ πράξεις λεγόμεναι τὸ τραχὺ καὶ σφοδρὸν ἀπαρύτουσι τῆς ὀργῆς, πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν θεὸν ὁρῶντας, ᾧ δέος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μετάνοια πράγματος[1] οὐδενός, ὅμως ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν
C τιμωρίαν κατατιθέμενον καὶ περιμένοντα τὸν χρόνον, εὐλαβεῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι καὶ θεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι μόριον ἀρετῆς τὴν πραότητα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν[2] ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείκνυται, τῷ μὲν κολάζειν ὀλίγους ἐπανορθοῦσαν, τῷ δὲ βραδέως πολλοὺς ὠφελοῦσαν καὶ νουθετοῦσαν.

6. " Δεύτερον τοίνυν τοῦτο διανοηθῶμεν, ὡς αἱ μὲν δικαιώσεις αἱ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, μόνον ἔχουσαι τὸ ἀντιλυποῦν, καὶ ἐν τῷ κακῶς τὸν δεδρακότα παθεῖν ἵστανται, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐκ ἐξικνοῦνται, δι' ὃ τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσι[3] κυνὸς δίκην ἐφυλακτοῦσαι

[1] πράγματος (and so G[4])] πραγμάτων G[1] X.
[2] μεγαλοψυχίαν nos (or μεγαλοφροσύνην, *cf.* Pohlenz *ad loc.*): μεγαλοπάθειαν (a variant ἀπάθειαν expelled -ψυχίαν).
[3] ἡμαρτηκόσι Paton : ἁμαρτήμασι (-ν N ; ἁμαρτήσασι G[1] X[d] [in an omission in X[1]] ; ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἥκασι R ; ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἥμασι y).

[a] *Cf.* Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 12. 5. In *Mor.* 10 D and 1108 A Plato turns the slave over to Speusippus for punishment; Diogenes Laert. (iii. 38) has the same story, but substitutes

serve to make men gentle, when they hear that on raising his staff to strike his slave, Plato long remained motionless, 'chastening' his anger, as he said himself,[a] and that Archytas, finding the servants on his farm guilty of misconduct and insubordination, and thereupon becoming conscious that his feeling toward them was unduly passionate and savage, did no more than say on leaving: 'It is your good fortune that I am furious with you.'[b] If, then, the recollection of human sayings and narration of human acts can allay the harshness and intensity of anger, it is far more likely that when we see that God, who knows no fear or regret in anything, yet reserves his penalties for the future and awaits the lapse of time, we should become cautious in such matters, and hold the gentleness and magnanimity displayed by God a part of virtue that is divine, which by punishment amends a few, while it profits and admonishes many by the delay.[c]

6. "In the second place, let us reflect that chastisements proceeding from man do no more than requite pain with pain, and stop in consequence when the suffering has been returned upon the doer, but go no farther, and hence, like curs, bark at the heels of the

Xenocrates for Speusippus. *Cf.* also *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 436 ab, ed. Sternbach (*Wiener Studien*, xi, 1889, p. 201), E. Zeller, *Gesch. d. gr. Phil.*, vol. ii. 1[5], p. 434, note 1; Galen, *De Affectuum Dignotione*, v. 21, and Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 131. 16-20 (ed. Cousin[2]).

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 10 D; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 36 (78), *De Re P.* i. 38 (59); Valerius Maximus, iv. 1, ext. 1; Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, chap. xviii. 4; Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, chap. xxxi. 197; St. Jerome, *Ep.* lxxix. 9; Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 131. 20-25 (ed. Cousin[2]).

[c] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, coll. 131, 29–132. 4 (ed. Cousin[2]).

(551) κατακολουθοῦσι καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπιδιώ-
D κουσι· τὸν θεὸν δὲ εἰκὸς ἧς ἂν ἐφάπτηταί τῇ δίκῃ ψυχῆς νοσούσης τά τε πάθη διορᾶν εἴ πῄ τι καμπτόμενα πρὸς μετάνοιαν ἐνδίδωσι καὶ χρόνον γε, οἷς[1] οὐκ ἄκρατος οὐδὲ ἄτρεπτος ἡ κακία πέφυκε, προσορίζειν.[2] ἅτε γὰρ εἰδὼς ὅσην μοῖραν ἀρετῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φερόμεναι πρὸς γένεσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ βαδίζουσι, καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ὡς ἰσχυρὸν αὐταῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐξίτηλον ἐμπέφυκεν, ἐξανθεῖ δὲ τὴν κακίαν παρὰ φύσιν,[3] ὑπὸ τροφῆς καὶ ὁμιλίας φαύλης φθειρόμενον, εἶτα θεραπευθὲν ἐνίοις καλῶς ἀπολαμβάνει
E τὴν προσήκουσαν ἕξιν, οὐ πᾶσι κατεπείγει τὴν τιμωρίαν ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀνήκεστον εὐθὺς ἐξεῖλεν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀπέκοψεν ὡς ἑτέροις γε πάντως βλαβερόν, αὑτῷ[4] τε βλαβερώτατον ἀεὶ συνεῖναι μετὰ πονηρίας, οἷς δὲ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ καλοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ προαιρέσει τοῦ αἰσχροῦ τὸ ἁμαρτητικὸν εἰκὸς ἐγγεγονέναι[5] δίδωσι μεταβάλλεσθαι[6] χρόνον, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμένωσι, καὶ τούτοις ἀπέδωκε τὴν δίκην· οὐ γάρ που δέδιεν μὴ διαφύγωσιν.

"Σκόπει δὲ ὅσαι μεταβολαὶ γεγόνασιν εἰς ἦθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ βίον· ᾗ καὶ τρόπος ὠνομάσθη τὸ μεταβάλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦθος, ὡς πλεῖστον[7] ἐνδύεται τὸ
F ἔθος καὶ κρατεῖ μάλιστα καθαπτόμενον. οἶμαι μὲν

[1] γε, οἷς] οἷς γε?
[2] προσορίζειν Pohlenz (from "determinare" in Proclus, col. 132. 15 Cousin²): προσιζάνειν.
[3] τὴν κακίαν παρὰ φύσιν G X F Z: παρὰ φύσιν τὴν κακίαν.
[4] αὑτῷ] αὐτό X¹ F Z N M¹ V¹v Y¹ CW¹.
[5] ἐγγεγονέναι] ἐκγεγονέναι G X¹ F¹ Z.
[6] μεταβάλλεσθαι G X¹ F¹ Z: μεταβαλέσθαι (τοῦ μεταβαλέσθαι Wᶜ).
[7] αὐτοῦ is omitted by Stegmann after πλεῖστον.

offender and set out at once in pursuit of the offence; whereas God, we must presume, distinguishes whether the passions of the sick soul to which he administers his justice will in any way yield and make room for repentance, and for those in whose nature vice is not unrelieved or intractable, he fixes a period of grace.[a] For inasmuch as he knows what rich endowment of virtue the souls carry away from him when they proceed to birth, and how strong and indelible is their innate nobility—that it breaks out into vice against its nature,[b] corrupted by poor nurture and evil company, but on receiving careful treatment is in some restored to its rightful condition—he does not expedite punishment for all alike, but at once removes from life and amputates what is incurable, as constant association with wickedness is certainly harmful to others, and most harmful of all to the sufferer himself[c]; whereas to those whose sinfulness is likely to have sprung from ignorance of good rather than from preference of evil, he grants time for reform, but if they persist, these too he visits with condign punishment[d]; for he need hardly fear they will escape.

"Consider how many changes have occurred in the characters and lives of men; this explains why the changeable part of a man's life was termed his 'bent' (*tropos*) and again his *ēthos* (character), since habit (*ĕthos*)[e] sinks very deep, and taking firm hold, wields power that is very great. I fancy indeed that the

[a] *Cf.* Philo, *De Prov.* ii, p. 54 (ed. Aucher), quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* viii. 14. 386.

[b] *Cf. Life of Pompey*, chap. xxviii. 5 (633 D).

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, 862 E.

[d] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 131. 7-12 (ed. Cousin[2]).

[e] This etymology of *ēthos* is also found in *Mor.* 3 A and 443 C. *Cf.* Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ii. 1. 1 (1103 a 17 f.).

(551) οὖν καὶ τὸν Κέκροπα διφυᾶ προσαγορεῦσαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἐκ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως ἄγριον καὶ δρακοντώδη γενόμενον τύραννον, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἐν ἀρχῇ σκολιὸν ὄντα καὶ φοβερόν, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἄρξαντα πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἄδηλον, ἀλλὰ Γέλωνά γε ἴσμεν καὶ Ἱέρωνα τοὺς Σικελιώτας καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἱπποκράτους ὅτι πονηρίᾳ κτησάμενοι
552 τυραννίδας ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐλθόντες, ἐγένοντο μέτριοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς ἄρχοντες, οἱ μὲν εὐνομίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν παρασχόντες αὐτούς τε σώφρονας τοὺς πολίτας καὶ φιλεργοὺς ἐκ πολύγελων[1] καὶ λάλων κατασκευάσαντες, Γέλων δὲ καὶ προπολεμήσας[2] ἄριστα καὶ κρατήσας μάχῃ μεγάλῃ Καρχηδονίων, οὐ πρότερον εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεομένους ἢ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς συνθήκαις περιλαβεῖν, ὅτι παύσονται τὰ τέκνα τῷ Κρόνῳ καταθύοντες. ἐν δὲ Μεγάλῃ Πόλει Λυδιάδας
B ἦν τύραννος, εἶτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τυραννεῖν μεταβαλλόμενος[3] καὶ δυσχεράνας τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀπέδωκε μὲν τοὺς νόμους τοῖς πολίταις, μαχόμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους[4] ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιφανῶς ἔπεσεν. εἰ δέ τις ἢ τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν Μιλτιάδην ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πρότερον, ἢ Κίμωνα συνόντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ

[1] πολύγελων nos (πολυτελῶν Cobet) : πολυγέλων.
[2] προπολεμήσας X[3] M[c]? : προσπολεμήσας.
[3] μεταβαλλόμενος] μεταβαλόμενος X[3] F M[2] v Y[2].
[4] πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους] τοῖς πολεμίοις M[1].

[a] Cecrops, the first king of Attica, was half man and half serpent: *cf.* Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ii, p. 24. 27 (ed. Schoene), and Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1, with Frazer's note (in the L.C.L.).

ancients called Cecrops twy-formed [a] not, as some say, because from a good king he changed into a savage and snakelike tyrant, but on the contrary because he began with devious and fearsome courses and ended by ruling with mildness and humanity. Yet if this is uncertain, we at all events have knowledge of Gelon and Hieron the Siceliots, and Peisistratus, son of Hippocrates; we know that after coming to tyrannical power by foul means, they used that power nobly,[b] and after defying the laws to obtain sovereignty, turned out to be sovereigns that were mild and beneficent to their subjects. Thus Hieron and Peisistratus maintained good order everywhere, promoted husbandry, and created in the people themselves a new sobriety and industry in place of their old derisive and loquacious ways, while Gelon was furthermore a stout champion of his country, and after defeating the Carthaginians in a great battle refused their suit for peace until he had added to the treaty the provision that they should no longer sacrifice their children to Cronus.[c] In Megalopolis Lydiadas ruled as tyrant, and it was in the midst of his tyrannical rule that the change in him occurred. Finding that he had no stomach for injustice, he restored their legal government to his countrymen, and while defending his native land against the enemy fell gloriously in battle.[d] If someone had killed Miltiades earlier, when he was tyrant in the Chersonese, or had prosecuted and convicted

[b] Much the same point is also made in *Mor.* 175 A.

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 175 A; Theophrastus quoted in the scholia on Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, ii. 2; Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, ii. 56.

[d] *Cf. Lives of Agis and Cleomenes*, chap. xxviii. 4 (807 D), and *Life of Aratus*, chap. xxx. 1-8 (1041 A-D).

(552) διώξας εἷλεν, ἢ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐφ' οἷς ἀσελγαίνων ἐκώμαζε καὶ ὕβριζε δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀφείλετο τὴν πόλιν ὡς ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδου γραψάμενος, ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπωλώλεσαν[1] ἡμῖν οἱ Μαραθῶνες, οἱ Εὐρυμέδοντες, τὸ καλὸν Ἀρτεμίσιον,

ὅθι παῖδες Ἀθαναίων[2] ἐβάλοντο φαεννὰν
κρηπῖδ' ἐλευθερίας;

C οὐθὲν γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις μικρὸν ἐκφέρουσιν, οὐδὲ ἀργεῖ δι' ὀξύτητα τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ δραστήριον, ἀλλ' ἐν σάλῳ διαφέρονται πρὶν εἰς τὸ μόνιμον καὶ καθεστηκὸς ἦθος ἐλθεῖν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ γεωργίας ἄπειρος οὐκ ἂν ἀσπάσαιτο χώραν ἰδὼν λόχμης ἔμπλεω δασείας καὶ φυτῶν ἀγρίων καὶ θηρία πολλὰ καὶ ῥεύματα καὶ πολὺν ἔχουσαν πηλόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μεμαθηκότι διαισθάνεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος[3] ὑποδείκνυσι καὶ τὴν μαλακότητα τῆς γῆς, οὕτως ἄτοπα πολλὰ
D καὶ φαῦλα προεξανθοῦσιν αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις, ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν εὐθὺς τὸ τραχὺ καὶ νύττον οὐ φέροντες, ἀποκόπτειν οἰόμεθα δεῖν καὶ κολούειν, ὁ δὲ βελτίων κριτὴς καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ χρηστὸν ἐνορῶν[4] καὶ γενναῖον περιμένει λόγου καὶ ἀρετῆς συνεργὸν ἡλικίαν, καὶ ὥραν ᾗ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἡ φύσις καρπὸν ἀποδίδωσι.

7. "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ. τὸν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμον ἆρ' οὐκ εἰκότως ὑμῖν ἀπογράψασθαι δοκοῦσιν

[1] ἀπωλώλεσαν a[ac]: the rest have ἀπωλώλεισαν or corruptions of it. [2] Ἀθαναίων Böckh: ἀθηναίων.
[3] τὸ πλῆθος Wilamowitz (τὸ βάθος Pohlenz): πάνθ' ὅσα.
[4] τὸ χρηστὸν ἐνορῶν G X F Z: ἐνορῶν τὸ χρηστόν.

[a] *Cf. Life of Cimon*, chap. iv. 6 (480 F).

Cimon for incest with his sister,[a] or had indicted Themistocles and driven him from Athens, as was later done to Alcibiades, for his insolent revelling in the market-place,[b] should we not have lost our Marathons, our Eurymedons, and glorious Artemisium,

> Where Athens' sons laid freedom's bright foundation ?[c]

For great natures bring forth nothing trivial, and the vigour and enterprise in them is too keen to remain inert ; nay, they drift about on heavy seas before coming to rest in their abiding and settled character.[d] And so, as one ignorant of agriculture, on seeing a piece of ground overgrown with dense thickets and weeds, overrun with wild animals and water-courses, and covered with mud,[e] would not find it to his liking, while to him who has learned to discriminate and judge these very circumstances reveal the vigour, depth, and looseness of the soil, so great natures put forth at first many strange and villainous shoots, and we, at once impatient of their rough and thorny quality, fancy that we should clear them away and cut them short ; whereas the better judge discerns even in this their good and noble strain, and waits for them to reach the maturity that lends support to reason and virtue and the season when their nature yields her proper fruit.

7. " Let us pass to another point. Do you not think that certain Greeks did well to copy the

[b] *Cf.* Athenaeus, 533 D and 576 C.

[c] Pindar, Frag. 77 (ed. Schroeder) ; *cf.* also *Mor.* 350 B and note.

[d] *Cf. Life of Themistocles*, chap. ii. 7 (112 E) ; *Life of Demetrius*, chap. i. 7-8 (889 C) ; Plato, *Republic*, 491 E.

[e] The same comparison occurs in *Mor.* 528 C-D.

(552) ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃς κελεύει τὴν ἔγκυον, ἂν ἁλῷ θανάτου, μέχρι τέκῃ φυλάττειν;"

"Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ἔφασαν.

Εἶπον οὖν ἐγώ, "εἰ[1] δὲ παιδία μὴ κυοῖ[2] τις,
E ἀλλὰ πρᾶξιν ἢ βουλὴν ἀπόρρητον εἰς φῶς ἡλίου δυνατὸς εἴη[3] προαγαγεῖν χρόνῳ καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι, κακόν τι μηνύσας λανθάνον ἢ σωτηρίου γνώμης γενόμενος σύμβουλος ἢ χρείας εὑρετὴς ἀναγκαίας, οὐκ ἀμείνων ὁ περιμείνας τῇ τιμωρίᾳ[4] τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ προανελόντος; ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ," ἔφην,[5] "δοκεῖ."

"Καὶ ἡμῖν,"[6] ὁ Πατροκλέας εἶπεν.

"Ὀρθῶς," ἔφην[7]· "σκόπει γάρ, εἰ Διονύσιος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἔδωκε δίκην, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν Ἑλλήνων ᾤκει Σικελίαν, ἀνάστατον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων γενομένην, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ἀπολλωνίαν οὐδ' Ἀνακτόριον οὐδὲ τὴν Λευκαδίων χερρόνησον ᾤκουν
F ἂν[8] Ἕλληνες εἰ Περίανδρος ἐκολάσθη μὴ μετὰ[9] πολὺν χρόνον. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Κασάνδρῳ γενέσθαι τῆς δίκης ἀναβολὴν ὅπως αἱ Θῆβαι συνοικῶνται πάλιν. τῶν δὲ τουτὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συγκαταλαβόντων ξένων οἱ πολλοὶ Τιμολέοντι συνδιαβάντες εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅτε Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησαν καὶ κατέλυσαν

[1] εἰ] ἐὰν Bern.
[2] κύοι ζ and Paton : κύει G X F Z Vv ; κύῃ. Kontos and Hatzidakis cite κυεῖσθαι (*Mor.* 770 A) for the accent.
[3] εἴη Paton : ᾖ (ἢ N^{1} ; εἶ Z Ry l).
[4] τῇ τιμωρίᾳ nos (πρὸ τῆς τιμωρίας ? Post) : τῆς τιμωρίας.
[5] ἔφην X^{3} qflp : ἔφη.
[6] ἡμῖν G^{2} S K^{t} Y^{2} : ὑμῖν.
[7] ἔφην X^{3} : ἔφη (omitted in Ry K Y^{3}).
[8] ἂν G X F Z Vv : omitted in the rest.
[9] εἰ . . . μὴ μετὰ G X F Z M^{2} Vv : εἰ μὴ . . . μετὰ.

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 77. 9-10 ; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* v. 18 ;

Egyptian law which provides that a pregnant woman under sentence of death shall be kept in prison until she has borne her child ?" [a]

"Assuredly," they replied.

"If a person," I continued, "instead of having children to bring into the world, should be capable of eventually bringing forth to the light of day some hidden action or plan and of publishing it for all to see, reporting some unnoticed evil or imparting salutary advice or making some discovery of general use, is not he who waits for the benefit before punishing such a person better than he who kills him first ? I for one think so," I said.

"And so do we," Patrocleas replied.

"And you are right," I said. "Consider : if Dionysius had met with his deserts when his tyranny began, no Greek would now be living in Sicily, which the Carthaginians would have laid waste [b] ; so, too, no Greeks would now be living in Apollonia, in Anactorium, or on the peninsula of Leucas, if the punishment of Periander had not been long deferred.[c] Cassander too, I think, was reprieved so that Thebes might become a city again.[d] Of the mercenaries who helped to seize this temple [e] the greater part, crossing over to Sicily with Timoleon,[f] defeated the Carthaginians and overthrew the tyrants before

Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 139 ; Clement, *Strom.* ii. 18. 93. 2 ; Quintilian, *Decl.* cclxxvii. For a similar provision in Roman law *cf.* Julius Paulus, *Sent.* I tit. 12. 5, and Ulpian in the *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, xlviii. 19. 3.

[b] *Cf.* the eighth Platonic *Epistle*, 353 A-B.

[c] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 134. 7-29 (ed. Cousin²).

[d] Cassander restored Thebes (which had been destroyed by Alexander) in 316.

[e] The temple of Apollo at Delphi : *cf.* 560 C, *infra.*

[f] *Cf. Life of Timoleon*, chap. xxx. 6-9 (251 A-C).

(552) τὰς τυραννίδας, ἐξώλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ[1] κακοὶ κακῶς ὕστερον. ἐνίοις γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ κολασταῖς ἑτέρων πονηρῶν, οἷον δημοκοίνοις, ἀπεχρήσατο τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἶτ' ἐπέτριψεν, καθάπερ οἶμαι τοὺς πλείστους τυράννους. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὑαίνης χολὴ καὶ φώκης
553 πυτία,[2] θηρίων τἆλλα μιαρῶν, ἔχουσί τι πρὸς τὰς νόσους χρήσιμον, οὕτως ἐνίοις δήμοις δηγμοῦ[3] δεομένοις καὶ κολάσεως ἐμβαλὼν ὁ θεὸς πικρίαν τινὰ τυράννου δυσμείλικτον καὶ τραχύτητα χαλεπὴν[4] ἄρχοντος, οὐ πρότερον ἐξεῖλε τὸ λυποῦν καὶ ταράττον ἢ τὸ νοσοῦν ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ καθᾶραι. τοιοῦτο καὶ Φάλαρις ἦν Ἀκραγαντίνοις φάρμακον καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Μάριος. Σικυωνίοις δὲ καὶ διαρρήδην ὁ θεὸς προεῖπεν μαστιγονόμων δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε Τελητίαν[5] παῖδα στεφανούμενον ἐν Πυθίοις ἀφαιρούμενοι Κλεωναίων ὡς ἴδιον πολίτην διέσπα-
B σαν. ἀλλὰ Σικυωνίοις μὲν Ὀρθαγόρας γενόμενος τύραννος καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον οἱ περὶ Μύρωνα καὶ Κλεισθένη τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἔπαυσαν· Κλεωναῖοι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐ τυχόντες ἰατρείας εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἥκουσιν. καὶ Ὁμήρου δέ που λέγοντος ἀκούετε·

τοῦ γένετ' ἐκ πατρὸς πολὺ χείρονος υἱὸς ἀμείνων
παντοίην ἀρετήν[6]·

καίτοι λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκπρεπὲς[7] ἔργον ἐκεῖνος

[1] καὶ αὐτοὶ F : the rest omit.
[2] πυτία] πιτύα G[1] X[3] hki.
[3] ἐνίοις δήμοις δηγμοῦ Plasberg (δήμοις δηγμοῦ Klostermann) : ἐνίοις δηγμοῦ.
[4] χαλεπὴν G[1] X[3] Ry K : λεπτήν.
[5] Τελητίαν] Τελευτίαν ? Wilamowitz.
[6] παντοίην ἀρετήν] most MSS. of Homer have παντοίας ἀρετάς.
[7] ἐκπρεπὲς Wyttenbach : εὐπρεπές.

perishing miserably in their turn. Indeed the Deity has actually made use of some of the wicked as chastisers of others—public executioners, one might say—and then blasted them ; this is true, I believe, of most tyrants.[a] For as the gall of the hyena [b] and rennet of the seal [c]—animals unclean in all else—have a certain efficacy in disease, so God has fastened on certain peoples in need of an irritant and of chastening the bitter application of a tyrant's unyielding harshness and a ruler's cruel anger, and has not removed the pain and distress until he has expelled the disorder and purged it away. Such a medicine was Phalaris for the Agrigentines and Marius for the Romans. To the Sicyonians the god even declared in plain terms that the city needed 'pliers of the lash' [d] when, claiming the boy Teletias as their own countryman while he was receiving the crown at the Pythian games, in their attempt to wrest him from the Cleonaeans they tore him to pieces.[e] But the Sicyonians, when Orthagoras became tyrant and after him Myron and Cleisthenes, were checked in their wantonness ; whereas the Cleonaeans, who were not granted such a cure, have come to nothing. You doubtless all recall the words of Homer [f] :

> From that far baser sire a better son
> In every excellence was sprung.

Yet that son of Copreus accomplished no splendid

[a] *Cf.* Philo, *De Prov.*, quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* viii. 39 (pp. 70 f. ed. Aucher).

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 1065 B.

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 1029 F. It was used against epilepsy : *cf.* Aristotle, Frag. 370 (ed. Rose), and Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 11. 3, and Frag. 175 (ed. Wimmer).

[d] *Cf.* Diodorus, viii. 24.

[e] The story is not found elsewhere.

[f] *Il.* xv. 641 f.

(553) ὁ τοῦ Κοπρέως παρέσχεν· ἀλλὰ τὸ Σισύφου καὶ τὸ Αὐτολύκου καὶ τὸ[1] Φλεγύου γένος ἤνθησεν ἐν δόξαις καὶ ἀρεταῖς μεγάλων βασιλέων. γέγονε δὲ καὶ Περικλῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἐναγοῦς οἰκίας· καὶ Πομ-
C πήιος Μάγνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Στράβωνος ἦν υἱός, οὗ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ὑπὸ μίσους ἐξέβαλε καὶ κατεπάτησεν. τί οὖν ἄτοπον εἰ, καθάπερ γεωργὸς οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τὴν ἄκανθαν ἂν μὴ λάβῃ τὸν ἀσπάραγον, οὐδ' οἱ Λίβυες τὸ φρύγανον ἐπικαίουσι πρότερον ἢ τὸ λήδανον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συναγαγεῖν, οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ βασιλικοῦ γένους ῥίζαν πονηρὰν καὶ τραχεῖαν οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ πρότερον ἢ φῦναι τὸν προσήκοντα καρπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς; μυρίας γὰρ Ἰφίτου βοῦς καὶ ἵππους ἀπολέσθαι κρεῖττον ἦν Φωκεῦσι, καὶ πλείονα χρυσὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν
D οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἄργυρον, ἢ μήτε Ὀδυσσέα μήτε Ἀσκληπιὸν φῦναι μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ κακῶν καὶ πονηρῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μεγαλωφελεῖς γενομένους.

8. "Τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ προσήκοντι γενέσθαι[2] τὰς τιμωρίας οὐ βέλτιον εἶναι τοῦ ταχὺ

[1] *καὶ τὸ . . . καὶ τὸ* G X F Z : *καὶ τὸ . . . καὶ* M Vv ; *καὶ . . . καὶ τὸ* Ry hki N Y CW.
[2] *γενέσθαι*] *γίνεσθαι* X[3] M[3ss].

[a] Sisyphus, " wiliest of men " (Homer, *Il.* xv. 153), was grandfather of Bellerophon (vi. 155), who in turn was grandfather of Glaucus and Sarpedon (vi. 199, 206). In later literature Sisyphus was held to have been the real father of Odysseus (*cf. Mor.* 301 D with the note in the L.C.L. and 992 E).

or remarkable deed, while the stock of Sisyphus,[a] of Autolycus,[b] and of Phlegyas [c] came to flower in the glories and virtues of great kings. And at Athens Pericles came of a family that lay under a curse [d]; at Rome Pompey the Great was son of Strabo, whose corpse the Roman people in its hate cast out and trampled under foot.[e] Where then is the absurdity, if, as a farmer does not cut away the prickly plant [f] until he has culled its edible shoots, and the Libyans do not set fire to their shrub until they have gathered from it the gum ladanum, so God too does not destroy the rank and thorny root of a glorious and royal race until it has borne its proper fruit? Better for the Phocians to have lost ten thousand cows and mares of Iphitus,[g] and for still more gold and silver to have vanished from Delphi, than that Odysseus and Asclepius should never have been born or those others who, sprung of a base and wicked line, turned out to be men of virtue and authors of great benefits.

8. "Do you not think it better that punishments should take place at a fitting time and in a fitting

[b] Autolycus, who "excelled all men in thievery and perjury" (Homer, *Od.* xix. 394-396), was the maternal grandfather of Odysseus (xix. 395).

[c] Phlegyas burned the temple of Apollo at Delphi (*cf.* a scholium on Statius, *Thebaid*, i. 713; Servius on *Aeneid*, vi. 618; Eusebius, *Chronicorum Canonum Liber*, pp. 32 f. Schoene). He was the maternal grandfather of Asclepius.

[d] *Cf.* Thucydides, i. 127.

[e] *Cf. Life of Pompey*, chap. i. 2 (619 B).

[f] *Asparagus acutifolius*: *cf. Mor.* 138 D and Theophrastus, *Caus. Plant.* vi. 12. 9, *Hist. Plant.* vi. 4. 1-2.

[g] According to a scholium on Homer, *Od.* xii. 22, Autolycus stole the twelve mares of Iphitus with their mule foals. Plutarch identifies this Iphitus, son of Eurytus, with Iphitus the Phocian (Homer, *Il.* ii. 518, xvii. 306).

(553) καὶ παραχρῆμα νομίζεις,[1] οἷόν ἐστι τὸ κατὰ Κάλλιππον, ᾧ ξιφιδίῳ φίλος εἶναι δοκῶν ἀπέκτεινε Δίωνα, τούτῳ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸ Μίτυος[2] τοῦ Ἀργείου κατὰ στάσιν ἀναιρεθέντος ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ θέας οὔσης ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ κτείναντι τὸν Μίτυν[3] καὶ ἀνελεῖν; καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Βέσσον τὸν Παίονα καὶ Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Οἰταῖον ξεναγὸν οἶσθα δήπουθεν, ὦ Πατροκλέα."

E "Μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν,[4] "ἀλλὰ δέομαι μαθεῖν."

"Ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστων," ἔφην,[5] "τὸν Ἐριφύλης κόσμον ἐνταῦθα κείμενον καθελών, τῶν τυράννων διδόντων, ἐκόμισε τῇ γυναικὶ δῶρον· ὁ δ' υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα διοργισθεὶς ἔκ τινος αἰτίας ὑφῆψε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ πάντας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κατέκαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Βέσσος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπεκτονὼς τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, πολὺν χρόνον ἐλάνθανεν, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς ξένους ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθὼν χελιδόνων τινὰ νεοσσιὰν[6] τῇ λόγχῃ νύξας κατέβαλεν καὶ τοὺς νεοσσοὺς διέφθειρεν· λεγόντων δὲ οἷον εἰκὸς τῶν

F παρόντων, 'ἄνθρωπε, τί παθὼν ἔργον οὕτως ἀλλόκοτον ἔπραξας;' 'οὐ γάρ,' ἔφη, 'μου πάλαι καταμαρτυροῦσιν αὗται ψευδῶς καὶ καταβοῶσιν ὡς ἀπεκτονότος τὸν πατέρα;' θαυμάσαντες δὲ οἱ

[1] νομίζεις Bern. : νομίζειν (placed before τοῦ ταχὺ in F).
[2] Μίτυος L. Dindorf from Aristotle : μίτιος (τίμιος Ry) ; μιτίου G[2] F Z M[3] Y[3].
[3] Μίτυν L. Dindorf : μίτιον.
[4] εἶπεν X[3] hki C : εἰπεῖν.
[5] ἔφην Ald.[2] : ἔφη.
[6] νεοσσιὰν] νοσσιὰν G X F (-σ- Z) hk Vv.

manner rather than speedily and at once? That Callippus, for example, should have been murdered by his friends with the very dagger with which, a seeming friend, he murdered Dion,[a] and that the bronze statue of Mitys the Argive, who had met his death in a factious quarrel, should in the course of a spectacle in the market-place have fallen on his slayer and killed him?[b] I presume you also know, Patrocleas, the stories of Bessus the Paeonian and Ariston of Oeta, the captain of mercenaries."

"Indeed I do not," he replied. "But I should like to hear them."

"Ariston," I said, "with the tyrants'[c] leave, took down the jewels of Eriphylê, which had been dedicated here,[d] and carried them off as a present to his wife. His son, incensed at his mother for some reason, set fire to the house, and all who were in it perished in the conflagration.[e] As for Bessus, the story goes that he killed his father and long went unsuspected. At last, when he had come to dine at a certain house, he prodded a swallow's nest with his spear, knocked it down, and killed the nestlings. The rest naturally asked: 'What is wrong with you, man? What is the meaning of such strange behaviour?' To this he answered: 'Why, haven't they all along accused me falsely and denounced me for killing my father?' The company was astonished

[a] *Cf. Life of Dion*, chap. lviii. 6-7 (983 D).

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Poetics*, chap. ix (1452 a 7-10), and Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mir. Ausc.* chap. clvi (846 a 22-24).

[c] The Phocian leaders who seized and plundered Delphi in the Third Sacred War.

[d] At Delphi.

[e] *Cf.* Diodorus, xvi. 64. 2, and Parthenius, chap. xxv. Ariston's wife, like Eriphylê, met death at the hands of her son.

(553) παρόντες τὸν λόγον ἐμήνυσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξελεγχθέντος ἔτισεν ὁ Βέσσος τὴν δίκην.

9. " Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν," ἔφην, " ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, ὥσπερ ἠξίωται, γίγνεσθαί τινα τῆς τιμωρίας ἀναβολὴν ὑποθέμενοι τοῖς πονηροῖς· τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου χρὴ νομίζειν ἀκροᾶσθαι λέγοντος οὐχ ᾗ Πλάτων, ἀκόλουθον εἶναι τιμωρίαν ἀδικίας πάθην,[1]
554 ἀλλ' ἡλικιῶτιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμόθεν χώρας καὶ ῥίζης συνυποφυομένην· ' ἡ ' γὰρ ' κακή,' φησί, ' βουλὴ τῷ βουλεύσαντι κακίστη ' καί

ὃς δ' ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχει, ἑῷ κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει.

ἡ μὲν γὰρ κανθαρὶς ἐν αὑτῇ λέγεται τὸ βοηθητικὸν ἔκ τινος ἀντιπαθείας ἔχειν συγκεκραμένον, ἡ δὲ πονηρία συγγεννῶσα τὸ λυποῦν ἑαυτῇ[2] καὶ κολάζον, οὐχ ὕστερον ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὕβρει τὴν δίκην τοῦ ἀδικεῖν δίδωσιν· καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τῶν κολα-
B ζομένων ἕκαστος κακούργων[3] ἐκφέρει τὸν αὑτοῦ σταυρόν, ἡ δὲ κακία τῶν κολαστηρίων ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἕκαστον ἐξ αὑτῆς τεκταίνεται, δεινή τις[4] οὖσα βίου[5] δημιουργὸς οἰκτροῦ καὶ[6] σὺν αἰσχύνῃ φόβους

[1] πάθην X^3 : παθεῖν (σπάθην G^4).
[2] ἑαυτῇ] ἐν αὐτῇ F Ry N (ἐν ἑαυτῇ S).
[3] κακούργων X^3 D : τῶν κακούργων.
[4] δεινή τις] δεινοῦ ἤ τις D ; δεινότης Ry.
[5] βίου] omitted in G.
[6] οἰκτροῦ καὶ F^3 Ry hki N^2 C^1 : οἴκτου καὶ G X^1 F^1 Z I (οἴ- N^1) M Y^1 W^{R1} ; οἴκτου V^1v ; οἴκτους D V^2 ; οἴκτους καὶ X^3 Y^2.

[a] *Laws*, 728 c ; *cf.* Plutarch, *Comm. on Hesiod*, 25 (vol. vii, p. 63. 14 f. Bern.).
[b] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 266 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 36 A.
[c] Instead of *Works and Days*, 265, Plutarch by a slip of

at these words and reported them to the king. The truth was discovered, and Bessus suffered the penalty.

9. "But hitherto," I said, "the arguments have been our own, and rest on an assumption that the punishment of the wicked is deferred; what remains to be said we must imagine we hear from Hesiod, who does not say with Plato[a] that punishment is a suffering following upon injustice, but holds it to be coeval with injustice, springing up with it from the selfsame soil and root. Thus he says that

> The evil plan is worst for him that planned it[b]

and

> He that devises ill for other men
> For his own vitals does the ill devise.[c]

For whereas the blister beetle[d] is reported to contain, mixed within itself, its own remedy, which operates by a sort of counteraction, wickedness engenders with itself its pain and punishment, and thus pays the penalty of its wrongdoing not later, but at the very moment of commission; and whereas every criminal who goes to execution must carry his own cross on his back,[e] vice frames out of itself each instrument of its own punishment, cunning artisan[f] that it is of a life of wretchedness containing with

memory quotes a similar verse found in Lucillius (*Anth. Pal.* xi. 183. 5); *cf.* Callimachus, *Aetia*, i, frag. 2. 5 (ed. Pfeiffer, Oxford, 1949).

[d] *Cantharis vesicatoria*, L. The beetle, used as a medicament, was poisonous when taken internally. *Cf. Mor.* 22 A-B and Galen, *De Simpl. Med. Temp. ac Fac.* iii. 23 (vol. xi, p. 609 Kühn).

[e] *Cf.* John xix. 17 and Artemidorus, *On the Interpretation of Dreams*, ii. 56.

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 498 C-D.

(554) τε πολλοὺς καὶ μεταμελείας καὶ πάθη χαλεπὰ[1] καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπαύστους ἔχοντος. ἀλλ' οὐθὲν[2] ἔνιοι διαφέρουσι παιδαρίων, ἃ τοὺς κακούργους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις θεώμενα, πολλάκις ἐν χιτῶσι διαχρύσοις καὶ χλαμυδίοις ἁλουργοῖς ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ πυρριχίζοντας, ἄγαται καὶ τέθηπεν ὡς μακαρίους ἄχρι οὗ κεντούμενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ πῦρ ἀνιέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀνθίνης[3] ἐκείνης καὶ πολυτελοῦς ἐσθῆτος
C ὀφθῶσιν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν πονηρῶν οἰκίας περιβεβλημένοι μεγάλας καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ δυνάμεις περιφανεῖς λανθάνουσιν ὅτι κολάζονται πρὶν ἂν φθῶσιν[4] ἀποσφαγέντες ἢ κατακρημνισθέντες· ἅπερ[5] ἄν τις οὐ τιμωρίαν εἴποι, πέρας δὲ τιμωρίας καὶ συντέλειαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ Ἡρόδικον τὸν Σηλυμβριανὸν εἰς φθίσιν, ἀνήκεστον πάθος, ἐμπεσόντα καὶ μίξαντα πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων γυμναστικὴν ἰατρικῇ φησιν[6] ὁ Πλάτων μακρὸν[7] ποιῆσαι τὸν θάνατον αὑτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως νοσοῦσιν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ὅσοι τὴν παραυτίκα πληγὴν ἐκφυγεῖν ἔδοξαν, οὐ μετὰ πλείονα χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ τιμωρίαν
D μακροτέραν, οὐ βραδυτέραν, τίνουσιν, οὐδὲ γηράσαντες ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐγήρασαν κολαζόμενοι. λέγω δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πολὺν χρόνον· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε θεοῖς πᾶν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου διάστημα τὸ μηδέν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ νῦν ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα

[1] μετ. καὶ πάθη χ. G X F Z I Vv : πάθη χ. καὶ μετ.
[2] οὐθὲν G X F Z I Vv : οὐδὲν.
[3] ἀνθίνης G X[1] F[3] I N[2] W[R] (confirming Kontos and Hatzidakis): ἀνθινῆς F[1] R K[ac] N[1] M[2] (ἀθ- M[1]) Y C; ἀνθεινῆς X[3] D y S K[c] hki Vv.
[4] ἂν φθῶσιν Vossianus 2[2mg] : ἂν ὀφθῶσιν X[3] F I V Y[3] ; ἂν φθάσωσιν D ; ἀναφθῶσιν (ἂν ἀφθῶσιν, ἂν ἁφθῶσιν).
[5] ἅπερ] ὥσπερ X[1] F[1] Z I N[2](ὥσ- N[1]) M[1] Y[1].
[6] φησιν X[3] D : ὥς φησιν.

infamy a host of terrors, regrets, cruel passions, and never-ending anxieties. Yet some there are no wiser than little children, who see criminals in the amphitheatre, clad often in tunics of cloth of gold and purple mantles, wearing chaplets and dancing Pyrrhic measures, and struck with awe and wonderment suppose them supremely happy, till the moment when before their eyes the criminals are stabbed and scourged and that gay and sumptuous apparel bursts into flame.[a] For in most cases it is not suspected that the wicked, when arrayed in greatness of family and office and in positions of splendid power, are suffering punishment, until, before we know it, they are slaughtered or hurled down a precipice, and this one would not call punishment, but the end and consummation of punishment. For as Herodicus of Selymbria, who had fallen ill of phthisis, an incurable disease, and was the first to combine gymnastics with medicine, devised for himself and for others similarly afflicted, as Plato[b] says, a 'lingering death,' so likewise those of the wicked who appear to have escaped the immediate blow, pay not after, but during, a longer period[c] a penalty more lasting, not more delayed, and have not been punished on growing old, but have grown old in punishment. When I speak of a long period I mean it relatively to ourselves, as for the gods any length of human life is but nothing,[d] and to put the evildoer on the rack or hang

[a] The apparel is the *tunica molesta*: *cf.* L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*[9] (Leipzig, 1920), ii, p. 91.

[b] *Republic*, 406 A-B.

[c] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 130. 8-10 (ed. Cousin[2]).

[d] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 135. 10-19 (ed. Cousin[2]).

[7] μακρὸν] μακρὰν G X[1] F Z I N M Vv Y[1] W[R].

(554) τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἷον τὸ δείλης ἀλλὰ μὴ πρωὶ στρεβλοῦν ἢ κρεμαννύναι τὸν πονηρόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φρουρούμενον ἐν τῷ βίῳ καθάπερ εἱρκτῇ μηδεμίαν μετανάστασιν ἐχούσῃ μηδὲ διάφευξιν, εὐωχίας δὲ πολλὰς διὰ μέσου καὶ πραγματείας καὶ δόσεις καὶ χάριτας ἀμέλει καὶ παιδιάς, ὥσπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ κυβευόντων ἢ πεττευόντων ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ σχοινίου κρεμαμένου.

10. "Καίτοι τί κωλύει μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
E καθειργνυμένους[1] φάναι κολάζεσθαι μέχρι οὗ τις ἀποκόψῃ[2] τὸν τράχηλον, μηδὲ τὸν πεπωκότα τὸ κώνειον εἶτα περιιόντα[3] καὶ προσμένοντα βάρος ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς σκέλεσιν αὐτοῦ πρὶν ἢ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀναισθησίᾳ σβέσιν καὶ πῆξιν καταλαβεῖν, εἰ τὸν ἔσχατον τῆς τιμωρίας καιρὸν ἡγούμεθα τιμωρίαν, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ παθήματα καὶ φόβους
F καὶ προσδοκίας καὶ μεταμελείας οἷς ἀδικήσας ἕκαστος ἐνέχεται τῶν πονηρῶν παραλείπομεν, ὥσπερ ἰχθὺν καταπεπωκότα τὸ ἄγκιστρον οὐ φάσκοντες ἑαλωκέναι πρὶν ὑπὸ τῶν μαγείρων ὀπτώμενον ἴδωμεν[4] ἢ κατατεμνόμενον; ἔχεται γὰρ ἕκαστος ἀδικήσας τῇ δίκῃ, καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀδικίας ὥσπερ δέλεαρ εὐθὺς ἐξεδήδοκεν, τὸ δὲ συνειδὸς ἐγκείμενον ἔχων καὶ ἀποτίνον,[5]

θύννος βολαῖος πέλαγος ὣς διαστροβεῖ.

ἡ γὰρ ἰταμότης ἐκείνη καὶ τὸ θρασὺ τῆς κακίας

[1] καθειργνυμένους] καθειργμένους G K v ζ.
[2] ἀποκόψῃ] -ει G^1 X^1 I S N Y (ἀποκόψοι D).
[3] περιιόντα Z I D^2 : περιόντα.
[4] ἴδωμεν] ἴδομεν X^1 Z I N Y^1 ; εἴδομεν G^1 M.
[5] ἀποτίνον I M^{ras} Y^{ras} C (ἀποτῖνον X^3 Ry Vv) ; ἀποτεῖνον K ; ἀποκτεῖνον ζ : ἀποτίνων (ἀποτείνων hki).

him now, and not thirty years ago, is like doing it in the evening and not in the morning, especially as he is shut up in his life as in a prison-house affording no removal or escape, although it allows in the interval much feasting [a] and transaction of business, much conferring and receiving of favours, and indeed many pastimes, as when prisoners play at dice or draughts with the rope hanging overhead.

10. "And yet what is to keep us from denying that even prisoners under sentence of death are punished until their necks are severed, or that one who has drunk the hemlock and is walking about, waiting for his legs to become heavy,[b] is punished until he is overtaken by the chill and rigor that immediately precede the loss of all sensation, if we account as punishment only the final moment of punishment and ignore the intervening sufferings, terrors, forebodings, and pangs of remorse to which every wicked man, once he has done evil, is prey, as if we denied that a fish which has swallowed the hook is caught until we see it set to broil or cut in pieces by the cook? For every man, on doing wrong, is held fast in the toils of justice; he has snapped up in an instant the sweetness of his iniquity, like a bait,[c] but with the barbs of conscience embedded in his vitals and paying for his crime,

> He, like a stricken tunny, churns the sea.[d]

For the proverbial aggressiveness and boldness of

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedo*, 116 E.
[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedo*, 117 E.
[c] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 135. 29-33 (ed. Cousin[2]).
[d] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 391; also quoted in the *Life of Lucullus*, chap. i. 5 (491 F).

(554) ἄχρι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἰσχυρόν ἐστι καὶ πρόχειρον,
555 εἶτα, τοῦ πάθους ὥσπερ πνεύματος ὑπολείποντος, ἀσθενὲς καὶ ταπεινὸν ὑποπίπτει τοῖς φόβοις καὶ ταῖς δεισιδαιμονίαις· ὥστε πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα[1] καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποπλάττεσθαι τὸ τῆς Κλυταιμήστρας[2] ἐνύπνιον τὸν Στησίχορον, οὑτωσί πως λέγοντα

τᾷ δὲ[3] δράκων ἐδόκησε μολεῖν κάρα βεβροτωμένος ἄκρον,
ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῦ βασιλεὺς Πλεισθενίδας ἐφάνη.

καὶ γὰρ ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων καὶ φάσματα μεθημερινὰ καὶ χρησμοὶ καὶ καταιβασίαι[4] καὶ ὅ τι δόξαν ἔσχεν αἰτίᾳ θεοῦ περαίνεσθαι χειμῶνας ἐπάγει καὶ φόβους
B τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένοις, οἷόν φασιν Ἀπολλόδωρόν ποτε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁρᾶν ἐκδερόμενον ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν, εἶτα καθεψόμενον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος ὑποφθεγγομένην καὶ λέγουσαν, 'ἐγώ σοι τούτων αἰτία,' καὶ πάλιν τὰς θυγατέρας διαπύρους καὶ φλεγομένας τοῖς σώμασιν κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὸν περιτρεχούσας[5]· Ἵππαρχον δὲ τὸν Πεισιστράτου μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς αἷμα προσβάλλουσαν[6] αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἔκ τινος φιάλης πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον. οἱ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ

[1] γιγνόμενα G X Z : γινόμενα (-αινα F[1]).
[2] Κλυταιμήστρας N[1] : κλυταιμνήστρας.
[3] τᾷ δὲ Reiske : τάδε (omitted in Ry).
[4] καταιβασίαι] καταβασίαι G[1] X[1] F Ry S hk Y.
[5] περιτρεχούσας] τρεχούσας G Vv.
[6] προσβάλλουσαν hki Vv : προσβαλοῦσαν.

vice is strong and ready to hand until the evil deed is done, but thereafter, as the gale of passion dies away, it falls a weak and abject prey to terrors and superstitions ; so that Stesichorus [a] is modelling the dream of Clytemnestra on life and reality when he speaks in this sort :

> She thought a serpent came to her, its head
> Smeared on the crown with blood ; when lo ! it changed
> Into the royal Pleisthenid. [b]

For visions in dreams, apparitions by day,[c] oracles, the fall of thunderbolts, and all else that gets ascribed to the agency of God bring agonies of terror to those in this state. Thus Apollodorus,[d] it is said, in a dream once saw himself flayed and then boiled by Scythians, when his heart spoke from the cauldron in muffled tones and said : 'It was I that brought you to this ;' and another time saw his daughters run about him with bodies glowing like coals and all aflame. And Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus, is said shortly before his death to have seen Aphroditê dashing blood into his face from a cup.[e] When the friends of Ptolemy

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii, Stesichorus, 42.

[b] Interpreters differ whether this is Agamemnon, the husband she had murdered (so Jebb in his introduction to the *Electra* of Sophocles, p. xix), or Orestes, the son who avenged him (so Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, pp. 131 f.).

[c] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 135. 21 f. (ed. Cousin²).

[d] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 135. 37-44 (ed. Cousin²). Apollodorus, tyrant of Cassandreia from about 279 to 276 B.C., was a byword for ferocity. The dream of being flayed and boiled is doubtless connected with the killing and eating of Callimeles (*cf.* 556 D *infra* and note), while that of the blazing daughters may be connected with the incident told in Polyaenus, vi. 7. 1.

[e] This dream is not mentioned elsewhere ; it is easily interpreted.

(555) Κεραυνοῦ φίλοι καλούμενον αὐτὸν ἑώρων[1] ἐπὶ δίκην
C ὑπὸ Σελεύκου, γυπῶν καὶ λύκων δικαζόντων, καὶ κρέα πολλὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις διανέμοντα.[2] Παυσανίας δὲ Κλεονίκην ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παρθένον ἐλευθέραν ὕβρει μεταπεμψάμενος ὡς ἕξων διὰ νυκτός, εἶτα προσιοῦσαν ἔκ τινος ταραχῆς καὶ ὑποψίας ἀνελών, ἑώρα πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις λέγουσαν αὐτῷ

βαῖνε[3] δίκης ἆσσον· μάλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν ὕβρις.

οὐ παυομένου δὲ τοῦ φάσματος, ὡς ἔοικεν, πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχοπομπεῖον[4] εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, ἱλασμοῖς τισι καὶ χοαῖς ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς κόρης· ἐλθοῦσα δὲ εἰς ὄψιν εἶπεν ὅτι παύσεται τῶν κακῶν ὅταν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γένηται· γενόμενος δέ, εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν.

D 11. "Ὥστε εἰ μηθέν ἐστι τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτος πέρας ἁπάσης καὶ τιμωρίας ὁ θάνατος, μᾶλλον ἄν τις εἴποι τοῖς ταχὺ

[1] καλούμενον αὐτὸν ἑώρων]. The passage is corrupt. *Cf.* Proclus, col. 125. 41-44: "Ptolemaeum autem Ceraunum vocantem amicos putare se [*Post would omit* se] ipsum in somnia vocari ad iudicium a Seleuco, vultures autem ibi considere et lupos iudices." Pohlenz suggests καλοῦντος αὐτοῦ παραγενόμενοι νύκτωρ οὕτως ἐξέπληξαν αὐτόν, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὁρᾶν καλούμενον αὐτόν. Post suggests καλοῦντος περὶ Σελεύκου δικάζειν ἐν ὕπνῳ καλούμενον αὐτὸν ἑώρων.

[2] διανέμοντα] διανεμόντων Reiske.

[3] βαῖνε] στεῖχε *Life of Cimon*, chap. vi. 5 (422 c).

[4] πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ ψ.] πέμψας ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. F; ἐμβλέψας (ἐκπέμψας V²; ἐπεμβλέψας v) ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. V¹; ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. πλεύσας (πέμψας C) W; πέμψας M²mg.

Ceraunus were called to his presence, they beheld him suffering from the delusion that he was being called to judgement himself[a] by Seleucus before a tribunal of vultures and wolves, and was serving his enemies great portions of meat.[b] When Pausanias was at Byzantium, he had in his insolent lust sent for Cleonicê, a maiden of free birth, intending to keep her for the night. As she drew near, he was seized by some wild suspicion and killed her. Thereafter he often saw her in his dreams, saying to him :

> Come meet thy doom ; by pride are men undone.

As the apparition did not cease, he sailed (we hear) to the Passage of the Dead at Heracleia and with certain propitiatory rites and libations evoked the maiden's ghost ; it appeared to him and said that his troubles would be over when he went to Lacedaemon. On going there he presently died.[c]

11. " And so, if nothing exists for the soul when life is done, and death is the bourne of all reward and punishment, it is rather in its dealing with those

[a] The text is corrupt and the translation conjectural. Proclus says : " And Ptolemy Ceraunus, when he summoned his friends, thought in his dreams that he was himself summoned to judgement by Seleucus. . . ."

[b] Ptolemy Ceraunus murdered Seleucus in 280 B.C. Possibly the dream was suggested by the proverb *τὸν* (or *τὴν*) *περὶ τῶν κρεῶν* (*cf. Mor.* 1087 B), in its fuller form *λαγὼς τὸν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν τρέχων* " the hare runs for her meat," for which see Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, pp. 108, 270, 336 f., ii, pp. 37, 121, 496. But *cf.* also *Prov. Coisl.* 324 : *λύκος κρέας νέμει.*

[c] The story of Cleonicê is told in greater detail in the *Life of Cimon*, chap. vi. 4-7 (482 B-D) ; *cf.* also Frag. 1 of the Ὁμηρικαὶ Μελέται (vol. vii, p. 99 Bern.), Aristodemus, 8. 1 (F. Jacoby, *Die Frag. d. gr. Hist.*, Zweiter Teil, A, p. 498. 11-20), and Pausanias, iii. 17. 8-9.

(555) κολαζομένοις τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσι μαλακῶς καὶ ῥαθύμως χρῆσθαι τὸ δαιμόνιον.

"Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο φαίη τις ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πονηρῶν[1] παρέχειν[2] κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐξελεγχομένης που[3] τῆς ἀδικίας, πράγματος ἀκάρπου καὶ ἀχαρίστου καὶ χρηστὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἀναφέροντος ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων, ἡ αἴσθησις αὐτῶν[4] ἀνατρέπει τὴν ψυχήν. οἷον ἱστοροῦσι δήπου[5] Λυσίμαχον ὑπὸ δίψης ἐκβιασθέντα καὶ παραδόντα τοῖς Γέταις τὸ σῶμα

E καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἔπιεν ὑποχείριος γενόμενος, εἰπεῖν· 'φεῦ τῆς ἐμῆς κακίας, ὃς δι' ἡδονὴν οὕτω βραχεῖαν ἐστέρημαι βασιλείας τηλικαύτης.' καίτοι γε[6] πρὸς φυσικὴν πάθους ἀνάγκην ἀντιβῆναι παγχάλεπόν ἐστιν· ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἢ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πλεονεξίας ἢ φθόνῳ πολιτικῆς δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ δι' ἡδονήν τινα συνουσίας ἄνομον ἔργον ἐργασάμενος καὶ δεινόν, εἶτα τοῦ πάθους

F ἀφιεὶς τὸ διψῶδες καὶ μανικὸν ἐν χρόνῳ καθορᾷ τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ φοβερὰ τῆς ἀδικίας πάθη παραμένοντα, χρήσιμον δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀναγκαῖον μηδὲ ὀνησιφόρον, ἆρ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐμπίπτειν αὐτῷ πολλάκις λογισμὸν ὡς ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης ἢ δι' ἡδονὴν ἀνελεύθερον καὶ ἀχάριστον ἀνατρέψας τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δικαίων ἐμπέπληκεν

offenders who meet an early punishment and death that one would call the Divinity lax and negligent.[a]

"For even if one should deny any other misery in the lives and existence of the wicked, yet, surely, when their iniquity is put to the proof and found a barren and thankless thing, yielding for all their great and anxious efforts no solid or valuable return, this realization overwhelms the soul. Thus it is recorded, you will recall, that Lysimachus, compelled by thirst to surrender his person and army to the Getae, said, when he had come into their power and had his drink: 'Alas! How base am I, who for so brief a pleasure have lost so great a kingdom!'[b] Yet a feeling enforced by nature[c] is very hard to resist; but when it is for the sake of ill-gotten gain, or from envy of political prestige and power, or to gratify some lustful pleasure, that a man has done a lawless and dreadful deed, and then, as he loses the thirst and madness of his passion, sees at last that the shame and terror of his crime endure, but nothing useful or necessary or profitable, must it not be brought home to him again and again that, misled by vain opinion or lured on by an unworthy and thankless pleasure, he has subverted the noblest and greatest laws of mankind and poisoned his life with

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedo*, 107 c.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 126 E and 183 E.
[c] For the distinction between innate and adventitious desires *cf. Mor.* 584 E and note.

[1] τῶν πονηρῶν] τὸν πονηρὸν G³.
[2] παρέχειν] πάσχειν Moser.
[3] που G (X is wanting) F Z: omitted in the rest (ποτὲ? Post).
[4] αὐτῶν] αὑτῶν Post; Pohlenz would omit.
[5] δήπου] δή ποτε? Post. [6] γε] omitted in F.

(555) αἰσχύνης καὶ ταραχῆς τὸν βίον; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε παίζων τὴν τοῦ ἀργυρίου κιβωτὸν εὑρίσκειν ἀεὶ πλήρη, τὴν δὲ τῶν χαρίτων κενήν, οὕτως οἱ πονηροὶ τὴν κακίαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διορῶντες ἡδονῆς[1] μὲν εὐθὺς κενὴν[2] χάριν ἐχούσης ἐλπί-
556 δος[3] ἔρημον εὑρίσκουσιν, φόβων δὲ καὶ λυπῶν καὶ μνήμης ἀτερποῦς καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον[4] ὑποψίας, ἀπιστίας δὲ πρὸς τὸ παρόν, ἀεὶ γέμουσαν· ὥστε καθάπερ[5] τῆς Ἰνοῦς ἀκούομεν[6] ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις λεγούσης, ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασε μεταμελομένης,

> φίλαι γυναῖκες, πῶς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόμους
> Ἀθάμαντος οἰκήσαιμι τῶν πεπραγμένων
> δράσασα μηδέν;[7]

ταῦτα[8] ἑκάστου τῶν πονηρῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπολεῖν ἐν αὑτῇ καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἐκβᾶσα τῆς
B μνήμης τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐκβαλοῦσα καὶ καθαρὰ γενομένη βίον ἄλλον[9] ἐξ ἀρχῆς βιώσειεν. οὐ γάρ ἐστι θαρραλέον οὐδὲ ἄτυφον οὐδὲ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον ἐν οἷς προαιρεῖται τὸ πονηρόν, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία σοφούς τινας εἶναι φήσομεν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας· ἀλλ' ὅπου φιλοπλουτία καὶ φιληδονία περιμανὴς[10] καὶ φθόνος ἄκρατος ἐνοικί-

[1] ἡδονῆς D : δι' ἡδονῆς.
[2] κενὴν] κενὴν τὴν Post, keeping δι'.
[3] ἐλπίδος] καὶ ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς D.
[4] τὸ μέλλον] τὸ μέλλον μὲν D ; μὲν τὸ μέλλον CW.
[5] ὥστε καθάπερ nos (ὡς γὰρ Reiske ; καὶ ὥσπερ Wyttenbach) : ὥσπερ.
[6] ἀκούομεν (-ω-N) is placed here in G (X is wanting) F Z Vv ; after λεγούσης in D S[1] hki N M Y CW ; before it in Ry.
[7] μηδέν] μηθέν G (X is wanting) F Vv.
[8] ταῦτα] ταῦτ' εἰκὸς Bern. (f[2] and Stephanus add εἰκὸς after πονηρῶν).
[9] ἄλλον] ἄλυπον F Vv.

shame and anxiety? For as Simonides [a] used to jest that he found his coffer of money always full, but his coffer of thanks empty, so, when evil men see through the wickedness within them, they find it bare of pleasure, which allures for a moment with delusive hope, but always full of terrors, sorrows, dismal memories, misgiving for the future, and mistrust of the present. Hence, as we hear Ino say in the theatres, regretting her deed:

> Oh, dearest women, would that once again
> Within the halls of Athamas I dwelt
> As one that had done nought of what is done! [b]

so the thought that the soul of every wicked man revolves within itself and dwells upon is this: how it might escape from the memory of its iniquities, drive out of itself the consciousness of guilt, regain its purity, and begin its life anew. For wickedness is not confident or clear-headed or constant and steadfast in its chosen course—unless, by Heaven, we are to call evildoers wise men of a sort—; but wherever the frantic pursuit of wealth and pleasure, and wherever unmitigated envy, in the company of

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 520 A and Stobaeus, vol. iii, pp. 417 f. (ed. Hense): "A man once requested Simonides to compose an encomium for him, promising thanks, but offering no money. 'I have two chests,' the poet replied, 'one for thanks, the other for money. When need arises I open the chest of thanks to find it empty, and only the other of any use.'" *Cf.* also a scholium on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 697, a scholium on Theocritus, xvi, Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, viii. 814-830, and *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 513, ed. Sternbach (*Wiener Studien* xi, 1889, p. 227).

[b] From the *Ino* of Euripides: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 399.

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[10] περιμανὴς (or ἀπαραμύθητος) Emperius: περιμάχητος (-ον C); παράπληκτος? Post.

(556) ζεται μετὰ δυσμενείας ἢ κακοηθείας, ἐνταῦθα καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν σκοπῶν ἀνευρήσεις ὑποκαθημένην καὶ μαλακίαν πρὸς πόνον καὶ δειλίαν πρὸς θάνατον καὶ μετάπτωσιν ὀξεῖαν ὁρμῶν καὶ χαυνότητα πρὸς
C δόξαν ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας· καὶ τοὺς ψέγοντας φοβοῦνται καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας δεδίασιν ὡς ἀδικουμένους τῇ ἀπάτῃ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς κακοῖς πολεμοῦντας ὅτι τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι προθύμως. τὸ γὰρ σκληρὸν ἐν κακίᾳ καθάπερ ἐν φαύλῳ σιδήρῳ σαθρόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἀντίτυπον εὔθραυστον. ὅθεν ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὡς ἔχουσιν αὑτοὺς καταμανθάνοντες ἄχθονται καὶ δυσκολαίνουσι καὶ προβάλλονται τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον. οὐ γὰρ δήπου παραθήκην[1] μὲν ἀποδοὺς καὶ γνώριμον ἐγγυησάμενος καὶ πατρίδι μετὰ δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπιδοὺς καὶ
D συνεισενεγκὼν ὁ φαῦλος εὐθύς ἐστιν ἐν μεταμελείᾳ καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀνιᾶται διὰ τὸ πάντῃ μεταπτωτὸν[2] αὐτοῦ καὶ πλανώμενον τῆς γνώμης, καὶ κροτούμενοί τινες ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εὐθὺς στένουσιν ὑπονοστούσης τῆς φιλοδοξίας εἰς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν, οἱ δὲ καταθύοντες ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τυραννίσι καὶ συνωμοσίαις, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, καὶ χρήματα φίλων ἀποστεροῦντες, ὡς Γλαῦκος ὁ Ἐπικύδους, οὐ μετενόουν οὐδ' ἐμίσουν ἑαυτοὺς οὐδὲ ἠνιῶντο

[1] παραθήκην (a variant in Herodotus, vi. 86)] παρακαταθήκην G[3] Ry S[1] a[3].
[2] μεταπτωτὸν D Ry (ἀμετάπτωτον S) : εὐμετάπτωτον.

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 458 E.
[b] Polyaenus (vi. 7. 2) records that Apollodorus butchered

ill will or malice, take up their abode, there, on closer view, you will discover superstition lurking, with shrinking from effort, cowardice in the face of death, sudden shifting of purpose, and an empty conceit of the opinion of the world that springs from swollen vanity. Such men not only fear those who censure them, but are in terror of those who applaud them, feeling that these are wronged by them in the deception, and that they are besides the bitterest enemies of evildoers because they freely praise such as appear to be good men. For the toughness of evil, like that of defective iron, is brittle, and its hardness easily shattered.[a] Hence, as in the fullness of time they come to better knowledge of their condition, they fret and repine and condemn their own way of life. For if the man of little worth, when he has returned money left to his keeping or gone surety for a friend or bestowed a free gift and contribution on his native city with honour and distinction, is at once filled with regret and distressed at his act from the erratic mobility and unsteadiness of his judgement; and if certain men on receiving applause in the theatre suddenly give a sigh, as their appetite for glory subsides, leaving behind mere love of wealth; surely those who have butchered human victims, like Apollodorus,[b] in conspiracies to seize tyrannical power, or who, like Glaucus,[c] son of Epicydes, have withheld sums entrusted them by friends, cannot have failed to feel remorse, to hate themselves, and

a youth called Callimeles and served the flesh and blood (the last mixed in a dark wine) to his fellow-conspirators. By making them partners to the crime he secured their loyalty, and with their help became tyrant. *Cf.* also Diodorus, xxii. 5. 1.

[c] *Cf.* Herodotus, vi. 86.

(556) τοῖς γεγενημένοις. ἐγὼ μέν, εἰ[1] θέμις ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, οὔτε τινὸς θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων δεῖσθαι κολαστοῦ νομίζω τοὺς ἀνοσιουργοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον αὐτῶν[2]
E ἐξαρκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας διεφθαρμένον ὅλον καὶ συντεταραγμένον.

12. "'Ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖτε τὸν λόγον," ἔφην, "μὴ τοῦ καιροῦ πορρωτέρω πρόεισι."

Καὶ ὁ Τίμων, "τυχόν,"[3] ἔφη, "πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ λειπόμενον αὐτῷ μῆκος. ἤδη γὰρ ὥσπερ ἔφεδρον ἀνίστημι τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπορίαν, ἐπεὶ ταῖς πρώταις διηγώνισται μετρίως.

"Ἃ γὰρ Εὐριπίδης ἐγκαλεῖ καὶ παρρησιάζεται πρὸς τοὺς θεούς

τὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματ' εἰς τοὺς ἐγγόνους

τρέποντας, αἰτιᾶσθαι νόμιζε καὶ τοὺς σιωπῶντας
F ἡμῶν. εἴτε γὰρ οἱ δράσαντες αὐτοὶ δίκην ἔδοσαν, οὐθὲν ἔτι δεῖ κολάζειν τοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσαντας, ὅπου δὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τοὺς δράσαντας δίκαιον· εἴτε ῥαθυμίᾳ καταπροέμενοι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς ὀψὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀναιτίων εἰσπράττουσιν, οὐκ εὖ τῷ[4] ἀδίκως τὸ[5] βραδέως[6] ἀναλαμβάνουσιν. οἷον ἐνταῦθα λέγεται δήπουθεν[7] ἐλθεῖν Αἴσωπον,

[1] εἰ G[1] (X is wanting) Z D Ry (γὰρ εἰ F : γὰρ is a corruption of ἦ) : ἦ (ἡ G[3mg] ; ἢ N ; οὐ J[1]).
[2] αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς D.
[3] τυχὸν] τυχὼν G[1] (X is wanting) F[1] Z N.
[4] τῷ G (X is wanting) Z D S[1] N M Y[1] CW : τὸ F Ry hki (τὸ δ' V ; τῶ δ' v).
[5] τὸ G[4] (X is wanting) D S[1] W[3] : τοῦ.
[6] βραδέως] βραδέος G[1] (X is wanting) Ry[c] Vv C.

to be distressed at what they had done. For my part, if it is not impious to say so, I hold that the perpetrators of unholy deeds need neither god nor man to punish them : their life suffices for that office, as their wickedness has wholly ruined it and plunged it into turmoil.

12. " But consider," I said, " whether my speech is not exceeding the proper limits."

" Perhaps it is," replied Timon, " in view of all that still remains for it to answer ; for I am now sending the last problem into the field, like an athlete who has been waiting to engage the winner, since your discourse has done well in its bouts with the earlier problems.[a]

" Euripides'[b] outspoken arraignment of the gods for visiting

The sins of parents on the children

you must suppose is also endorsed by those of us who keep silence. For either the actual offenders have been made to pay, and there is no further need to punish the innocent, since even the guilty may not in justice be twice punished for the same offence, or the gods have indolently allowed the punishment of the guilty to lapse, and then, at a late date, exact payment from the innocent, in which case it is not well done to retrieve the tardiness of their punishment by its injustice.[c] You will recall, for example, the story that Aesop came here with a sum of gold

[a] *Cf.* 549 E, *supra*.

[b] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 980.

[c] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 136. 8-22 (ed. Cousin[2]).

[7] λέγεται δήπουθεν Benseler (λέγεται δήπου Ry) : δήπουθεν (δήπου Z) λέγεται.

(556) ἔχοντα παρὰ Κροίσου χρυσίον ὅπως τε θύσηται τῷ θεῷ[1] μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ Δελφῶν ἑκάστῳ διανείμῃ μνᾶς τέσσαρας· ὀργῆς δέ τινος, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτῷ[2] καὶ διαφορᾶς γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν θυσίαν ἐποιήσατο, τὸ δὲ χρῆμα[3] ἀνέπεμψεν[4]
557 εἰς Σάρδεις, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίων ὄντων ὠφεληθῆναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων· οἱ δὲ συνθέντες αἰτίαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱεροσυλίας ἀπέκτειναν ὤσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἐκείνης ἣν Ὑάμπειαν καλοῦσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου λέγεται μηνῖσαν[5] τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῖς ἀφορίαν τε γῆς ἐπαγαγεῖν καὶ νόσων ἀτόπων ἰδέαν πᾶσαν, ὥστε περιιόντας ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πανηγύρεσι κηρύσσειν καὶ καλεῖν ἀεὶ τὸν βουλόμενον ὑπὲρ Αἰσώπου δίκην λαβεῖν[6] παρ' αὐτῶν. τρίτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ Σάμιος Ἴδμων[7] ἀφίκετο, γένει μὲν οὐδὲν Αἰσώπῳ προσήκων, ἀπόγονος δὲ τῶν πριαμένων αὐτὸν ἐν Σάμῳ
B γεγονώς· καὶ τούτῳ τινὰς δίκας δόντες οἱ Δελφοὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν. ἐξ ἐκείνου δέ φασιν καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἱεροσύλων ἐπὶ τὴν Αὐλίαν[8] ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑαμπείας μετατεθῆναι. καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ οἱ πάνυ φιλοῦντες, ὧν ἐσμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπαινοῦσι τὸ Βραγχιδῶν ἄστυ συγχέαντα

[1] θύσηται (θύσῃ hki) τῷ θεῷ: τῷ θεῷ θύσηται G (X is wanting) F (χρήσεται Z^1; θύσεται Z^2).
[2] αὐτῷ is placed after γενομένης in Ry CW^c; before it in M Vv.
[3] τὸ δὲ χρῆμα] τὰ δὲ χρήματα X^s.
[4] ἀνέπεμψεν J: ἀντέπεμψεν (ἀπέπεμψεν hk).
[5] μηνῖσαν l, as Reiske had conjectured: μηνίσαι.
[6] λαβεῖν] λαμβάνειν G (X is wanting) F Z S.
[7] Ἴδμων] Ἰάδμων Herodotus.
[8] αὐλίαν G^1 R hki M^1: ναυλίαν G^3 (X is wanting) F Z y S^1 N M^2 Y CW; ναυτιλίαν Vv.

from Croesus, intending to offer a splendid sacrifice to the god and distribute four minas apiece to every Delphian; but falling into an angry dispute (the story goes) with the inhabitants of this place, he performed the sacrifice but sent the money back to Sardis, considering the people unworthy of the bounty. They thereupon trumped up a charge of temple robbery and put him to death, casting him down from the cliff over there called Hyampeia.[a] The angry Godhead then visited them, it is said, with failure of crops and all manner of strange diseases, so that they went from one public festival of the Greeks to another and kept inviting by proclamation anyone who so wished to come and receive atonement at their hands for the wrong they had done Aesop. In the third generation Idmon[b] of Samos came, no kinsman of Aesop, but a descendant of his purchasers at Samos; and on making him certain amends, the Delphians were delivered from their troubles. It is said that in consequence the place of execution for sacrilege was transferred from Hyampeia to Aulia.[c] Again, not even the greatest admirers of Alexander, among whom I count myself, approve his wiping out the city of Branchidae and

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 134, and a scholium on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1446: "... (Aesop) is said to have come to Delphi and derided the inhabitants for having no land to cultivate for their livelihood but living off the sacrifices offered to the god. The Delphians were angered at this and secretly placed a sacred cup among Aesop's effects. Aesop, unaware of this, set out on the road to Phocis. But the Delphians ran after, discovered the cup, and charged him with sacrilege ..." *Cf.* also Plutarch, *Mor.* 401 A.

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 134.

[c] The name is uncertain, and the place not elsewhere mentioned.

(557) καὶ διαφθείραντα πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν διὰ τὴν γενομένην τοῦ περὶ Μίλητον ἱεροῦ προδοσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν προπάππων αὐτῶν. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Συρακοσίων[1] τύραννος καὶ σὺν γέλωτι χλευάζων Κερκυραίους ἐρωτῶντας διὰ τί πορθοίη τὴν νῆσον αὐτῶν, 'ὅτι νὴ Δία,' εἶπεν, 'οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὑπεδέξαντο τὸν
C Ὀδυσσέα,' καὶ τῶν Ἰθακησίων ὁμοίως ἐγκαλούντων ὅτι πρόβατα λαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν οἱ στρατιῶται, 'ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος,' ἔφη, 'βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν ποιμένα προσεξετύφλωσεν.' ἆρ' οὖν οὐκ ἀτοπώτερος τούτων ὁ Ἀπόλλων εἰ Φενεάτας ἀπόλλυσι τοὺς νῦν, ἐμφράξας τὸ βάραθρον καὶ κατακλύσας τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν, ὅτι πρὸ χιλίων ἐτῶν, ὥς φασιν, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνασπάσας τὸν τρίποδα τὸν μαντικὸν εἰς Φενεὸν ἀπήνεγκεν, Συβαρίταις δὲ φράζων ἀπόλυσιν τῶν κακῶν ὅταν τρισὶν ὀλέθροις ἱλάσωνται τὸ μήνιμα τῆς Λευκαδίας

[1] συρακοσίων N W[1] : συρακοσσίων G[3] X[1] F : συρρακουσίων G[1] X[d] Vv[2] ; συρακουσίων. *Cf.* also 559 D.

[a] *Cf.* Quintus Curtius, vii. 5. 28, and Suidas, *s.v.* Βραγχίδαι (Aelian, Frag. 54 Hercher): "The men of Dindyma in the territory of Miletus, to gratify Xerxes, betrayed the temple of the local Apollo to the barbarians, and the dedications, which were extremely numerous, were pillaged. The traitors, fearing the vengeance of the laws and of the Milesians, begged Xerxes to reward that detestable treason by removing them to some place in Asia. He consented, and in return for his wicked and impious plunder, allowed them to dwell in a place from which they would no longer be able to set foot in Greece, and where they and their progeny would be relieved of the fear that possessed them. Having thus obtained the land under by no means happy auspices, they raised a city,

his general massacre of young and old because their great-grandfathers had betrayed the temple near Miletus.[a] Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, even turned the notion into a derisive taunt in his reply to the Corcyreans, who asked why he ravaged their island: 'because, by Zeus, your forebears harboured Odysseus.'[b] And when the Ithacans made a similar complaint, saying that his troops were taking their sheep, he answered: 'when your king came to my country he blinded the shepherd[c] to boot.' Is not Apollo still more absurd than these if he ruins the Pheneates of the present day, obstructing their underground channel and putting their whole territory under water,[d] because Heracles is said to have pulled up the tripod of prophecy and made off with it to Pheneüs a thousand years ago?[e] And again, in telling the Sybarites that their troubles will be over when they have appeased the wrath of Leucadian

gave it the name Branchidae, and fancied themselves secure not only from the Milesians but from Justice herself. But the providence of God did not sleep; for when Alexander had defeated Darius and taken possession of the Persian empire, he heard of their evil deed. In his abhorrence for their posterity he slew them all, judging that of the wicked the offspring are wicked, and razed the falsely named city, and its people vanished from the earth."

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 176 F.

[c] The shepherd was the Cyclops Polyphemus: *cf.* Homer, *Od.* ix. 375 ff.

[d] The territory of Pheneüs was surrounded by an unbroken chain of mountains and drained by underground passages said to have been dug by Heracles. When these were obstructed a lake was formed. *Cf.* Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iii. 1. 2, v. 4. 6, and Pausanias, viii. 14, with Frazer's notes.

[e] For Heracles and the tripod *cf. Mor.* 387 D, 413 A; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 16 (42); Hyginus, *Fab.* xxxii; Apollodorus, ii. 6. 2, with Frazer's note in the L.C.L.; Pausanias, iii. 21. 8, x. 13. 7.

(557) D Ἥρας; καὶ μὴν οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ Λοκροὶ πέμποντες εἰς Τροίαν πέπαυνται τὰς παρθένους

αἳ καὶ ἀναμπέχονοι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν ἠΰτε δοῦλαι
ἠοῖαι σαίρεσκον Ἀθηναίης περὶ βωμόν,
νόσφι κρηδέμνοιο, καὶ εἰ βαρὺ[1] γῆρας ἱκάνοι

διὰ τὴν Αἴαντος ἀκολασίαν. ποῦ δὴ ταῦτα τὸ εὔλογον ἴσχει καὶ δίκαιον; οὐδὲ γὰρ Θρᾷκας ἐπαινοῦμεν ὅτι στίζουσιν ἄχρι νῦν τιμωροῦντες Ὀρφεῖ τὰς αὑτῶν γυναῖκας, οὐδὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἠριδανὸν βαρβάρους μελανοφοροῦντας ἐπὶ πένθει τοῦ Φαέθοντος, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν. E ἔτι δ' ἄν, οἶμαι, γελοιότερον ἦν εἰ, τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅτε διεφθάρη Φαέθων παραμελησάντων, οἱ πέντε γενεαῖς ἢ δέκα τοῦ πάθους ὕστερον γεγονότες ἤρξαντο τὴν ἐσθῆτα μεταβάλλειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ πενθεῖν. καίτοι τοῦτο ἀβελτερίαν[2] μὲν ἔχει μόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν οὐδὲ ἀνήκεστον· αἱ δὲ τῶν θεῶν ὀργαὶ τίνι λόγῳ παραχρῆμα δυόμεναι, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ποταμῶν, εἶτα ὕστερον ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀναφερόμεναι, πρὸς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς τελευτῶσιν;"

13. Ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ἐπέσχεν, δείσας ἐγὼ μὴ πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐπαγάγῃ πλείονας καὶ μείζονας ἀτοπίας,

[1] βαρὺ] βαθὺ C¹. [2] ἀβελτερίαν M¹ Y : ἀβελτηρίαν.

[a] The oracle is otherwise unknown, and whether the third destruction refers to that of 448 or to some later date is uncertain.

[b] The verses are attributed to Euphorion : *cf.* J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, pp. 40 f., Euphorion, 53.

[c] As the lesser Ajax had violated Cassandra, the priestess of Athena, at the sack of Troy, the Locrians were instructed by an oracle to make atonement by sending maidens to the temple for a thousand years. *Cf.* Lycophron, *Alexandra*,

Hera by being thrice destroyed ?[a] Again, it is not long since the Locrians gave up sending their maidens to Troy

> Who cloakless, bare of foot, like slaves, at dawn
> Swept clean the space about Athena's altar
> With head uncovered, even in weary age [b]

all for the wantonness of Ajax.[c] Where is the logic or justice of this ? Nor yet do we commend the Thracians for tattooing their own wives to this day in revenge for Orpheus,[d] nor the barbarians on the Po for wearing black in mourning for Phaëthon, as the story goes [e] ; and the absurdity, I think, would be all the greater if at the time of Phaëthon's death men had neglected any observance, while those born five or ten generations after the disaster had introduced this change of attire in his honour and gone into mourning. In this, however, there is mere folly, nothing grave or irreparable ; but for what reason should the wrath of the gods at first sink out of sight, like certain rivers, only to resurge later against [f] others, leading in the end to the direst calamities ?"

13. At his first pause, fearing that he would bring up a new and longer series of still more formidable absurdities, I at once put a question to him : "Well,

1141-1173, with the scholia ; Strabo, xiii. 1. 40 (600 f.) ; Aelian, Frag. 47 (ed. Hercher) ; Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, chap. viii. 42 ; A. Wilhelm, "Die lokrische Mädcheninschrift" in *Jahreshefte des öster. arch. Inst.* xiv (1911), pp. 163-256 ; Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, pp. 383-394.

[d] *Cf.* Phanocles, Ἔρωτες ἢ καλοί, Frag. 1 (J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, pp. 106-108). Incorrigible slaves were tattooed on the forehead.

[e] *Cf.* Polybius, ii. 16. 13.

[f] Plutarch plays on the double sense of *anapheromai*, which can mean "come up from underground" or "be brought into relation with."

(557) F εὐθὺς ἠρόμην αὐτόν· "εἶεν," ἔφην, "ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἀληθινὰ ἡγῇ;"

Κἀκεῖνος, "εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντα," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἔνια, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχειν οὐ νομίζεις τὸν λόγον;"

"Ἴσως," ἔφην ἐγώ, "καὶ τοῖς σφόδρα πυρέττουσιν, ἐάν τε ἓν ἱμάτιον ἐάν τε πολλὰ περιβεβλημένοι τυγχάνωσιν, ταὐτὸ καῦμα καὶ παραπλήσιον, ὅμως δὲ[1] εἰς παραμυθίαν ἀφελεῖν τὸ πλῆθος· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει, τοῦτο[2] μὲν ἔασον (καίτοι τὰ πλεῖστα μύθοις ἔοικεν καὶ πλάσμασιν), ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ τῶν ἔναγχος Θεοξενίων[3] καὶ τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης μερίδος ἣν ἀφαιροῦντες τοὺς Πινδάρου κηρύττουσιν λαμ-
558 βάνειν ἀπογόνους, ὥς σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα σεμνὸν ἐφάνη καὶ ἡδύ."

"Τίς δὲ οὐκ ἄν," εἶπεν, "ἡσθείη τῇ χάριτι τῆς τιμῆς οὕτως Ἑλληνικῶς καὶ ἀφελῶς[4] ἀρχαϊζούσης, εἰ μή

μέλαιναν καρδίαν κεχάλκευται ψυχρᾷ φλογί

κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Πίνδαρον;"

"Ἐῶ τοίνυν," ἔφην, "ὅμοιον ἐν Σπάρτῃ κήρυγμα τούτῳ, τὸ 'μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν,' ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ μνήμῃ Τερπάνδρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ κηρυττόμενον· ὁ γὰρ αὐτός ἐστι λόγος. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε δήπου πλέον ἔχειν ἑτέρων ἔν τε Βοιωτοῖς, Ὀφελ-

[1] δὲ G X[1] F Z N CW : δεῖ.
[2] τοῦτο] τοῦτον N M[1] Y[1] CW[1] (ταῦτα hki).
[3] θεοξενίων X[3] : τῶν θεοξενίων.
[4] ἀφελῶς] φιλοκάλως G[4mg] X F[1γρ] Ry Y[1mg].

[a] Frag. 123 (ed. Schroeder), or Sandys, p. 584 (in the L.C.L.).

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, Frag. 545 (ed. Rose): "And Aristotle says in the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* that the ex-

well" ; I said, " so you take all those stories to be true ? "

" Even if not all, but only some, are true," he replied, " do you not think the difficulty for your argument is the same ? "

" Perhaps," said I, " the case is like that of persons with a raging fever, who feel much the same heat, whether they are wrapped in one cloak or in many, and yet are relieved when the additional cloaks are removed. But if you would rather not insist, then let it pass—though most of your stories look very much like fables and fictions—and recollect instead how impressive and pleasing you found the proceeding at the recent festival of the Theoxenia when that noble portion of the sacrifice was set aside and presented by public proclamation to the descendants of Pindar."

" Who could fail to be delighted and charmed," he said, " with honour thus shown, so Greek in its old-fashioned simplicity, save one whose

Black heart was forged with frozen flame

in Pindar's [a] own words ? "

" In that case," I replied, " I pass over a similar proclamation at Sparta, ' after the singer from Lesbos,' [b] made in honour and commemoration of Terpander of old ; for the point is the same. This, however, I will say : you and your family, I take it, feel entitled to greater consideration than others in Boe-

pression ' after the singer from Lesbos ' refers to Terpander. It was in honour of Terpander (he says) that in later times his descendants were first invited to perform, while next came any other man of Lesbos who chanced to be present, and finally the rest ' after the singer from Lesbos,' that is, after men from Lesbos in general."

(558) τιάδαι[1] γένος[2] ὄντες, ἀξιοῦτε[3] καὶ παρὰ Φωκεῦσι
B διὰ Δαΐφαντον, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ παρῆτε καὶ συνελαμβάνεσθε πρῴην[4] ὅτε Λυκόρμαις καὶ Σατιλαίοις[5] τὴν πάτριον Ἡρακλειδῶν μετιοῦσι τιμὴν καὶ στεφανηφορίαν συνανασῴζων ἔλεγον ὅτι δεῖ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονόσι τὰς τιμὰς ὑπάρχειν βεβαίους καὶ τὰς χάριτας ὧν τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργετήσας οὐκ ἔτυχεν αὐτὸς ἀξίας χάριτος οὐδὲ ἀμοιβῆς."

"Καλοῦ γε," εἶπεν, "ἡμᾶς ἀγῶνος καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ[6] μάλα[7] πρέποντος[8] ἀνέμνησας."

"Ἄφες οὖν," εἶπον, "ὦ τᾶν, τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦτο τῆς κατηγορίας, καὶ μὴ φέρε πικρῶς εἰ κολάζονταί
C τινες ἐκ κακῶν γεγονότες ἢ πονηρῶν, ἢ μὴ χαῖρε μηδ' ἐπαίνει τιμωμένης εὐγενείας. δεῖ γάρ, εἰ τὴν χάριν ἐν τῷ γένει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνασῴζομεν, εὐλόγως μηδὲ τὴν κόλασιν οἴεσθαι δεῖν ἀπαυδᾶν καὶ προαπολείπειν[9] ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀδικίαις, ἀλλὰ συνεκτρέχειν ἐκείνῃ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀντιστρόφως ἀποδιδοῦσαν.[10] ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Κίμωνος ἡδέως ὁρῶν Ἀθήνησι τιμωμένους, τῶν δὲ Λαχάρους ἢ Ἀριστίωνος[11] ἐκγόνων ἐλαυνομένων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀγανακτῶν,

[1] Ὀφελτιάδαι Xylander, from *Life of Cimon*, chap. i. 1 (478 E): ὦ (ὡς X^{3}) φιλτιάδαι.

[2] γένος] γένους G^{3} F Ry hki M^{2}.

[3] ἀξιοῦτε X^{3}: ἀξίου τὲ G X^{d}; ἀξίου.

[4] πρῴην Reiske: πρῶτον.

[5] λυκόρμαις καὶ σατιλαίοις X^{3} Y^{3}: λυκόρμαι (-μοι hk; -μους W) καὶ σατιλαῖοι.

[6] φιλοσοφίᾳ] φιλοσοφίας hki N M Vv Y CW.

[7] μάλα] omitted in C^{1}; placed before ἀνέμνησας in M Vv.

[8] πρέποντος] πρεπόντως X^{1} Z^{1} hki N^{2} M (πρέποντως V) Y CW (πρεπόντος υ F^{1} N^{1} v).

[9] προαπολείπειν] προλείπειν G^{4}; προαπειλεῖν G^{1} X^{1} K (doubtless from the lost margin of F, where an index by F^{1} shows that a marginal reading once existed) Y^{1mg}.

otia as descendants of Opheltas, and again in Phocis from your connexion with Daiphantus [a]; you moreover lent me your presence and support the other day when I helped the Lycormae and Satilaei to recover the hereditary honour of the Heracleidae, the right of wearing a crown. I said at the time that the posterity of Heracles should particularly be maintained in possession of the honours and rewards he had earned by his services to the Greeks, for which he had received no adequate thanks or compensation himself."

"You call to my mind a noble debate," he said, "and one well worthy of philosophy."

"Then lay aside, my friend," said I, "this hotness of denunciation, and do not take it ill that some who come of a bad or wicked line are punished, or else you must withhold your delight and approval when noble birth is honoured. For if we preserve in the descendants our gratitude for virtue, we must in reason expect that neither should the punishment of crime flag or falter in its course, but that it should keep pace with gratitude, matching it in requiting men as they deserve. He that delights to see the descendants of Cimon honoured at Athens, but is displeased and offended at the expulsion of the descendants of Lachares [b] or Aristion,[c] is much too

[a] For Opheltas *cf. Life of Cimon*, chap. i. 1 (478 E); for Daiphantus, of whom Plutarch composed a *Life*, now lost, *cf. Mor.* 244 B and 1099 E. If Timon was Plutarch's brother-german, we have here an account of Plutarch's own descent.

[b] Lachares became tyrant of Athens and allied himself with Cassander. He escaped from the city shortly before its capture by Demetrius in 294.

[c] Aristion became tyrant of Athens in 88 B.C.

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[10] *ἀποδιδοῦσαν* X[3] : *ἀποδιδούσῃ*.

[11] *Ἀριστίωνος* Reiske : *ἀρίστωνος*.

(558) ὑγρός ἐστι λίαν καὶ ῥάθυμος, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλαίτιος ὅλως καὶ δύσκολος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἐγκαλῶν μέν, ἂν ἀνδρὸς ἀδίκου καὶ πονηροῦ παῖδες ἐκ παίδων εὐτυχεῖν δοκῶσιν, ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πάλιν, ἂν τὰ γένη
D κολούηται καὶ ἀφανίζηται τῶν φαύλων, αἰτιώμενος δὲ[1] τὸν θεὸν ὁμοίως μέν, ἂν χρηστοῦ πατρὸς τέκνα πράττῃ κακῶς, ὁμοίως δέ, ἂν πονηροῦ.

14. "Καὶ ταῦτα μέν," ἔφην, "ὥσπερ ἀντιφράγματά σοι κείσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἄγαν πικροὺς καὶ κατηγορικοὺς ἐκείνους· ἀναλαβόντες[2] δὲ αὖθις ὥσπερ ἀρχὴν κλωστῆρος ἐν σκοτεινῷ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑλιγμοὺς καὶ πλάνας ἔχοντι τῷ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ[3] λόγῳ καθοδηγῶμεν αὑτοὺς μετ' εὐλαβείας ἀτρέμα πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ πιθανόν· ὡς τό γε σαφὲς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐδ' ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ πράττομεν ἀσφαλῶς εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν, οἷον διὰ τί τῶν ὑπὸ φθίσεως ἢ ὑδέρου διαφθαρέντων τοὺς παῖδας εἰς ὕδωρ τὼ
E πόδε βρέχοντας καθίζεσθαι κελεύομεν ἕως ἂν ὁ νεκρὸς κατακαῇ, δοκεῖ γὰρ οὕτω τὸ νόσημα μὴ μεθίστασθαι μηδὲ προσπελάζειν αὐτοῖς· ἢ πάλιν δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, αἰγὸς τὸ ἠρύγγιον[4] λαβούσης εἰς τὸ στόμα, ὅλον ἐφίσταται τὸ αἰπόλιον ἄχρι ἂν ἐξέλῃ προσελθὼν ὁ αἰπόλος; ἄλλαι τε δυνάμεις ἁφὰς ἔχουσαι καὶ διαδόσεις ἀπίστους ὀξύτησι καὶ μήκεσι δι' ἑτέρων εἰς ἕτερα περαίνουσιν. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τὰ
F κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους διαλείμματα θαυμάζομεν, οὐ

[1] δὲ] τε Pohlenz ; γε ? Post.
[2] ἀναλαβόντες] ἀναλαβόντος G¹ X¹ Z.
[3] τοῦ θεοῦ] θεοῦ G hki Vv C.

lax and indulgent, or rather he is downright captious and quarrelsome with heaven, reproaching it if the children's children of an unjust and wicked man appear to prosper, reproaching it again if the progeny of the base is thwarted and wiped out, and finding God alike at fault whether it goes hard with the children of a good or of an evil father.

14. "These remarks," I said, "you are to view as a sort of barricade to hold off those excessively bitter and denunciatory critics. Let us now take up again the beginning of a clue, as it were, in the argument about God, obscure as it is and abounding in intricacy and error, and pick our way cautiously and calmly to a probable and credible issue, since not even in what we human beings do ourselves can we safely speak of certainty and truth. Why, for example, do we tell children whose parents have died of phthisis or the dropsy to sit with their feet in water until the corpse is consumed, the disease (it is thought) being thus kept from passing over or coming near them? Or again, when a goat takes the sea-holly [a] in its mouth, what makes the whole herd stand by until the goat-herd comes and removes it? And there are other forces, with a capacity for contagion and transmission incredible in its rapidity and the great intervals covered, that reach one object by passing through another. We, however, are amazed at the intervals

[a] For this story *cf. Mor.* 700 D, 776 F; Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* ix. 3 (610 b 29); Theophrastus, Frag. 174 (ed. Wimmer); Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 203 f.; Antigonus, *Hist. Mir.* chap. cvii (115); and a scholium on Nicander, *Theriaca*, 645.

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[4] τὸν (τὸ nos) ἠρύγγιον Turnebus; τὸν ἠρυίτην G^{4mg}; τὸν νηρυίτην X^1 F R^{1mg} K^{1t} V^{2mg}; τὸν (τὸ i^1; τὴν C) ἠρυγγίτην.

(558) τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους. καίτοι[1] θαυμασιώτερον εἰ πάθους ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ λαβόντος ἀρχὴν ἀνεπλήσθησαν αἱ Ἀθῆναι καὶ Περικλῆς ἀπέθανεν καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐνόσησεν, ἢ εἰ Δελφῶν καὶ Συβαριτῶν γενομένων πονηρῶν ἡ δίκη φερομένη περιῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας. ἔχουσι γάρ τινας αἱ δυνάμεις ἀναφορὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ συνάψεις· ὧν ἡ αἰτία, κἂν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀγνοῆται, σιωπῇ περαίνει τὸ οἰκεῖον.

15. " Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τά γε[2] δημόσια τῶν πόλεων μηνίματα τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ἔχει πρόχειρον.[3]
559 ἓν γάρ τι πρᾶγμα καὶ συνεχὲς ἡ πόλις ὥσπερ ζῷον, οὐκ ἐξιστάμενον αὑτοῦ[4] ταῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν μεταβολαῖς οὐδ' ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου τῷ χρόνῳ γινόμενον,[5] ἀλλὰ συμπαθὲς ἀεὶ καὶ οἰκεῖον αὑτῷ καὶ πᾶσαν ὧν πράττει κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἢ[6] ἔπραξεν αἰτίαν καὶ χάριν ἀναδεχόμενον μέχρι ἂν ἡ ποιοῦσα καὶ συνδέουσα ταῖς ἐπιπλοκαῖς κοινωνία τὴν ἑνότητα διαφυλάττῃ. τὸ δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις διαιροῦντα τῷ χρόνῳ ποιεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπείρους, ὅμοιόν ἐστιν τῷ[7] πολλοὺς τὸν ἕνα ποιεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὅτι νῦν πρεσβύτερός ἐστι, πρότερον δὲ νεώτερος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ
B μειράκιον ἦν. μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ταῦτά γε τοῖς Ἐπιχαρμείοις ἔοικεν ἐξ ὧν ὁ αὐξόμενος ἀνέφυ τοῖς σοφισταῖς λόγος· ὁ γὰρ λαβὼν πάλαι τὸ χρέος[8]

[1] καίτοι] καὶ τὸ N[1] M[1] Y[1t] CW.
[2] τά γε C : γε τὰ. [3] πρόχειρον] πρόδηλον F[1t].
[4] αὑτοῦ Xylander : αὐτῆς or αὑτῆς.
[5] γινόμενον] γενόμενον hki N M[1] v Y CW.
[6] τὸ κοινὸν ἢ] τὸ κοινὸν G[1] ; τῇ κοινὸν ἢ X[1] ; τὴν κοινὸν F[1t] ; τὴν κοινὴν Z. [7] τῷ] τὸ G[1] Z R N M[1] Y W[1].
[8] χρέος] χρέως X[1] N[1].

in time, not those in space. And yet it is more amazing that a disease which had its origin in Ethiopia should have raged at Athens, killed Pericles, and attacked Thucydides,[a] than that justice, after the crimes of the Delphians and Sybarites, should have found her way to their children. For forces have a way of reverting from their farthest points to their origins and effecting a connexion ; and although the cause of this may be unknown to us, it silently achieves its proper effect.

15. " Nevertheless, the visitations of entire cities by divine wrath are readily justified.[b] A city, like a living thing, is a united and continuous whole. This does not cease to be itself as it changes in growing older, nor does it become one thing after another with the lapse of time, but is always at one with its former self in feeling and identity, and must take all blame or credit for what it does or has done in its public character, so long as the association that creates it and binds it together with interwoven strands preserves it as a unity. To create a multiplicity, or rather an infinity, of cities by chronological distinctions is like creating many men out of one because the man is now old, but was in his prime before, and yet earlier was a lad. Or rather this procedure altogether resembles the passage of Epicharmus [c] that gave rise to the sophists' fallacy of the ' grower ' : the man who received the loan in the

[a] *Cf.* Thucydides, ii. 48. 3.

[b] On the topic of this chapter *cf. De E Apud Delphos*, chap. 18. Proclus (*On Providence*, col. 136. 31-35 Cousin[2]) summarizes the argument of this chapter and the next.

[c] Frag. 170 (ed. Kaibel), translated by Hicks in Diogenes Laert. iii. 11 (in the L.C.L.) ; *cf. Mor.* 473 D, 1083 A, *Life of Theseus*, chap. xxiii. 1 (10 B-C).

(559) νῦν οὐκ ὀφείλει, γεγονὼς ἕτερος, ὅ τε[1] κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐχθὲς ἄκλητος ἥκει τήμερον· ἄλλος γάρ ἐστι.

"Καίτοι μείζονάς γε[2] παραλλαγὰς αἱ ἡλικίαι περὶ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ποιοῦσιν ἢ κοινῇ περὶ τὰς πόλεις. γνοίη γὰρ ἄν τις ἰδὼν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ τὰ νῦν ἤθη καὶ κινήματα παιδιαί τε καὶ σπουδαὶ καὶ χάριτες καὶ ὀργαὶ τοῦ δήμου πάνυ γε τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐοίκασιν· ἀνθρώπου[3] δὲ μόλις ἄν τις οἰκεῖος ἢ φίλος ἐντυχὼν διὰ χρόνου
C μορφὴν γνωρίσειεν, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἠθῶν μεταβολαί, παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πόνῳ καὶ πάθει καὶ νόμῳ ῥᾳδίως τρεπόμεναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀεὶ συνόντα τὴν ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὴν καινότητα[4] θαυμαστὴν ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπός τε λέγεται μέχρι τέλους εἷς ἀπὸ γενέσεως, πόλιν τε τὴν αὐτὴν ὡσαύτως διαμένουσαν ἐνέχεσθαι τοῖς ὀνείδεσι τῶν προγόνων ἀξιοῦμεν ᾧ δικαίῳ μέτεστιν αὐτῇ δόξης τε τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ δυνάμεως· ἢ λήσομεν εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον[5] ἅπαντα πράγματα ποταμὸν[6] ἐμβαλόντες, εἰς ὃν οὔ φησι δὶς ἐμβῆναι, τῷ πάντα κινεῖν καὶ ἑτεροιοῦν τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλλουσαν.

16. "Εἰ δ' ἔστι τι[7] πόλις ἓν πρᾶγμα καὶ συν-
D εχές, ἔστι δήπου καὶ γένος, ἐξηρτημένον ἀρχῆς μιᾶς καὶ δύναμίν τινα καὶ κοινωνίαν διαπεφυκυῖαν

[1] τε Pohlenz : δὲ.
[2] γε X³ Cᵃᶜ : τε.
[3] ἀνθρώπου Xᵈ? Z Ry Vv : ἄνθρωπον.
[4] καινότητα] κενότητα G X¹ F¹ Z N M Y.
[5] Ἡρακλείτειον (-τι-G¹)] -κλή- X¹ F Z y hk N¹ M¹ Y¹ CWᵃᶜ.
[6] ἀπ. πρ. ποτ. S¹ hki N M Y CW (ποτ. ἀπ. πρ. Vv) : ἀπ. τὰ πρ. ποτ. G X F Z Ry.

past is no debtor now, having become a different person, and he who was yesterday invited to dinner comes an unbidden guest to-day, since he is now another man.

"Yet growing older brings about greater alterations in each of us severally than in a city collectively. For one would recognize Athens on seeing it after a lapse of thirty years, and the present traits and moods of its people, their amusements and graver concerns, their displays of partiality and anger, are very similar to those of long ago.[a] But with a man, a kinsman or friend who should meet him after any length of time would find it hard to recognize his appearance, whereas the shifts in his character, responding lightly to every sort of argument, difficulty, passion, and law, are so strange and novel as to astound even a constant companion. Yet a man is called one and the same from birth to death; and we deem it only proper that a city, in like manner retaining its identity, should be involved in the disgraces of its forbears by the same title as it inherits their glory and power; else we shall find that we have unawares cast the whole of existence into the river of Heracleitus,[b] into which he asserts no man can step twice, as nature in its changes shifts and alters everything.

16. "If a city is a single and continuous whole, surely a family is so too, attached as it is to a single origin which reproduces in the members a certain force and common quality pervading them all; and

[a] *Cf. Life of Aristeides*, chap. xxvii. 7 (335 E).

[b] Diels and Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*[6], i, p. 171, Heracleitus, B 91, or Frag. 91 (ed. Bywater); *cf.* also *Mor.* 392 B and 912 A.

[7] ἔστι τι] ἔστι Reiske; ἔστιν?

(559) ἀναφερούσης, καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν οὐχ ὥς τι δημιούργημα πεποιημένον ἀπήλλακται τοῦ γεννήσαντος· ἐξ αὐτοῦ γάρ, οὐχ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, γέγονεν, ὥστ' ἔχει τι καὶ φέρεται τῶν ἐκείνου μέρος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ κολαζόμενον προσηκόντως καὶ τιμώμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ δόξαιμι παίζειν, ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν ἀνδριάντα Κασάνδρου καταχαλκευόμενον ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πάσχειν ἀδικώτερα[1] καὶ τὸ Διονυσίου[2] σῶμα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξοριζόμενον ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων[3] ἢ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτῶν δίκην τίνοντας. τῷ μὲν γὰρ
E ἀνδριάντι τῆς Κασάνδρου φύσεως οὐθὲν ἔνεστιν,[4] καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἡ Διονυσίου ψυχὴ προλέλοιπεν· Νυσαίῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλοκράτει καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως παισὶ[5] τῶν πονηρῶν τὸ κυριώτατον ἐμπέφυκεν καὶ πάρεστι μέρος, οὐχ ἡσυχαῖον οὐδὲ ἀργόν, ἀλλὰ ζῶσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τρέφονται καὶ διοικοῦνται καὶ φρονοῦσιν· καὶ οὐθὲν δεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτοπον ἄν, ἐκείνων ὄντες, ἔχωσι[6] τὰ ἐκείνων.

"Καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν,[7] ὥσπερ ἐν ἰατρικῇ τὸ
F χρήσιμον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, καὶ γελοῖος ὁ φάσκων

[1] ἀδικώτερα Victorius : ἀδικώτατα.
[2] διονυσίου G³ X³ M³ V (διονύσιον v) Y³ W² : διονύσου.
[3] συρακοσίων N W : συρακοσσίων G³ X¹ F ; συρρακουσίων G¹ X³ hki Vv ; συρακουσίων.
[4] οὐθὲν ἔνεστι Reiske : οὐθέν ἐστι (-ιν N Y ; οὐ μέτεστι X³).
[5] παισὶ a³ : πᾶσι.
[6] ἔχωσι] πάσχωσι Pohlenz ; ἀπέχωσι Post.
[7] εἰπεῖν X³ : εἶπον.

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 1001 c.

what has been begotten is not severed from the begetter, as if it were some product of his art[a]; it has been created out of him, not by him, and thus not only contains within itself a portion of what is his, but receives a portion of his due when rightly punished or honoured.[b] If you would not take it for a joke, I would say that a statue of Cassander was more unjustly treated when the Athenians hammered it into scrap,[c] and the body of Dionysius, when after his death the Syracusans cast it beyond their borders,[d] than were their descendants when they paid the price. For in the statue there is nothing of Cassander's nature, and the corpse of Dionysius has been deserted by his soul, whereas in Nysaeus and Apollocrates,[e] in Antipater and Philip,[f] and similarly in the other children of the wicked, the father's principal part is inherent and innate, not quiescent or inert, but by it they live, thrive, are governed, and think; and there is nothing shocking or absurd that they, who are their fathers' children, receive their fathers' due.

"To put it generally, as in medicine what is helpful is also just,[g] and he is ridiculous who calls it unjust

[b] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 137. 32-39 (ed. Cousin[2]).

[c] Not mentioned elsewhere; it doubtless occurred when Demetrius took Athens in 307.

[d] *Cf. Life of Timoleon*, chap. xxii. 2 (246 F).

[e] Athenaeus (435 E-F) calls these the sons of the elder Dionysius. Nysaeus was banished after a short reign; the fate of Apollocrates is unknown. As Apollocrates was the name of the eldest son of the younger Dionysius, it has been thought that Athenaeus is mistaken in assigning to the elder Dionysius a son of that name. If so, Plutarch appears to share the error.

[f] The sons of Cassander. Philip died of consumption after a few months' reign; Antipater was murdered.

[g] For what follows *cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 138. 7-15 (ed. Cousin[2]).

(559) ἄδικον εἶναι τῶν ἰσχίον[1] πονούντων καίειν τὸν
ἀντίχειρα καὶ τοῦ ἥπατος ὑπούλου γεγονότος
ἀμύσσειν τὸ ἐπιγάστριον, καὶ τῶν βοῶν, ἂν εἰς
τὰς χηλὰς μαλακιῶσιν, προσαλείφειν τὰ ἄκρα τῶν
κεράτων, οὕτως ὁ περὶ τὰς κολάσεις ἄλλο τι
δίκαιον ἢ τὸ θεραπεύειν[2] τὴν κακίαν ἡγούμενος,
καὶ ἀγανακτῶν ἐάν τις δι' ἑτέρων ἐφ' ἑτέρους
ἀναφέρῃ τὴν ἰατρείαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὴν φλέβα δι-
αιροῦντες ἵνα τὴν ὀφθαλμίαν κουφίσωσιν, οὐδὲν
560 ἔοικεν περαιτέρω τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἐφορᾶν, οὐδὲ
μνημονεύειν[3] ὅτι καὶ διδάσκαλος παίδων ἑνὸς
καθικόμενος ἑτέρους ἐνουθέτησεν, καὶ στρατηγὸς
ἐκ δεκάδος ἀνελὼν ἕνα πάντας ἐνέτρεψεν,[4] καὶ
οὕτως οὐ μέρει διὰ μέρους ἑτέρου μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ψυχῇ διὰ ψυχῆς γίνονταί τινες διαθέσεις καὶ
κακώσεις καὶ ἐπανορθώσεις μᾶλλον ἢ σώματι[5] διὰ
σώματος. ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὸ αὐτὸ δεῖ[6]
πάθος ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μεταβολήν, ἐν-
ταῦθα δ' ἡ ψυχή, ταῖς φαντασίαις ἀγομένη κατὰ
τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ δεδιέναι, χεῖρον ἢ βέλτιον δια-
γίγνεσθαι πέφυκεν."

17. Ἔτι δ' ἐμοῦ[7] λέγοντος ὑπολαβὼν[8] ὁ Ὀλύμ-
πιχος, "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "τῷ λόγῳ μεγάλην ὑπό-
B θεσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι, τὴν ἐπιμονὴν τῆς ψυχῆς."

[1] ἰσχίον] ἰσχίων G[1] X[1] F R N M v[1] Y W[1].
[2] θεραπεύειν] θεραπεῦον Reiske.
[3] μνημονεύειν G[1] Z i M[3] C[2] : μνημονεύει.
[4] ἐνέτρεψε l[2] and Reiske : ἀνέτρεψε X[3] hki W[2] ; ἀνέστρεψε (-εν Y ; ἀνέστειψεν N).
[5] σώματι] τῷ σώματι G X F Z.
[6] δεῖ] δὴ X[1]υ F Z[1ss] (omitted in G).
[7] δ' ἐμοῦ Bern. : δέ μου.
[8] ὑπολαβὼν] ὑποβαλὼν G[1] X[1] F Z.

[a] *Cf.* Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. Chron.* v. 1. 21.

to cauterize the thumb of a patient whose hip is diseased,[a] to scarify the epigastric region for a suppurating liver,[b] and when cattle get soft hooves, to anoint the tip of the horns,[c] so too, whoever thinks that in punishments there is any other justice than to heal the vice, and is shocked when some persons are used as intermediaries in treating others, as when ophthalmia[d] is relieved by opening a vein, appears to see no farther than the reach of sense, and not to remember that a schoolmaster who strikes one boy admonishes others, that a general who executes one man in ten[e] inspires his whole army with respect, and that in this way certain dispositions, afflictions, and corrections are transmitted not only to one part through another, but also to one soul through another, and indeed more readily than to the body through the body. For when the transmission is through the body, the same affection and change, it appears, must take place in both parts ; whereas the nature of the soul is such that it is guided by imagination to feel assurance or terror, and thus fare better or worse."

17. I was still speaking when Olympichus broke in : "You appear," he said, "to rest your case on a very considerable assumption : the survival of the soul."[f]

[b] *Cf.* Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. Chron.* iii. 4. 57, 66, and Paul of Aegina, vi. 47.

[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* viii. 7 and 23 (595 b 13-15, 604 a 14-17) ; Cato, *De Agri Cultura*, lxxii ; Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 266 ; Columella, vi. 15. 2 ; *Geoponica*, xvii. 9. It is conjectured that the word " horn " originally meant " hoof."

[d] *Cf.* Hippocrates, *Epidem.* ii. 6. 12 ; Galen, *De Cur. Rat. per Venae Sect.* chap. xvii (vol. xi, pp. 299-301 Kühn).

[e] This is the Roman punishment of decimation : *cf.* Livy, ii. 59 ; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 24.

[f] The wicked, if punished through their descendants, must somehow survive if the punishment is to reach them.

(560) "Καὶ ὑμῶν γε," εἶπον ἐγώ, "διδόντων, μᾶλλον δὲ δεδωκότων· ὡς γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν νέμοντος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεῦρο προελήλυθεν."

Κἀκεῖνος, "εἶτα δ'," ἔφη, "νομίζεις ἕπεσθαι τῷ[1] τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ νέμειν ἕκαστα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπάρχειν ἢ πάμπαν ἀφθάρτους ἢ χρόνον τινὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπιμενούσας;"

"Οὔκ, ὦ 'γαθέ;" εἶπον, "ἀλλὰ μικρὸς οὕτω καὶ κενόσπουδος ὁ θεός ἐστιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῶν ἐχόντων θεῖον ἐν αὑτοῖς μηδὲ προσόμοιον ἁμωσγέπως
C ἐκείνῳ καὶ διαρκὲς καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ φύλλοις, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἔφη, παραπλησίως ἀπομαραινομένων παντάπασι καὶ φθινόντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ, ποιεῖσθαι λόγον τοσοῦτον, ὥσπερ αἱ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ἐπ' ὀστράκοις τισὶ τιθηνούμεναι καὶ θεραπεύουσαι γυναῖκες, ἐφημέρους[2] ψυχὰς ἐν σαρκὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ βίου ῥίζαν ἰσχυρὰν οὐ δεχομένῃ βλαστανούσας, εἶτα ἀποσβεννυμένας εὐθὺς[3] ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως; εἰ δὲ βούλει, τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἐάσας σκόπει τουτονὶ τὸν ἐνταυθοῖ τὸν ἡμέτερον εἴ σοι δοκεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τελευτώντων ἀπολλυμένας ἐπιστάμενος εὐθύς, ὥσπερ ὁμίχλας ἢ καπνοὺς
D ἀποπνεούσας τῶν σωμάτων,[4] ἱλασμούς τε πολλοὺς προσφέρειν τῶν κατοιχομένων καὶ γέρα μεγάλα καὶ τιμὰς ἀπαιτεῖν[5] τοῖς τεθνηκόσιν, ἐξαπατῶν καὶ

[1] τῷ] τὸ G[1] X[1]v[ac] F[1] Z N C[ac]W[1].
[2] Pohlenz would add σπείρων after ἐφημέρους.
[3] εὐθὺς G X F Z Ry : ἀεί.

"I do," I said, "and you concede or rather have conceded it; for our discussion has proceeded from the outset on the assumption that God allots us our deserts."

"Why, do you think," he said, "that if the gods attend to us and mete out every particular of our lives, it follows that our souls are either altogether imperishable or survive for some time after death?"[a]

"It doesn't follow, my good friend?" I asked. "Is God instead so petty and so absorbed in trifles that if we had nothing divine in us or in some sort resembling him and enduring and constant, but like leaves, as Homer[b] said, withered quite away and perished after a brief space, he would make so much of us, and like the women who nurse and tend their 'gardens of Adonis'[c] in pots of earthenware, would tend souls of a day grown in a frail vessel of flesh that admits no strong root of life, only to be presently extinguished on the slightest occasion? But if you will, leave the other gods aside, and consider whether in your opinion our own god of this place, knowing that when men die their souls perish immediately, exhaled from the body like vapour or smoke, nevertheless prescribes many appeasements of the dead and demands for them great honours and consideration, deluding and cheating those who put faith in

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 1107 B.

[b] *Il.* vi. 146; *cf. Mor.* 1090 B.

[c] These were pots or baskets in which wheat, barley, lettuce, and fennel were sown. When the plants sprouted, the "gardens" were taken out at the funeral of the god and cast into springs. *Cf.* Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 19, with the note.

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4 *τῶν σωμάτων*] *τοῦ σώματος* F.

5 *ἀπαιτεῖν* G^3 $Z^{2?}$ Ry k N^2 : *ἀπαιτεῖ*.

(560) φενακίζων τοὺς πιστεύοντας. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν προείμην τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν διαμονήν, εἰ μή τις ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὑφελὼν τὸν τρίποδα τῆς Πυθίας ἀναιρήσει[1] καὶ διαφθερεῖ[2] τὸ χρηστήριον· ἄχρι δὲ[3] τοῦ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα προθεσπίζεσθαι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἷα καὶ Κόρακι τῷ Ναξίῳ χρησθῆναι λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὅσιόν ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς καταγνῶναι θάνατον."

Καὶ ὁ Πατροκλέας, "τί δ' ἦν," ἔφη, "τὸ χρησθέν, ἢ τίς ὁ 'κόραξ' οὗτος; ὡς ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ

E πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον[4] ξένον."

"Οὐδαμῶς," εἶπον, "ἀλλ' αἴτιος ἐγώ, παρωνύμῳ χρησάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. ὁ γὰρ ἀποκτείνας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον ἐκαλεῖτο Καλλώνδης,[5] ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦν δ' αὐτῷ Κόραξ ἐπωνύμιον.[6] ἐκβληθεὶς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα τῶν Μουσῶν ἀνῃρηκώς, εἶτα χρησάμενος λιταῖς τισι καὶ προστροπαῖς[7] μετὰ δικαιολογίας, ἐκελεύσθη πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Τέττιγος οἴκησιν ἱλάσασθαι τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ψυχήν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὁ Ταίναρος· ἐκεῖ γάρ φασιν ἐλθόντα μετὰ στόλου Τέττιγα τὸν Κρῆτα πόλιν κτίσαι καὶ

[1] ἀναιρήσει] ἀναιρήσῃ X[1] F Z N M Y CW.
[2] διαφθερεῖ X[3] : διαφθείρῃ (διαφθείρει G[1] R hi V[2 or c]).
[3] δὲ added by S[1] and Meziriacus.
[4] ὀνομαζόμενον] ὄνομα Ry.
[5] Καλλώνδης X F N M Y : καλώνδης.
[6] ἐπωνύμιον] ἐπώνυμον G R hki.
[7] προστροπαῖς Emperius : προτροπαῖς (τροπαῖς G Vv 1).

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[a] *Cf. Life of Numa*, chap. iv. 9 (62 c). The fullest version of the story is in Aelian, Frag. 80 (ed. Hercher) : "Not even in death do the gods forget the good. Thus Archilochus, a noble poet, if you take away his indecency and abusiveness

him. For my part, I will never give up the survival of the soul until some second Heracles makes off with the tripod of the Pythia and abolishes and destroys the oracle ; but so long as many responses are delivered even in our day of the kind that the Naxian Corax [a] is said to have received, it would be impious to pass sentence of death upon the soul."

"What response was given ?" Patrocleas inquired. "And what manner of creature was this 'corax ?' [b] I know neither the story nor what is meant by the word."

"Not so," said I ; "the fault is mine for using a sobriquet instead of the name. The slayer of Archilochus in the battle was called Callondes, we are told ; 'Corax' was his nickname. At first the Pythia drove him away as one who had killed a man sacred to the Muses ; but on resorting to certain prayers and entreaties, and pleading his cause, he was bidden to proceed to the dwelling of Tettix and appease the soul of Archilochus. (The place was Taenarus ; Tettix the Cretan is said to have come there with a

and rub it out like a stain, was pitied by the Pythian Apollo, though killed in war, where the chance is equal. When his slayer, Calondas by name, but nicknamed Corax, came to make certain requests to the god, the Pythia refused him entrance as one polluted, and spoke the well-known words [that is, Μουσάων θεράποντα κατέκτανες, ἔξιθι νηοῦ, "The Muses' servant hast thou slain : begone !" *Cf.* Galen, *Protrepticus*, ix. 1]. He pleaded the fortune of war, said that he had either to kill or be killed, begged the god not to regard him as an enemy if he was victim of his fate, and cursed himself for not preferring death to killing. The god took pity on him for this and bade him go to Taenarus, where Tettix is buried, and appease the soul of Telesicles' son [that is, Archilochus] and deprecate its anger with libations. He obeyed, and was delivered from the god's wrath."

[b] That is, "crow."

(560) F κατοικῆσαι περὶ[1] τὸ ψυχοπομπεῖον.[2] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιάταις χρησθὲν ἱλάσασθαι τὴν Πausανίου ψυχήν, ἐξ Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντες οἱ ψυχαγωγοὶ καὶ θύσαντες ἀπεσπάσαντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ εἴδωλον.

18. "Εἷς οὖν ἐστι λόγος," ἔφην,[3] "ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν[4] τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς βεβαιῶν, καὶ θάτερον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀναιροῦντα θάτερον. οὔσῃ[5] δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ[6] μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστι καὶ τιμὰς ἀποδίδοσθαι
561 καὶ τιμωρίας· ἀγωνίζεται γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς τὸν βίον, ὅταν δὲ διαγωνίσηται, τότε τυγχάνει τῶν προσηκόντων. ἀλλὰ ἃς μὲν ἐκεῖ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὖσα κομίζεται τῶν προβεβιωμένων χάριτας ἢ τινας κολάσεις οὐθέν εἰσι[7] πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ζῶντας, ἀλλ' ἀπιστοῦνται καὶ λανθάνουσιν· αἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν παίδων ἰοῦσαι καὶ διὰ γένους, ἐμφανεῖς τοῖς δεῦρο γινόμεναι,[8] πολλοὺς ἀποτρέπουσι καὶ συστέλλουσι τῶν πονηρῶν. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχίων οὐδὲ λυποῦσά που[9] μᾶλλον ἑτέρα κόλασις ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ πάσχοντας δι' αὐτοὺς ὁρᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ψυχὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀσεβοῦς καὶ παρανόμου μετὰ θάνατον ἐφορῶσαν
B οὐκ ἀνδριάντας οὐδὲ τιμάς τινας ἀνατρεπομένας,

[1] περὶ] παρὰ α.
[2] ψυχοπομπεῖον (-ίον N[1])] ψυχοπόμπιον G[1] X[1].
[3] ἐστι λόγος ἔφην G X F Z I : ἐστιν ἔφην (ἔφη Y[1]) λόγος.
[4] διαμονὴν] διανομὴν G[1] X[1] Z Ry hi N M[1] Y[1] C[1].
[5] οὔσῃ] οὖσαν K; διαμενούσῃ? nos; περιούσῃ? Post. Perhaps τότε should be added after ἐστι below.
[6] τῇ ψυχῇ] τὴν ψυχὴν R[ac] K i.
[7] εἰσι] ἐστι K hki (-ν N) M Y[1t] CW.

fleet and founded a city, settling at the Passage of Souls.) In like manner the Spartans were directed by an oracle to appease the soul of Pausanias; they then sent to Italy for evocators who performed a sacrifice and drew the shade away from the temple.[a]

18. "It is one and the same argument, then," I pursued, "that establishes both the providence of God and the survival of the human soul, and it is impossible to upset the one contention and let the other stand. But if the soul survives, we must expect that its due in honour and in punishment is awarded after death rather than before; for its life is like an athlete's contest, and only when it has fought that contest to the end does it receive its deserts.[b] But the rewards and penalties (as the case may be) for its past life that the soul receives in the other world, in its separate existence, are for us, the living, as if they did not exist—they are disbelieved and escape us—; whereas the rewards and penalties that reach such souls through children and descendants are rendered visible to the inhabitants of this world and thus deter and discourage many of the wicked. That no punishment, we may presume, is more shameful or galling than to see one's progeny suffer on one's own account, and that the soul of an impious and lawless man who should behold after death not statues or honours subverted, but children or friends

[a] The temple was that of Athena Chalcioecus at Sparta, where Pausanias starved to death. *Cf.* Ὁμηρικαὶ Μελέται, Frag. 1 (vol. vii, p. 99 Bern.), and Thucydides, i. 134.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 1105 c.

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[8] *γινόμεναι* X[3] Ry hki Vv : *γενόμεναι.*

[9] *οὐδὲ λυποῦσά που* X[d] Ry Vv : *καὶ λυποῦσά που* X[1] F S Y[1mg]; *οὐδὲ λυποῦσα* G Z I hki N M Y[1t] C[1]W[R].

(561) ἀλλὰ παῖδας ἢ φίλους ἢ γένος οἰκεῖον[1] αὐτῆς ἀτυχήμασι χρωμένους μεγάλοις δι' αὐτὴν καὶ δίκην τίνοντας, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀναπείσειεν[2] αὖθις ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Διὸς τιμαῖς ἄδικον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἔχω μέν[3] τινα καὶ λόγον εἰπεῖν ἔναγχος ἀκηκοώς, ὀκνῶ δὲ μὴ φανῇ μῦθος ὑμῖν· μόνον[4] οὖν χρῶμαι τῷ εἰκότι."

"Μηδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ Ὀλύμπιχος, "ἀλλὰ δίελθε κἀκεῖνον."

Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεομένων, "ἐάσατε," εἶπον, "ἀποδοῦναί με τῷ λόγῳ τὸ εἰκός· ὕστερον δὲ τὸν μῦθον, ἐὰν δόξῃ, κινήσωμεν,[5] εἴ γε δὴ μῦθός ἐστιν.

C 19. "Ὁ γὰρ Βίων τὸν θεὸν κολάζοντα τοὺς παῖδας τῶν πονηρῶν γελοιότερον εἶναί φησιν ἰατροῦ διὰ νόσον πάππου καὶ πατρὸς ἔκγονον ἢ παῖδα φαρμακεύοντος. ἔστι δὲ πῇ μὲν ἀνόμοια τὰ πράγματα[6]· νόσου μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος ἄλλον οὐ παύει θεραπευόμενος, οὐδὲ βέλτιόν τις ἔσχε τῶν ὀφθαλμιώντων ἢ πυρεττόντων ἰδὼν ἄλλον ὑπαλειφόμενον ἢ καταπλαττόμενον· αἱ δὲ τιμωρίαι τῶν πονηρῶν διὰ τοῦτο δείκνυνται πᾶσιν, ὅτι δίκης κατὰ λόγον
D περαινομένης ἔργον ἐστὶν ἑτέρους δι' ἑτέρων κολαζομένων ἐπισχεῖν. ᾗ δὲ προσέοικε τῷ ζητουμένῳ τὸ παραβαλλόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βίωνος ἔλαθεν αὐτόν· ἤδη γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εἰς νόσημα μοχθηρόν, οὐ μὴν

[1] οἰκεῖον X[3] hki M[1] : ἢ οἰκεῖον (ἢ οἰκείους V[2]).
[2] ἀναπείσειεν Coray : ἀγαπήσειεν (ἀπατήσειεν ? Post).
[3] ἔχω μέν] ἔχομέν X[1] Z[1] I N[1] V[2].
[4] μόνον Bern. (μόνῳ δ' ? Pohlenz ; μόνῳ γ' Sieveking) : μόνῳ.
[5] κινήσωμεν] κινήσομεν G[ras] υ Z Ry S Vv C.
[6] πράγματα] πράγματα πῇ δὲ ἐοικότα καὶ ὅμοια X[3].

or his own kindred involved in terrible calamities through his own fault and paying the price, could never be induced, for all the honours rendered to Zeus,[a] once more to become unjust and licentious, is shown by an account I recently heard; but I fear you would take it for a myth.[b] I confine myself accordingly to probabilities."

"By no means do so," said Olympichus, "but let us have it too."

As the others made the same request, I said: "First let me complete my account of the probabilities; later, if you decide, let us venture upon the myth—if myth it is.

19. "Bion [c] says that in punishing the children of the wicked God is more ludicrous than a physician administering medicine to a grandson or son for a grandfather's or father's disorder. The two procedures, it is true, are in one way dissimilar: the treatment of one person cannot arrest the disease of another, and no victim of ophthalmia or fever ever improved on seeing another treated by salve or poultice; whereas the reason for making a public spectacle of the punishment of evildoers is that the function of justice, when rightly administered, is to restrain some men by punishing others. But on the other hand Bion failed to notice where his comparison of the physician really resembles the point under discussion. It has been known to happen that a man has fallen ill of a serious but not incurable disease

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 760 B.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 589 F. For the contrast between *logos* ("account" or "argument") and *mythos* ("myth") *cf.* Plato, *Gorgias*, 523 A.

[c] Frag. 42 (ed. Mullach); *cf.* Philo, *De Providentia*, ii. 7 (p. 49 Aucher).

(561) ἀνίατον, ἐμπεσόντος, εἶτ' ἀκρασίᾳ καὶ μαλακίᾳ προεμένου τῷ πάθει τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαφθαρέντος, υἱὸν οὐ δοκοῦντα νοσεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν νόσον, ἰατρὸς ἢ οἰκεῖος ἢ ἀλείπτης καταμαθὼν ἢ δεσπότης χρηστός, ἐμβαλὼν εἰς δίαιταν αὐστηρὰν καὶ ἀφελὼν ὄψα καὶ πέμματα καὶ πότους καὶ γύναια, φαρμακείαις δὲ
E χρησάμενος ἐνδελεχέσι καὶ διαπονήσας[1] γυμνασίοις, ἐσκέδασε καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν μεγάλου πάθους σπέρμα μικρόν, οὐκ ἐάσας εἰς μέγεθος προελθεῖν. ἦ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω παρακελευόμεθα προσέχειν ἀξιοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς[2] καὶ παραφυλάττεσθαι[3] καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἐκ πατέρων ἢ μητέρων νοσηματικῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξωθεῖν τὴν ἐγκεκραμένην ἀρχήν, εὐκίνητον οὖσαν καὶ ἀκροσφαλῆ προκαταλαμβάνοντας;"[4]

"Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ἔφασαν.

"Οὐ τοίνυν ἄτοπον," εἶπον, "ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον, οὐδὲ γελοῖον ἀλλ' ὠφέλιμον πρᾶγμα ποιοῦμεν,
F ἐπιληπτικῶν παισὶ καὶ μελαγχολικῶν καὶ ποδαγρικῶν γυμνάσια καὶ διαίτας καὶ φάρμακα προσάγοντες οὐ νοσοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ νοσῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ πονηροῦ σώματος γινόμενον σῶμα τιμωρίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, ἰατρείας δὲ καὶ φυλακῆς ἄξιόν ἐστιν· ἣν εἴ τις, ὅτι τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ δηγμὸν ἐπάγει καὶ πόνον, τιμωρίαν ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ μαλακίας ἀποκαλεῖ, χαίρειν ἐατέον. ἆρ' οὖν σῶμα μὲν ἔκγονον φαύλου σώματος ἄξιόν ἐστι θεραπεύειν καὶ φυλάττειν, κακίας δὲ ὁμοιότητα

[1] διαπονήσας G X F[1] : διαπονήσας τὸ σῶμα.
[2] ἑαυτοῖς X[3] C : ἑαυτούς.

and from weakness of will and lack of fortitude has yielded his body up to it and succumbed, while a physician, kinsman, trainer, or kindly master, understanding the situation, has taken that man's son, who to all appearance is not ill, but merely predisposed to the same disease, and by subjecting him to a severe diet, depriving him of relishes, pastry, drink, and women, administering medicine without interruption, and keeping him busy with hard exercise, has dissipated and dispelled the tiny seed of a great disorder by not allowing it to grow to any size. Is this not indeed the advice we press upon the children of a sickly father or mother—to take care of themselves and use precaution and not be negligent, but expel from the start the incipient disease inherent in their constitution, catching it in time when it is still readily dislodged and has as yet but a precarious hold ?"

"Certainly," they said.

"Our action, then," said I, "is not absurd, but necessary, and not ridiculous, but salutary, when we prescribe exercise and diet and medicine to the children of epileptics, of melancholiacs, and of sufferers from the gout, not because they have the disease, but to keep them from getting it ; for the body born of a vitiated body deserves not punishment, but medical treatment and preventive care ; and if anyone is coward and weakling enough to stigmatize such treatment as punishment, we must not let him detain us. If, then, a body that comes of a vitiated body is deserving of treatment and care, is it right to do nothing about a family resemblance in vice as

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3 παραφυλάττεσθαι] φυλάττεσθαι G X F.
4 προκαταλαμβάνοντας] προσκαταλαμβάνοντας G X[1] F[1] Z[1] N Y[1].

(561) συγγενικὴν ἐν νέῳ βλαστάνουσαν ἤθει καὶ ἀναφυο-
562 μένην ἐὰν δεῖ καὶ περιμένειν καὶ μέλλειν ἄχρι ἂν ἐκχυθεῖσα τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐμφανὴς γένηται,

κακόφρονά τ' ἀμφάνῃ[1] πραπίδων καρπόν,[2]

ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος;

20. "Ἢ κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου σοφώτερος διακελευομένου καὶ παρεγγυῶντος,

μηδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο[3] τάφου ἀπονοστήσαντα
σπερμαίνειν γενεήν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ δαιτός,

ὡς οὐ κακίαν μόνον οὐδ' ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λύπην καὶ χαρὰν καὶ πᾶν πάθος[4] ἀναδεχομένης τῆς γενέσεως, ἱλαροὺς καὶ ἡδεῖς καὶ διακεχυμένους ἄγοντος[5] πρὸς τὴν τέκνωσιν; ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκέτι[6]
B καθ' Ἡσίοδον οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνης ἔργον σοφίας ἀλλὰ θεοῦ, τὸ διορᾶν καὶ διαισθάνεσθαι τὰς ὁμοιοπαθείας καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς πρὶν εἰς μεγάλα τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐμπεσούσας ἀδικήματα γενέσθαι καταφανεῖς. ἄρκτων μὲν γὰρ ἔτι νήπια καὶ λύκων τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων εὐθὺς ἐμφαίνει τὸ συγγενὲς ἦθος, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὑπαμπεχόμενον μηδὲ καταπλαττόμενον· ἡ δ' ἀνθρώπου φύσις, εἰς ἔθη καὶ δόγματα καὶ νόμους ἑαυτὴν ἐμβαλοῦσα, κρύπτει τὰ φαῦλα καὶ τὰ καλὰ μιμεῖται πολλάκις, ὥστε ἢ παντάπασιν ἐξαλεῖψαι καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἐγγενῆ κηλῖδα τῆς κακίας,

[1] τ' ἀμφάνῃ Ruhnken : τ' ἀμφανῆ Vv (τἀμφανῆ K[1mg]) ; τὸ (τὸν G[3] M[2]) ἀμφανῆ G[1] X[1] F[1] K[1t] N[2] M[1] Y W (τὸ ἀμφανεῖ N[1]) ; τὸν ἀφανῆ F[3] Z hki C[1] ; τὸ ἐμφανῆ Ry ; τ' ἐκφανεῖ X[3] (τ' ἀκφανεῖ M[3]).

[2] καρπὸν] καρπῶν F M[1] Y[1] (καὶ καρπῶν K[1] ; καὶ καρπὸν K[2] Vv).

it germinates and shoots up in a youthful character, and to delay and hold off until, spreading far and wide, it comes to light in the passions and

> Shows the malignant harvest of the soul,

as Pindar [a] says ?

20. " Or in this is God no wiser than Hesiod,[b] who offers this exhortation and advice :

> Nor yet returning from a burial,
> That thing of evil omen, sow thine offspring,
> But from a feast of the immortal gods,

bringing men to procreation in a mood of gaiety and pleasure and cheerfulness, because their progeny receive from them not only vice or virtue, but sorrow, joy, and every kind of mood ? There is another matter, however, no longer within Hesiod's capacity, nor a task for human wisdom, but rather for God : to discriminate and distinguish between similar and dissimilar propensities before the actual passions bring them to light by involving them in great acts of wrong. For whereas the young of bears and wolves and apes reveal their congenital character from the outset, undisguised and unfalsified, man has a nature that can enter into customs and doctrines and codes of conduct and thereby often conceal its failings and imitate a virtuous course, with the result that it either wipes out and escapes altogether an inherited stain

[a] Frag. 211 (ed. Schroeder).
[b] *Works and Days*, 735 f. ; *cf. Mor.* 158 B.

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[3] δυσφήμοιο G and Hesiod : δυστήνοιο.
[4] πᾶν πάθος Post : πάνθ' ὅσα (omit καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα as a corrupt gloss, πένθος ?).
[5] ἄγοντος Pohlenz : ἄγει G X[1] F Z y hki N[2] M Vv C ; ἄγῃ N[1] Y W ; ἄγειν X[3] R.
[6] οὐκέτι G X F Z I l : οὐκ ἔστι.

(562) ἢ διαλαθεῖν πολὺν χρόνον οἷον ἔλυτρόν τι τὴν C πανουργίαν[1] περιβαλοῦσαν, διαλαθεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς ἢ δήγματος ἑκάστου τῶν ἀδικημάτων μόλις αἰσθανομένους τῆς κακίας, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως τότε γίγνεσθαι νομίζοντας ἀδίκους ὅτε ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀκολάστους ὅτε ὑβρίζουσιν, καὶ ἀνάνδρους ὅτε φεύγουσιν, ὥσπερ[2] εἴ τις οἴοιτο τοῖς σκορπίοις ἐμφύεσθαι τὸ κέντρον ὅτε τύπτουσιν, καὶ ταῖς ἐχίδναις τὸν ἰὸν ὅτε δάκνουσιν, εὐήθως οἰόμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἅμα γίγνεται καὶ φαίνεται τῶν πονηρῶν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔχει μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν κακίαν, χρῆται δὲ καιροῦ καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιλαβόμενος τῷ κλέπτειν ὁ κλέπτης καὶ τῷ παρανομεῖν D ὁ τυραννικός. ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς οὔτε ἀγνοεῖ δήπου τὴν ἑκάστου διάθεσιν καὶ φύσιν, ἅτε δὴ ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἢ σώματος αἰσθάνεσθαι πεφυκώς, οὔτ' ἀναμένει τὴν βίαν ἐν χερσὶ γενομένην καὶ τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἐν φωνῇ[3] καὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἐν αἰδοίοις κολάζειν. οὐ γὰρ ἀμύνεται τὸν ἀδικήσαντα κακῶς παθών, οὐδ' ὀργίζεται τῷ ἁρπάσαντι βιασθείς, οὐδὲ μισεῖ τὸν μοιχὸν ὑβρισθείς, ἀλλ' ἰατρείας ἕνεκα τὸν μοιχικὸν καὶ τὸν[4] πλεονεκτικὸν καὶ ἀδικητικὸν κολάζει πολλάκις, ὥσπερ ἐπιληψίαν τὴν κακίαν πρὶν ἢ καταλαβεῖν ἀναιρῶν.

21. "Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρτίως μὲν ἠγανακτοῦμεν ὡς E ὀψὲ καὶ βραδέως τῶν πονηρῶν δίκην διδόντων,

[1] οἷον ἔλυτρόν τι τὴν παν. nos: οἷον ἑαυτῇ τινὰ τὴν παν. G X[1] I hki N M[1] Y C[1]W; οἷον ἔλυτρόν τι ἑαυτῇ τὴν παν. F M[2]; οἷον ἔλυτρόν τι (for ἔλ. τι Ry have ἐσθῆτα τινὰ) τὴν παν. ἑαυτῇ Ry Vv; ἐπικάλυψιν οἷον ἑαυτῇ τινὰ τὴν παν. X[3].

[2] ὥσπερ] ὥστ' X[1]; ὡς X[3] K.

[3] ἐν φωνῇ] ἐνφανῆι F; ἐμφανῇ G[2] Ry K[t] V[2mg].

[4] καὶ τὸν] καὶ hki M.

of vice, or else eludes detection for a long time by enveloping itself in duplicity as in a cover, eludes detection by ourselves, I say, who stung or bitten, as it were, by the particular vicious act, come at last to be aware of the vice,[a] nay rather, who believe in general that men become unjust when they commit injustice, licentious when they gratify their lust, and cowards when they run away. One might as well fancy that scorpions grow their dart when they sting, and vipers generate their venom when they strike—a foolish notion, for the various kinds of wicked men do not at the same time become wicked and show themselves wicked; rather, the thief and the tyrant possess their vice from the outset, but put their thievery and lawlessness into effect when they find the occasion and the power. But God is surely neither ignorant of the disposition and nature of each individual, as he is naturally better aware of the soul than of the body, nor does he wait for violence to show itself in the hands, impudence in the voice, and lewdness in the parts of shame before inflicting punishment. For he has not been wronged that he should retaliate upon the wrongdoer, nor suffered violence that he should be angry with the robber, nor been injured that he should hate the adulterer; when, as he often does, he punishes those of an adulterous, a rapacious, and a lawless tendency, his purpose is to cure them, removing the vice, like an epilepsy, before the seizure.[b]

21. "As for ourselves, we were a moment ago resentful that the wicked should be punished late and

[a] *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, coll. 139. 34–140. 25 (ed. Cousin[2]).

[b] *Cf. Comm. on Hesiod*, Frag. 18 (vol. vii, p. 59 Bern.); Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. Chron.* i. 4. 95.

(562) νῦν δὲ ὅτι καὶ πρὶν ἀδικεῖν ἐνίων[1] τὴν ἕξιν αὐτὴν[2] κολούει καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐγκαλοῦμεν ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τοῦ γενομένου πολλάκις τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὸ λανθάνον τοῦ προδήλου, χεῖρόν ἐστι καὶ φοβερώτερον, οὐ δυνάμενόι δὲ συλλογίζεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ἐνίους μὲν καὶ ἀδικήσαντας ἐᾶν βέλτιόν ἐστιν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ διανοουμένους προκαταλαμβάνειν· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ φάρμακα ἐνίοις μὲν οὐχ ἁρμόζει νοσοῦσιν, ἐνίοις δὲ λυσιτελεῖ καὶ μὴ νοσοῦσιν ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκείνων ἔχουσιν. ὅθεν F οὐδὲ πάντα

τὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματ'[3] εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους
οἱ θεοὶ τρέπουσιν,[a]

ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἐκ φαύλου γένηται χρηστός, ὥσπερ εὐεκτικὸς ἐκ νοσώδους, ἀφεῖται τῆς τοῦ γένους ποινῆς, οἷον ἐκποίητος[4] τῆς κακίας γενόμενος, νοσώδει[5] δὲ εἰς ὁμοιότητα μοχθηροῦ γένους ἀναφερομένῳ προσήκει δήπουθεν ὡς χρέα κληρονομίας διαδέχεσθαι τῆς πονηρίας τὴν κόλασιν. οὐ γὰρ Ἀντίγονός γε διὰ Δημήτριον,[b] οὐδὲ τῶν προτέρων[6] Φυλεὺς δι' Αὐγέαν οὐδὲ Νέστωρ διὰ Νηλέα δίκας

[1] ἐνίων] ἐνίους X[3].
[2] τὴν ἕξιν αὐτὴν nos : τὴν ἕξιν (τάξιν Ry) αὐτῶν (αὐτῶν τὴν ἕξιν hki).
[3] σφάλματ'] None of the mss. elides.
[4] ἐκποίητος Victorius : ἐκ ποιότητος.
[5] νοσώδει Post : νόσῳ (νόσου Y ; νόσων y[c] ; νέῳ X[3]).
[6] προτέρων Emperius : πονηρῶν.

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 980 ; *cf.* 556 E, *supra.*
[b] Demetrius Poliorcetes, father of Antigonus Gonatas.
[c] *Cf.* a scholium on *Iliad* xi. 700 quoted in Callimachus (ed. Pfeiffer), vol. i, p. 85 : " At the command of Eurystheus

with delay ; we now complain that even before the wrong is done God chastens the mere state and disposition of some. This we do, little knowing that threatened evil is often worse and more to be dreaded than actual, and hidden than manifest, and unable to make out the reasons why it is better to leave some alone, even though they have done wrong, but to forestall the mere intentions of others, exactly as medicine may be unsuitable for some, though ill, but beneficial to others, who although not ill, are in a more precarious condition. Hence comes it that not all

> The sins of parents on the children
> The gods do visit,[a]

but where a good man is born of a bad, as a healthy child may come of a sickly parent, the penalty attached to the family is remitted, and he becomes, as it were, adopted out of vice ; whereas if a man's disorder reproduces the traits of a vicious ancestry, it is surely fitting that he should succeed to the punishment of that viciousness as to the debts of an estate. For Antigonus paid no penalty for Demetrius,[b] nor yet, to go back farther, did Phyleus pay for Augeas [c] or Nestor for Neleus [d] (for the sons

Heracles cleaned the stables of Augeas, who refused the payment demanded, asserting that Heracles had acted under orders. Phyleus, son of Augeas, was made judge in the affair and decided against his father, who in his resentment drove him from the country. Heracles came with an army and plundered Elis, and sending to Dulichium for Phyleus made him king." *Cf.* also Apollodorus, ii. 5. 5, 7. 2, and Pausanias, v. 3. 1.

[d] As Nestor had not joined his father and brothers in the theft of Heracles' cattle, he was spared and given his father's kingdom : *cf.* Philostratus, *Heroicus*, p. 696, and *Socraticorum Epist.* xxxviii. 6.

563 ἔδωκεν[1] (ἐκ κακῶν μὲν γάρ, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἦσαν), ἀλλ' ὅσων[2] ἡ φύσις ἔστερξε καὶ προσήκατο τὸ συγγενές, τούτων ἡ δίκη διώκουσα τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς κακίας διεξῆλθεν.[3] ὡς γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνες καὶ μελάσματα καὶ φακοὶ πατέρων ἐν παισὶν ἀφανισθέντες ἀνέκυψαν ὕστερον ἐν υἱωνοῖς καὶ θυγατριδοῖς, καὶ γυνή τις Ἑλληνίς, τεκοῦσα βρέφος μέλαν, εἶτα κρινομένη μοιχείας, ἐξανεῦρεν αὑτὴν Αἰθίοπος οὖσαν γενεὰν τετάρτην, τῶν δὲ Πύθωνος τοῦ Θισβέως[4] παίδων, ὃς ἔναγχος τέθνηκεν, λεγομένου τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς προσήκειν, εἷς[5] ἐξανήνεγκεν λόγχης
B τύπον ἐν τῷ σώματι, διὰ χρόνων τοσούτων ἀνασχούσης καὶ ἀναδύσης ὥσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος ὁμοιότητος, οὕτω πολλάκις ἤθη καὶ πάθη ψυχῆς αἱ πρῶται κρύπτουσι γενέσεις καὶ καταδύουσιν, ὕστερον δέ ποτε καὶ δι' ἑτέρων ἐξήνθησεν καὶ ἀπέδωκε τὸ οἰκεῖον εἰς κακίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἡ φύσις."

22. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐσιώπησα, διαμειδιάσας ὁ Ὀλύμπιχος, "οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμέν σε," εἶπεν, "ὅπως μὴ δόξωμεν ἀφιέναι τὸν μῦθον, ὡς τοῦ λόγου πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντος· ἀλλὰ τότε δώσομεν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅταν κἀκεῖνα[6] ἀκούσωμεν."

Οὕτως οὖν ἔφην ὅτι Σολεὺς[7] ἀνήρ, ἐκείνου τοῦ

[1] ἔδωκεν] ἔδωκαν X^3 N M Vv Y.
[2] ὅσων] ὅσον G^1 $X^{d?}$ F Z R N.
[3] διεξῆλθεν] ἐπεξῆλθεν Reiske.
[4] θίσβεως G^{4ss}: νισίβεως G^1 X^d Ry hki (-αιως N; νο- M^1) Vv Y CW; νισιβέως F X^1 Z M^2.
[5] εἷς added by Stegmann after λόγχης, placed here by Bern.
[6] κἀκεῖνα] κἀκεῖνον X^3.
[7] Σολεὺς nos: σωλεὺς (σο- X^d F^c) θεσπέσιος G X^1 F^{ac} Z;

were men of virtue, though sprung from wicked fathers), but only to those whose nature acquiesced in and espoused the family trait, did punishment, pursuing the vicious resemblance, make its way. For as the warts, birthmarks, and moles of the fathers disappear in the children to reappear later in the children of sons and daughters, and as a certain Greek woman, on bearing a black child and being charged with adultery, discovered that she was fourth in descent from a negro,[a] and as among the children of Python of Thisbê, who died the other day, and was said to be akin to the Sown Men,[b] there was one that reproduced on his body the tracing of a spear, the family likeness reappearing and emerging after so many ages as if from the depths of the earth, so too the first generations often conceal and submerge traits and passions of the soul, while later and in the persons of others the family nature breaks out and restores the inherited bent for vice or virtue."

22. With this I fell silent. Olympichus smiled. "We do not applaud," he said, "lest you imagine we are letting you off from the myth, on the ground that your argument suffices to prove your case. No; we shall pass judgement only when we have heard that further recital."

And so I went on to say that a man of Soli—a kins-

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* vii. 6 (586 a 2-4), *Gen. Animal.* i. 18 (722 a 8-11), Antigonus, *Hist. Mir.* chap. cxii (122), Aristophanes, *Hist. Animal. Epit.* ii. 272, Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 51.

[b] The "Sown Men" claimed descent from the warriors that sprang from the earth when Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth. For the spear *cf.* Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* iv. 23.

σολεὺς (*σω-* N M[1] Vv Y W) *ὁ θεσπέσιος* (*ὁ* Σ. Ἀριδαῖος Hartman).

(563) C γενομένου μεθ' ἡμῶν[1] ἐνταῦθα Πρωτογένους οἰκεῖος καὶ φίλος, ἐν πολλῇ βιώσας ἀκολασίᾳ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον, εἶτα ταχὺ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσας, ἤδη χρόνον τινὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐγένετο πονηρός, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ μετανοίας διώκων, ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἔπασχε πάθος, οἳ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔχοντες μὲν οὐ φυλάττουσιν, προέμενοι δὲ πειρῶσιν αὖθις ἀδίκως ἑτέροις συνούσας.[2] οὐδενὸς οὖν ἀπεχόμενος αἰσχροῦ φέροντος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἢ κέρδος, οὐσίαν μὲν οὐ πολλήν, δόξαν δὲ πονηρίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πλείστην συνήγαγεν. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν διέβαλεν ἀνενεχθεῖσά τις ἐξ Ἀμφιλόχου μαντεία· πέμψας γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἠρώτα τὸν θεὸν εἰ βέλτιον βιώσεται τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον· ὁ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν ὅτι πράξει βέλτιον ὅταν ἀποθάνῃ.

D (the letter stands beside "μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν διέβαλεν")

Καὶ δὴ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦτο μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν. κατενεχθεὶς γὰρ ἐξ ὕψους τινὸς εἰς τράχηλον, οὐ γενομένου τραύματος ἀλλὰ πληγῆς[3] μόνον, ἐξέθανεν, καὶ τριταῖος ἤδη περὶ τὰς ταφὰς αὐτὰς ἀνήνεγκεν. ταχὺ δὲ ῥωσθεὶς καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ γενόμενος, ἄπιστόν τινα τοῦ βίου τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποίησεν· οὔτε γὰρ δικαιότερον περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια γινώσκουσιν ἕτερον[4] Κίλικες ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις γενόμενον,[5] οὔτε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὁσιώ-
E τερον οὔτε λυπηρότερον ἐχθροῖς ἢ βεβαιότερον φίλοις· ὥστε καὶ ποθεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτῷ

[1] ἡμῶν G[1] Vv : ἡμᾶς.
[2] διαφθείρειν is omitted by Cobet after συνούσας.
[3] πληγῆς] πληγεὶς Z hki Y[1].
[4] ἕτερον] ἑτέρων Ry ; G Z omit.
[5] γενόμενον] γινόμενον h[ac] M Y[1].

man and friend of that Protogenes [a] who was once with us here—had spent his early life in great dissipation, and then, soon running through his estate, had for some time practised a further villainy brought on by his straitened circumstances. Reversing his attitude toward wealth, he now courted it, acting like the libertines who when they have a wife do not keep her, but let her go, and then turn round and wrongfully solicit her favours after she has married another. Abstaining, then, from no shameful act conducive to gratification or gain, he accumulated no very considerable fortune, but in a brief space a prodigious reputation for knavery. But the greatest blow to his good name was a response conveyed to him from the oracle of Amphilochus.[b] He had sent (it appears) to ask the god whether the remainder of his life would be better spent. The god answered that he would do better when he died.

In a sense this actually happened to him not long after. He had fallen from a height and struck his neck,[c] and although there had been no wound, but only a concussion, he died away. On the third day, at the very time of his funeral, he revived.[d] Soon recovering his strength and senses, he instituted a change in his way of life that could hardly be believed; for the Cilicians know of no one in those times more honest in his engagements, more pious toward heaven, or more grievous to his enemies and faithful to his friends; so that all who met him longed

[a] Protogenes of Tarsus is mentioned in *Mor.* 749 B.

[b] A celebrated oracle at Mallos in Cilicia: *cf. Mor.* 434 D.

[c] The neck is the "isthmus and boundary" between the head, the abode of the divine part of the soul, and the body, the abode of its mortal part: *cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 69 C-E.

[d] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 614 B.

(563) τὴν αἰτίαν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς διαφορᾶς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος οἰομένους γεγονέναι διακόσμησιν[1] εἰς ἦθος τοσαύτην. ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὡς αὐτὸς διηγεῖτο τῷ τε Πρωτογένει καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως[2] ἐπιεικέσι τῶν φίλων.

23. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπεσε τὸ φρονοῦν τοῦ σώματος οἷον ἄν τις ἐκ πλοίου κυβερνήτης εἰς βυθὸν ἀπορριφεὶς[3] πάθοι τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἔσχεν· εἶτα μικρὸν ἐξαρθεὶς ἔδοξεν ἀναπνεῖν F ὅλος καὶ περιορᾶν πανταχόθεν, ὥσπερ ἑνὸς ὄμματος ἀνοιχθείσης τῆς ψυχῆς. ἑώρα δὲ τῶν πρότερον[4] οὐθὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ ἄστρα παμμεγέθη καὶ ἀπέχοντα πλῆθος ἀλλήλων ἄπλετον, αὐγήν[5] τε τῇ χρόᾳ[6] θαυμαστὴν ἀφιέντα καὶ τόνον ἔχουσαν,[7] ὥστε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐποχουμένην[8] λείως πλοῖον ὥσπερ[9] ἐν γαλήνῃ τῷ φωτὶ ῥᾳδίως πάντῃ καὶ ταχὺ διαφέρεσθαι.

Τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν θεαμάτων παραλιπών, ἔφη τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τελευτώντων κάτωθεν ἀνιούσας πομφόλυγα φλογοειδῆ ποιεῖν ἐξισταμένου τοῦ

[1] τῆς δ. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τ. οἰ. γ. διακ. Ry; the rest repeat τῆς (and so N) διαφορᾶς before διακ. (τὴν διακ. hk), except X[3], which has τοῦ βίου instead. τῆς through γεγονέναι is repeated in v; -φορᾶς through γεγονέναι was dropped by M[1].
[2] ὁμοίως G X[d?] F: ὁμοίοις.
[3] ἀπορριφεὶς] ἀπορριφθεὶς X[1] F Z i N Y.
[4] πρότερον] προτέρων G[1] S hki (πρότερων M) Vv.
[5] αὐγήν] αὐγῇ G[ac] X[1]?; αὐγὴ Z; αὐγῆν F[1].
[6] χρόᾳ C: χροιᾷ.
[7] ἔχουσαν] ἔχουσα G[ac] X[1] F[1] Z[1](?).
[8] ἐποχουμένην G[3] X[3]: ἐνοχλουμένην.
[9] πλοῖον ὥσπερ Schwartz (ὥσπερ πλοῖον Emperius): οἷον ὥσπερ (ὥσπερ l).

[a] For the comparison of the soul or intellect to a pilot or

to hear the reason for the difference, supposing nothing ordinary could have caused so great a reformation in character. Such indeed was the case, as appears from the story as told by himself to Protogenes and other worthy friends.

23. He said that when his intelligence was driven from his body, the change made him feel as a pilot[a] might at first on being flung into the depths of the sea; his next impression was that he had risen somewhat[b] and was breathing[c] with his whole being and seeing on all sides, his soul having opened wide as if it were a single eye.[d] But nothing that he saw was familiar except the stars, which appeared very great in size and at vast distances apart, sending forth a marvellously coloured radiance possessed of a certain cohesion, so that his soul, riding smoothly in the light like a ship on a calm sea, could move easily and rapidly in all directions.

Passing over most of the spectacle, he said that as the souls of those who die came up from below they made a flamelike bubble as the air was displaced,[e]

sailor (implied here and in *Mor.* 586 A) *cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus*, 247 C, Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii. 1 (413 a 8 f.), and Alexander, *De Anima*, chap. xv. 9. *Cf.* also *Mor.* 1008 A.

[b] His intelligence has risen from the bottom of the air to the enclosing sphere of fire, and this appears to him a short distance. On leaving the body the soul moves upwards: *cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 17-18 (40-43).

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 590 C.

[d] Intelligence is the eye of the soul: *cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 519 B, with Shorey's note in the L.C.L. The disembodied soul now sees without the intervention of corporeal "openings" or "windows," for which *cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 20 (46), with Pohlenz's note, and Lucretius, iii. 360.

[e] A film of air from the sublunary region envelops the soul —which, for the purposes of the myth, is fiery—as it rises into the empyrean.

564 ἀέρος, εἶτα ῥηγνυμένης ἀτρέμα τῆς πομφόλυγος[1] ἐκβαίνειν τύπον ἐχούσας ἀνθρωποειδῆ, τὸν δὲ ὄγκον εὐσταλεῖς, κινουμένας δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐκπηδᾶν ἐλαφρότητι θαυμαστῇ καὶ διάττειν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἄνω, τὰς δὲ ὥσπερ ἄτρακτοι[2] περιστρεφομένας ἅμα κύκλῳ, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κάτω τοτὲ δὲ ἄνω ῥεπούσας, μικτήν τινα φέρεσθαι καὶ τεταραγμένην ἕλικα[3] καὶ πολλῷ πάνυ χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις ἀποκαθισταμένην.

Τὰς μὲν οὖν πολλὰς ἠγνόει τίνες εἰσίν, δύο δὲ ἢ τρεῖς ἰδὼν γνωρίμους, ἐπειρᾶτο προσμῖξαι καὶ προσειπεῖν· αἱ δὲ οὔτε ἤκουον οὔτε ἦσαν παρ'
B αὑταῖς,[4] ἀλλ' ἔκφρονες καὶ διεπτοημέναι, πᾶσαν ὄψιν ἀποφεύγουσαι καὶ ψαῦσιν, ἐρέμβοντο πρῶτον αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτάς, εἶτα, πολλαῖς ὁμοίως διακειμέναις ἐντυγχάνουσαι καὶ περιπλεκόμεναι,[5] φοράς τε πάσας πρὸς οὐθὲν[6] ἀκρίτως ἐφέροντο καὶ φωνὰς ἵεσαν[7] ἀσήμους, οἷον ἀλαλαγμοῖς[8] θρήνου καὶ φόβου[9] μεμιγμένας. ἄλλαι δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐν τῷ[10] καθαρῷ[11] τοῦ περιέχοντος ὀφθῆναί τε φαιδραὶ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπ' εὐμενείας θαμὰ πελάζουσαι, τὰς δὲ θορυβώδεις ἐκείνας ἐκτρεπόμεναι, διεσή-
C μαινον ὡς ἔοικεν συστολῇ μὲν εἰς αὑτὰς τὸ δυσχε-

[1] πομφόλυγος] πομφόλυγγος X[1] F here and πομφόλυγγα above. [2] ἄτρακτοι] οἱ ἄτρακτοι G X F Z Ry M[2] Vv.

[3] ἕλικα supplied by us (*cf. Mor.* 592 A); κίνησιν by X[3]. Perhaps ἑλικά (or ἑλίκην ?) should be read for μικτήν.

[4] αὑταῖς] ἑαυταῖς G X F Z K M[2].

[5] ἐντυγχάνουσαι καὶ περιπλεκόμεναι X[3] Ry: ἐντυγχάνουσι (-σαι Y[2]) καὶ περιπλεκομέναις.

[6] οὐθὲν G X F Z K Vv: οὐδέν.

[7] ἵεσαν G[3] F[3] Ry k M C (ἴεσαν G[c] X[d] hi Vv W): ᾔεσαν.

[8] ἀλαλαγμοῖς X[3] R[c] (ἀλλαλαγμοῖς R[ac]y): -μοὶ (-μοὺς hki M; -μὸν N Vv; -μοῦ W).

and then, as the bubble gently burst, came forth, human in form, but slight[a] in bulk, and moving with dissimilar motions. Some leapt forth with amazing lightness and darted about aloft in a straight line, while others, like spindles, revolved upon themselves and at the same time swung now downward, now upward, moving in a complex and disordered spiral that barely grew steady after a very long time.

Most of the souls indeed he failed to recognize, but seeing two or three of his acquaintance, he endeavoured to join them and speak to them. These, however, would not hear him and were not in their right mind, but in their frenzy and panic avoiding all sight and contact, they at first strayed about singly[b]; later, meeting many others in the same condition, they clung to them and moved about indistinguishably in all manner of aimless motions and uttered inarticulate sounds, mingled with outcries as of lamentation and terror.[c] Other souls, above, in a pure region of the ambient,[d] were joyful in aspect and out of friendliness often approached one another, but shunned the other, tumultuous souls, indicating their distaste, he said, by contracting into themselves,

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 1105 D.

[b] For the isolation of impure souls after death *cf.* Plato, *Phaedo*, 108 B-C, and the Pythagorean doctrine in Diogenes Laert. viii. 31. *Cf.* also Plutarch, Frag. Inc. 146 (vol. vii, pp. 174. 20–175. 1 Bern.).

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 610 C.

[d] In *Mor.* 943 C good souls are said to dwell for a fixed period in the "mildest part of the air" (ἐν τῷ πραοτάτῳ τοῦ ἀέρος). *Cf.* also Plato, *Republic*, 520 D.

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[9] φόβου K a² l² : φόνου.

[10] τῷ added by Pohlenz.

[11] καθαρῷ Paton : κάρῳ (καλῷ X³ V ; ἄκρῳ a²).

(564) ραῖνον, ἐκπετάσει δὲ καὶ διαχύσει[1] τὸ χαῖρον καὶ προσιέμενον.

24. Ἐνταῦθα μίαν ἔφη γνῶναι[2] συγγενοῦς τινος, οὐ μέντοι σαφῶς· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος· ἀλλ' ἐκείνην προσανάγουσαν[3] ἐγγὺς εἰπεῖν· "χαῖρε Θεσπέσιε." θαυμάσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ φήσαντος ὡς οὐ Θεσπέσιος ἀλλ' Ἀριδαῖός[4] ἐστιν, "πρότερόν γε," φάναι, "τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε[5] Θεσπέσιος. οὐδὲ γάρ τοι τέθνηκας, ἀλλὰ μοίρᾳ τινὶ θεῶν ἥκεις δεῦρο τῷ φρονοῦντι, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἀγκύριον ἐν τῷ σώματι καταλέλοιπας. σύμβολον δέ σοι καὶ νῦν καὶ αὖθις ἔστω[6] τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν
D τεθνηκότων μήτε σκιὰν ποιεῖν μήτε σκαρδαμύττειν." ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Θεσπέσιος ἤδη τε μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν τῷ λογίζεσθαι συνήγαγεν καὶ διαβλέψας εἶδεν ἑαυτῷ μέν τινα[7] συναιωρουμένην[8] ἀμυδρὰν[9] καὶ σκιώδη γραμμήν, ἐκείνους δὲ περιλαμπομένους κύκλῳ καὶ διαφανεῖς ἐντός, οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως[10] ἅπαντας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὥσπερ ἡ καθαρωτάτη πανσέληνος ἓν χρῶμα λεῖον καὶ συνεχὲς ὁμαλῶς[11] ἱέντας, ἑτέρων δὲ φολίδας τινὰς διατρεχούσας ἢ μώλωπας ἀραιούς, ἄλλους δὲ κομιδῇ ποικίλους
E καὶ ἀτόπους τὴν ὄψιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἔχεις μελάσμασι

[1] διαχύσει X[3] l[2] : διαλύσει.
[2] γνῶναι added by Paton (ἐπιγνῶναι after σαφῶς Reiske; ἰδεῖν after τινος Leonicus).
[3] προσανάγουσαν] προσάγουσαν C[2] J[1] (προσαγαγοῦσαν Reiske).
[4] Ἀριδαῖός] Ἀρδιαῖός Wyttenbach.
[5] τοῦδε] τούτου G X F (τοῦ γε N).
[6] ἔστω] ἔσται G[1].
[7] Pohlenz would omit τινα, retaining it after ἀμυδρὰν below.

but their delight and welcome by expansion and diffusion.[a]

24. Here, he said, he recognized one soul, that of a kinsman, though not distinctly, as he was but a child when the kinsman died; but it drew near and said: "Greetings, Thespesius."[b] He was taken aback and said he was not Thespesius but Aridaeus. "You were that before," was the reply, "but henceforth you are Thespesius. For you must further know you are not dead, but through a divine dispensation are present here in your intelligence, having left the rest of your soul, like an anchor, behind in your body. Now and hereafter know it by this token: the souls of the dead neither cast a shadow nor blink their eyes."[c] At this Thespesius, by an effort of thought, became more collected, and looking steadily, saw a certain faint and shadowy line[d] floating along with him, while the rest were enveloped all around with light and translucent within, although not all to the same degree. But some were like the full moon at her clearest, shining evenly with a single smooth and unbroken hue; others were shot through with scales, as it were, or faint bruises; others quite mottled and odd in appearance, covered with black tattoo-marks, like

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 590 c.

[b] In *Or.* xxvi (i. 53 Keil) Aristeides dreams that Asclepius addresses him as Theodorus.

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 300 c, where this belief is attributed to the Pythagoreans.

[d] It is the shadow of the "cable": *cf.* 566 D, *infra.*

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[8] *συναιωρουμένην*] *συνεωρουμένην* G[1] X[1] Z[1] i N M Y[1].

[9] *ἀμυδρὰν* X F Z hki : *ἀμυδράν τινα.*

[10] *ὁμοίως* R[ac]y hk M : *ὁμοίους.*

[11] *ὁμαλῶς* W[2] : *καὶ ὁμαλῶς* (*καὶ ὁμαλὸν* Ry ; *καὶ ὁμαλὲς* X[3]).

(564) κατεστιγμένους, ἄλλους δέ τινας ἀμβλείας ἀμυχὰς ἔχοντας.

25. Ἔλεγεν οὖν ἕκαστα φράζων ὁ τοῦ Θεσπεσίου συγγενὴς (οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω κωλύει τὰς ψυχὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσαγορεύειν), ὡς Ἀδράστεια μέν, Ἀνάγκης καὶ Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τιμωρὸς ἀνωτάτω τέτακται τοῖς ἀδικήμασι, καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν οὔτε μέγας οὕτως[1] οὐδεὶς οὔτε μικρὸς γέγονεν ὥστε ἢ λαθὼν διαφυγεῖν[2] ἢ βιασάμενος. ἄλλῃ δὲ ἄλλη τιμωρία, τριῶν οὐσῶν, φύλακι καὶ χειρουργῷ προσήκει[3]· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν σώμασι[4] καὶ διὰ σωμάτων[5] κολαζομένους
F μεταχειρίζεται Ποινὴ ταχεῖα, πράῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ καὶ παραλείποντι πολλὰ τῶν καθαρμοῦ δεομένων· ὧν δὲ μεῖζόν ἐστιν ἔργον ἡ περὶ τὴν κακίαν ἰατρεία, τούτους Δίκῃ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁ δαίμων παραδίδωσιν· τοὺς δὲ πάμπαν ἀνιάτους, ἀπωσαμένης τῆς Δίκης, ἡ τρίτη καὶ ἀγριωτάτη τῶν Ἀδραστείας ὑπουργῶν, Ἐρινύς, μεταθέουσα πλανωμένους καὶ περιφεύγοντας ἄλλον ἄλλως, οἰκτρῶς δὲ[6] καὶ χαλεπῶς ἅπαντας, ἠφάνισεν καὶ κατέδησεν[7] εἰς τὸ ἄρρητον καὶ ἀόρατον.

565 "Τῶν δ' ἄλλων," ἔφη, "δικαιώσεων ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Ποινῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς ἔοικεν· ὡς γὰρ ἐν Πέρσαις τῶν κολαζομένων τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰς τιάρας ἀποτίλλουσι καὶ μαστιγοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ

[1] *οὕτως* added by Reiske after *οὐδεὶς*, placed here by Pohlenz.

[2] *διαφυγεῖν* X³ : *διαφεύγειν* (-γει Z V¹?; *φεύγειν* G ; *διαφύγειν* i).

[3] *προσήκει*] *εἶναι προσήκει* X³.

[4] *σώμασι* G F : *σώματι*.

[5] *σωμάτων*] *τῶν σωμάτων* C.

speckled vipers ; and still others bore the faded traces of what looked like scratches.

25. Thespesius' kinsman—nothing need keep us from thus referring to a man's soul—proceeded to explain. Adrasteia,[a] he said, daughter of Necessity and Zeus, is the supreme requiter ; all crimes are under her cognizance, and none of the wicked is so high or low as to escape her either by force or by stealth. There are three others, and each is warden and executioner of a different punishment : those who are punished at once in the body and through it are dealt with by swift Poinê in a comparatively gentle manner that passes over many of the faults requiring purgation ; those whose viciousness is harder to heal are delivered up to Dikê by their daemon [b] after death ; while those past all healing, when rejected by Dikê, are pursued by the third and fiercest of the ministers of Adrasteia, Erinys, as they stray about and scatter in flight, who makes away with them, each after a different fashion, but all piteously and cruelly, imprisoning them in the Nameless and Unseen.[c]

" Of the other forms of chastisement," he said, " that visited in life by Poinê resembles those in use among the barbarians ; for as in Persia the cloaks and head-dresses of the sufferers are plucked and

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248 c. Adrasteia means " the inescapable."

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedo*, 107 D, 113 D. A religious and personified way of speaking of a man's " lot " is to call it his " daemon."

[c] That is, they are seen and heard of no more : *cf. Mor.* 1130 E. Hades is etymologized " unseen."

[6] δὲ G[1] X F : τε.

[7] κατέδησεν] κατέδυσεν hki α.

(565) *παύσασθαι δακρύοντες ἀντιβολοῦσιν, οὕτως αἱ διὰ χρημάτων καὶ*[1] *σωμάτων κολάσεις ἁφὴν οὐκ ἔχουσι δριμεῖαν οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ πρὸς αἴσθησιν αὐτῶν εἰσιν.* (26.) *ὃς δ' ἂν ἐκεῖθεν ἀκόλαστος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀκάθαρτος ἐξίκηται, τοῦτον ἡ Δίκη διαλαβοῦσα τῇ ψυχῇ καταφανῆ, γυμνόν, εἰς οὐδὲν*
B *ἔχοντα καταδῦναι καὶ ἀποκρύψασθαι καὶ περιστεῖλαι τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων καὶ πάντα καθορώμενον, ἔδειξε πρῶτον ἀγαθοῖς γονεῦσιν, ἄνπερ ὦσι, καὶ προγόνοις*[2] *αὐτοῦ πρόσπτυστον*[3] *ὄντα καὶ ἀνάξιον· ἐὰν δὲ φαῦλοι, κολαζομένους ἐπιδὼν ἐκείνους καὶ ὀφθείς, δικαιοῦται πολὺν χρόνον ἐξαιρούμενος ἕκαστον τῶν παθῶν ἀλγηδόσι καὶ πόνοις οἳ τοσοῦτο μεγέθει καὶ σφοδρότητι τοὺς*[4] *διὰ σαρκὸς ὑπερβάλλουσιν ὅσον*[5] *τὸ ὕπαρ ἂν εἴη τοῦ ὀνείρατος*[6] *ἐναργέστερον.*

"*Οὐλαὶ δὲ καὶ μώλωπες ἐπὶ τῶν παθῶν ἑκάστου*
C *τοῖς μὲν μᾶλλον ἐμμένουσι τοῖς δὲ ἧσσον. ὅρα δέ,*" *εἶπεν,* "*τὰ ποικίλα ταῦτα καὶ παντοδαπὰ χρώματα τῶν ψυχῶν· τὸ*[7] *μὲν ὄρφνινον*[8] *καὶ ῥυπαρόν, ἀνελευθερίας ἀλοιφὴν καὶ πλεονεξίας, τὸ δὲ αἱμωπὸν*[9] *καὶ διάπυρον, ὠμότητος καὶ πικρίας· ὅπου δὲ τὸ*

[1] *καὶ*] *καὶ διὰ* M Vv.
[2] *καὶ προγόνοις* Ry M^{1} V^{2ss} W^{2ss} : *προγόνοις* (-*ους* G^{1}).
[3] *πρόσπτυστον*] *προσπτυστὸν* G X (*πρὸς πτυστὸν* F^{1} N) hki M^{1} Y.
[4] *τοὺς* G^{4} X$^{d?}$ F Ry M^{2} (V is wanting) v Y^{2} : *τοῖς*.
[5] *τοσοῦτο . . . ὅσον* G^{4} : *τοσούτῳ . . . ὅσον* (*τοσούτῳ . . . ὅσῳ* hk M [V is wanting] v).
[6] *ὀνείρατος*] *ὄναρ* ?
[7] *τὸ* X$^{d?}$ F Ry M^{2} (V is wanting) v W^{ac}? : *τοῖς*.

scourged [a] as the tearful owners beg for mercy, so punishment that operates through external possessions and the body establishes no smarting contact and does not fasten upon the viciousness itself, but is for the most part addressed to opinion and the senses. (26.) But whoever comes here from the world below unpunished and unpurged, is fastened upon [b] by Dikê, exposed to view and naked in his soul,[c] having nothing in which to sink out of sight and hide himself and cloak his baseness, but on all sides plainly visible to all in all his shame. In this state she first shows him to his good parents and ancestors—if such they are—as one execrable and unworthy of them, while if they are wicked, he sees them punished and is seen by them; he then undergoes prolonged chastisement,[d] each of his passions being removed with pains and torments that in magnitude and intensity as far transcend those that pass through the flesh as the reality would be more vivid than a dream.

"The scars and welts [e] left by the different passions are more persistent in some, less so in others. Observe," he said, "in the souls that mixture and variety of colours: one is drab brown, the stain that comes of meanness and greed; another a fiery blood-red, which comes of cruelty and savagery; where you see

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 35 E and 173 D; Pseudo-Dio, *Or.* xxxvii. 45; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 8.
[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 615 E.
[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Gorgias*, 523 D-E.
[d] In Plato, *Republic*, 615 A-B, everyone must pay for his crime tenfold in a time ten times as long as the span of human life, which is set at a hundred years.
[e] *Cf.* Plato, *Gorgias*, 524 E, and Arrian, *Epict.* ii. 18. 11.

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[8] *ὄρφνινον* L. Dindorf: *ὄρφνιον*.
[9] *αἱμωπὸν* G[4] Ry K (*αἱμαπὸν* X[1] F[1]): *αἱματωπόν*.

(565) γλαύκινόν[1] ἐστιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀκρασία τις περὶ ἡδονὰς ἐκτέτριπται μόλις· κακόνοια[2] δ' ἐνοῦσα[3] μετὰ φθόνου τουτὶ τὸ ἰῶδες[4] καὶ ὕπουλον, ὥσπερ αἱ σηπίαι τὸ μέλαν, ἀφίησιν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ[5] κακία τῆς τε[6] ψυχῆς τρεπομένης[7] ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τρεπούσης[8] τὸ σῶμα τὰς χρόας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καθαρμοῦ καὶ κολάσεως πέρας ἐστὶν τούτων
D ἐκλεανθέντων παντάπασι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐγοειδῆ καὶ σύγχρουν γίνεσθαι[9]· μέχρι δὲ οὗ ταῦτα ἔνεστι γίνονταί τινες ὑποτροπαὶ τῶν παθῶν σφυγμοὺς ἔχουσαι καὶ πήδησιν, ἐνίαις μὲν ἀμυδρὰν καὶ ταχὺ κατασβεννυμένην, ἐνίαις δὲ νεανικῶς ἐντείνουσαν. ὧν αἱ μὲν πάλιν καὶ πάλιν κολασθεῖσαι τὴν προσήκουσαν ἕξιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν,[10] τὰς δὲ αὖθις εἰς σώματα ζῴων ἐξήνεγκεν βιαιότης ἀμαθίας καὶ φιληδονίας εἶδος.[11] ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενείᾳ λόγου καὶ δι' ἀργίαν τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἔρρεψε τῷ πρακτικῷ
E πρὸς γένεσιν, ἡ δὲ ὀργάνου τῷ ἀκολάστῳ[12] δεομένη ποθεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας συρράψαι ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι καὶ

[1] γλαύκινόν] γλαύκιόν X (V is wanting) v^{1t} W.

[2] μόλις κακόνοια M^3 : μόλις κακὸν οἷα G X F hki M^1 (V is wanting) v C ; μολικακὸν οια (μόλικακὸν οία N) Y ; μολιακὸν οἷα Ry W (οια) ; μολιακὸν οἶ K.

[3] δ' ἐνοῦσα Reiske : δεῖν οὖσα X^1 (δεινοῦσα N $W^{c?}$; δείνουσα Y) ; δινοῦσα F $W^{ac?}$; δεινὸν οὖσα G^1 X^d hki M^1 (V is wanting) v C ; ὠδίνουσα G^{3mg} K^1 M^3 ; ὠδινούσης Ry K^2.

[4] τουτὶ τὸ ἰῶδες $G^{3?}$ F Z M^2 ; τουτὶ τοιῶδες (τοιωδὲς N ; ποιῶδες C^1W) G^1 X^1 Y ; τὸ τοιῶδες i M^1 (V is wanting) v ; τὸ τοιοῦτον hk M^3 ; τιτυῶδες X^3 ; in an omission in Ry.

[5] ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ Pohlenz : ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἥ (εἵ Y^{ac}) τε (ἐκεῖ τε γὰρ ἡ Z ; ἥ τε W^{ac}).

[6] τῆς τε nos : τῆς.

[7] τρεπομένης F^3 M^2 (τερπομένης Y^2) : τρεπομένη (τερπομένη Y^1).

[8] τρεπούσης G^3 hki M^2 (τερπούσης Y^2) : τροπούσης (-σῃ F^1 ; τρέπουσα Ry K [V is wanting] v ; στροβοῦσα X^3 C^2).

the blue-grey, some form of incontinence in pleasure has barely been rubbed out; while if spite and envy are present they give out this livid green, as ink is ejected by the squid.[a] For in the world below viciousness puts forth the colours, as the soul is altered by the passions and alters the body in turn, while here the end of purgation and punishment is reached when the passions are quite smoothed away and the soul becomes luminous in consequence and uniform in colour; but so long as the passions remain within there are relapses, attended by throbbings and a convulsive motion which in some souls is faint and soon subsides, but in others produces a vehement tension. Some of these, after repeated punishment, recover their proper state and disposition, while others are once more carried off into the bodies of living things by the violence of ignorance and the 'image'[b] of the love of pleasure. For one soul, from weakness of reason and neglect of contemplation, is borne down by its practical proclivity to birth, while another, needing an instrument for its licentiousness, yearns to knit its appetites to their fruition

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 978 A.
[b] *Eidos* ("form"), in the Greek, a doubtful word. In *Mor.* 945 A the soul is said to receive an impress from the intellect and give one to the body, at the same time enveloping it on all sides and taking on its *eidos* or form. The soul is thus called an *eidolon* ("phantom"), when, on being separated from the intellect or the body, it long retains the *eidos* of either.

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[9] *γίνεσθαι*] *γενέσθαι* Bern.
[10] *καὶ διάθεσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν* X[3] (*καὶ διάθεσιν ἔχουσι* C[1] G[3]? [now erased]; *ἔχουσι* hki): *καὶ διάθεσιν*.
[11] *εἶδος*] *ἧλος* Bern.; *οἶστρος* Castiglioni; *πάθος* Richards; *ἵμερος* Schwartz; *πειθώ* Pohlenz; *εἷλος?* (*εἵλεα· . . . δεσμοί* Hesychius) Post.
[12] *τῷ ἀκολάστῳ* Reiske: *τοῦ ἀκολάστου*.

(565) συνεπαυρέσθαι[1] διὰ σώματος· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ σκιά τις ἀτελὴς καὶ ὄναρ ἡδονῆς πλήρωσιν οὐκ ἐχούσης πάρεστιν."

27. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπών, ἦγεν αὐτὸν ταχὺ μέν,[2] ἄπλετον δέ τινα τόπον ὡς ἐφαίνετο διεξιόντα ῥᾳδίως καὶ ἀπλανῶς, οἷον ὑπὸ πτερῶν τῶν τοῦ φωτὸς αὐγῶν ἀναφερόμενον, μέχρι οὗ πρός τι χάσμα μέγα καὶ κάτω διῆκον ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ὀχούσης[3] ἀπελείφθη δυνάμεως. καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ψυχὰς ἑώρα τοῦτο[4] πασχούσας ἐκεῖ· συστελλόμεναι[5]
F γὰρ ὥσπερ αἱ ὄρνιθες καὶ καταφερόμεναι κύκλῳ τὸ χάσμα περιῄεσαν (ἄντικρυς δὲ περᾶν οὐκ ἐτόλμων), εἴσω μὲν ὀφθῆναι τοῖς βακχικοῖς ἄντροις ὁμοίως ὕλῃ καὶ[6] χλωρότητι καὶ χρόαις[7] ἀνθέων ἁπάσαις διαπεποικιλμένον· ἐξέπνει δὲ μαλακὴν καὶ πραεῖαν αὔραν ὀσμὰς ἀναφέρουσαν ἡδονάς[8] τε θαυμασίας καὶ κρᾶσιν οἵαν[9] ὁ οἶνος τοῖς μεθυσκομένοις ἐμποιοῦσαν· εὐωχούμεναι γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ ταῖς εὐωδίαις διεχέοντο[10] καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐφιλοφρονοῦντο· καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν κύκλῳ κατεῖχε βακχεία καὶ γέλως καὶ πᾶσα μοῦσα παιζόντων καὶ τερπο-
566 μένων. ἔλεγε δὲ[11] ταύτῃ[12] τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνελθεῖν[13]

[1] συνεπαύρεσθαι (sic) Reiske : συνεπαίρεσθαι.
[2] ταχὺ μὲν] μὲν ταχὺ G X F.
[3] ὀχούσης Madvig : ἐχούσης.
[4] τοῦτο] ταὐτὸ Wyttenbach (οὕτω hki).
[5] συστελλόμεναι N M (V is wanting) v : στελλόμεναι.
[6] ὕλῃ καὶ] ὕλης G. [7] χρόαις G l[2] : χλόαις.
[8] ἡδονάς Victorius : ἡδονῆς.
[9] οἵαν X[3] v (V is wanting) : οἷον (οἷον ἂν K).

and gratify them through the body, for here there is nothing but an imperfect shadow and dream of never consummated pleasure."

27. After this explanation Thespesius was swiftly taken by the guide over what appeared an immense distance, traversing it easily and unerringly, buoyed up by the beams of the light as by wings, until he came to a great chasm extending all the way down and was deserted by the power that sustained him. The other souls too, he observed, were thus affected there, for they drew themselves in like birds and alighted and walked around the circuit of the chasm, not venturing to pass directly across. Within, it had the appearance of a Bacchic grotto [a]: it was gaily diversified with tender leafage and all the hues of flowers. From it was wafted a soft and gentle breeze that carried up fragrant scents, arousing wondrous pleasures and such a mood as wine induces in those who are becoming tipsy [b]; for as the souls regaled themselves on the sweet odours they grew expansive and friendly with one another; and the place all about was full of bacchic revelry and laughter and the various strains of festivity and merry-making. This was the route, the guide said, that Dionysus had

[a] For "bacchic grottoes" *cf.* Philodamus, *Paean to Dionysus*, 140 (in Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 169); Socrates of Rhodes in Athenaeus, 148 b; Philostratus, *Imagines*, i. 14. 3, and Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 18. 3.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 437 E and Macrobius, *Comm. in Som. Scip.* i. 12. 17; *cf.* also *Mor.* 362 A-B.

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[10] *διεχέοντο* G hki C: *διέχεόν τε* X[1] N M (V is wanting) v Y W[1]; *διεχέοντό τε* X[3] F Ry W[2]. [11] *δὲ* added in Aldine.

[12] *ταύτῃ* G[ras?] F[ras] Ry k C: *ταύτην* (*ταῦτα* hi).

[13] *ἀνελθεῖν* N M[1] Y W: *εἰς θεοὺς* (-*έαν* Ry) *ἀνελθεῖν* (*ἀνελθεῖν εἰς θεοὺς* M[2] l).

(566) καὶ τὴν Σεμέλην ἀναγαγεῖν[1] ὕστερον· καλεῖσθαι δὲ Λήθης τὸν τόπον. ὅθεν οὐδὲ διατρίβειν βουλόμενον εἴα τὸν Θεσπέσιον, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖλκε[2] βίᾳ, διδάσκων ἅμα καὶ λέγων ὡς ἐκτήκεται καὶ ἀνυγραίνεται τὸ φρονοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον καὶ σωματοειδὲς ἀρδόμενον καὶ σαρκούμενον ἐμποιεῖ τοῦ σώματος μνήμην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μνήμης ἵμερον καὶ πόθον ἕλκοντα πρὸς γένεσιν, ἣν οὕτως ὠνομάσθαι νεῦσιν ἐπὶ γῆν οὖσαν[3] ὑγρότητι βαρυνομένης τῆς ψυχῆς.

28. Ἄλλην οὖν τοσαύτην διελθὼν ὁδὸν ἔδοξεν
B ἀφορᾶν κρατῆρα μέγαν, εἰς δὲ τοῦτον ἐμβάλλοντα ῥεύματα, τὸ μὲν ἀφροῦ θαλάσσης ἢ χιόνων[4] λευκότερον, τὸ[5] δὲ ὁποῖον ἶρις ἐξανθεῖ τὸ ἁλουργόν, ἄλλα δ' ἄλλαις βαφαῖς[6] κεχρωσμένα, πρόσωθεν ἴδιον[7] ἐχούσαις[8] φέγγος. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἦλθον, ὁ κρατὴρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνεφάνη χάσμα βαθὺ[9] τοῦ περιέχοντος, τῶν τε χρωμάτων ἀμαυρουμένων τὸ ἀνθηρότερον ἀπέλειπεν[10] πλὴν τῆς λευκότητος. ἑώρα δὲ τρεῖς

[1] ἀναγαγεῖν Bern. : ἀνάγειν.
[2] ἀφεῖλκε Reiske : ἀφεῖλε (ἀφῆκε v).
[3] ἐπὶ γῆν οὖσαν Meziriacus : ἐπιτείνουσαν (-τίν- N).
[4] χιόνων] χιόνος G Z hki.
[5] τὸ . . . τὸ X^3 Y^2 W^2 : τὸν . . . τὸν (τὸν . . . τὰ Ry).
[6] δ' (δὲ S k Y^2) ἄλλαις βαφαῖς X^3 (V is wanting) v W^2 : δι' ἄλλαις βαφαῖς (δι' ἄλλων βαφῶν Ry).
[7] ἴδιον a^2 : ἴδοι X^1 F S^1 N Y C^1W ; ἴδοις G X^3 hk (ἴδοιεν i) M (V is wanting) v ; there is an omission in Ry.
[8] ἐχούσαις v (V is wanting) Y^2 : ἐχούσας (there is an omission in Ry).
[9] ἀνεφάνη χάσμα βαθὺ Kronenberg : ἀφανὴς χλεμάβλου (χλεμβάλου G^1 ; χε μαβλου N ; χλεμαμβλοῦ v [V is wanting] ; χλεμάμβλου Y^1) ; ἀφανὴς K ; ἀφανὴς ἦν ἐνιαχοῦ Ry ; ἀφανισθέντος μᾶλλον M^2.
[10] ἀπέλειπεν N^1 Y (-πε G^4 Ry [ἐπ- K]) : ἀπέλιπε.

taken in his ascent and later when he brought up Semelê [a]; and the region was called the place of Lethe.[b] On this account, although Thespesius wished to linger, the guide would not allow it, but pulled him away by main force, informing him as he did so that the intelligent part of the soul is dissolved away and liquefied [c] by pleasure, while the irrational and carnal part is fed by its flow and puts on flesh and thus induces memory of the body; and that from such memory arises a yearning and desire that draws the soul toward birth (*genesis*), so named as being an earthward (*epi gēn*) inclination (*neusis*) [d] of the soul grown heavy with liquefaction.[e]

28. Proceeding as far again, he saw in the distance what he took to be a large crater [f] with streams pouring into it, one whiter than sea-foam or snow, another like the violet of the rainbow, and others of different tints, each having from afar a lustre of its own. On their approach the crater turned out to be a deep chasm in the ambient, and as the colours faded, the brightness, except for the white, disappeared. He

[a] Dionysus brought his mortal mother, Semelê, up from Hades and made her immortal: *cf.* Diodorus, iv. 25. 4; Pausanias, ii. 31. 2, 37. 5; and Apollodorus, iii. 5. 3, with Frazer's note in the L.C.L. The later Platonists regarded Dionysus, son of Semelê, as the god who presided over rebirth: *cf.* Hermeias, *In Plat. Phaedr. Schol.* chap. xxiv, p. 32. 11-14, chap. lii, p. 55. 21 (ed. Couvreur); Proclus, *In Tim.* vol. iii, p. 421. 29 f. (ed. Diehl); Olympiodorus, *In Phaed.* p. 208. 1 f. (ed. Norvin).

[b] That is, "oblivion."

[c] For the image of dissolving away *cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 411 B; for liquefaction *cf.* *Mor.* 1053 B-C.

[d] *Cf.* the fragment *On the Soul*, chap. ii (vol. vii, p. 22. 9 Bern.).

[e] Thus, when fire or air changes to water, it becomes liquid and heavy.

[f] Literally "mixing-bowl."

(566) δαίμονας ὁμοῦ καθημένους ἐν σχήματι τριγώνου πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ῥεύματα μέτροις τισὶν ἀνακεραννύντας. ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ τοῦ Θεσπεσίου ψυχο-
C πομπὸς ἄχρι τούτου τὸν Ὀρφέα προελθεῖν[1] ὅτε τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς γυναικὸς μετῄει, καὶ μὴ καλῶς διαμνημονεύσαντα λόγον εἰς ἀνθρώπους κίβδηλον ἐξενεγκεῖν ὡς κοινὸν εἴη μαντεῖον[2] ἐν Δελφοῖς[3] Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Νυκτός· οὐδενὸς γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνι Νύκτα κοινωνεῖν· "ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μέν," ἔφη,[4] "Νυκτός ἐστι καὶ Σελήνης μαντεῖον κοινόν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς περαῖνον[5] οὐδ' ἔχον ἕδραν μίαν ἀλλὰ πάντῃ πλανητὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνυπνίοις καὶ εἰδώλοις· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ οἱ ὄνειροι μιγνύμενον,[6] ὡς ὁρᾷς, τῷ ἀπατηλῷ καὶ ποικίλῳ τὸ ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς παραλαμβάνοντες διασπείρουσι.

D 29. "Τὸ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος οὐκέτ' οἶδα,"[7] εἶπεν, "εἰ[8] κατιδεῖν ἔσῃ[9] δυνατός· ἀνωτέρω γὰρ οὐκ

[1] προελθεῖν Wyttenbach: προσελθεῖν.
[2] Post would add οἷον after μαντεῖον.
[3] Δελφοῖς] θεοῖς Pohlenz.
[4] ἔφη G X[d] Ry M[2] W[2] qflp: ἔφην.
[5] περαῖνον X[3] Ry: περαῖνον μαντεῖον (περαῖνον μαντείαν Reiske, Post).
[6] μιγνύμενον Victorius: μιγνύμενοι (δεικνύμενοι v).
[7] οὐκέτ' οἶδα Pohlenz (οὐ κατεῖδες Cobet): εἰ κάτοιδα G[1] X F[1] Ry N (V is wanting) v Y W; οὐ κάτοιδα G[4]; οὐ κάτοιδας F[3] hki M[2] C[1]; οἱ κάτοιδα (-ας M[c]) M[ac].
[8] εἰ G[1] X N (ἢ M[1]) Y W; οὐ F Ry (V is wanting) v; οὐδὲ G[4] hki M[2] C.
[9] κατιδεῖν ἔσῃ Ry M[2]: κατίδῃ ἐσσὶ G[1] X[1]; κατιδήεσσι N M[1] Y (W has a lacuna of 9 letters); κατιδεῖν ἐσσὶ (and so G[4]).

beheld three daemons seated together in the form of a triangle,[a] combining the streams in certain proportions. The guide of Thespesius' soul said that Orpheus [b] had advanced thus far in his quest for the soul of his wife, and from faulty memory had published among men a false report that at Delphi there was an oracle held in common by Apollo and Night,[c]—false, as Night has partnership in nothing with Apollo. "This is instead," he pursued, "an oracle shared by Night and the Moon; it has no outlet anywhere on earth nor any single seat,[d] but roves everywhere throughout mankind in dreams and visions; for this is the source from which dreams derive and disseminate the unadorned and true, commingled, as you see, with the colourful and deceptive.[e]

29. "As for Apollo's oracle," he said, "I hardly know whether you will be able to catch sight of it;

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 617 B.

[b] There is doubtless a polemic here against an interpretation of the Delphic oracle attributed to Orpheus. *Cf.* Dieterich, *Nekyia*², p. 147, who points out that an Orphic poem was called "Crater." The mixture of truth and falsehood in the crater may have a certain polemical point.

[c] Night presided over the Delphic oracle before Themis and Apollo: *cf.* a scholium on Pindar, *Pythian Odes* (vol. ii, p. 2. 6 Drachmann).

[d] *Cf. Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Pars Posterior, no. 294 (ed. Kern). For the notion that an oracle in this region can have an outlet on earth *cf.* 566 D, *infra*, where the light from Apollo's tripod is said to rest on Parnassus, the seat of the Delphic oracle.

[e] The white corresponds to the truth in dreams, the varied colours to their deceptiveness; at a distance (that is, when one does not examine closely) the deceptive and many-coloured is more prominent; close at hand the white predominates. *Cf. Mor.* 53 D and the *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxiii. 5 (203 C).

(566) ἐπιδίδωσιν οὐδὲ χαλᾷ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπίγυιον,[1] ἀλλὰ κατατείνει τῷ σώματι προσηρτημένον." ἅμα δ' ἐπειρᾶτο προσάγων ἐπιδεικνύειν[2] αὐτῷ τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, διὰ τῶν κόλπων τῆς Θέμιδος ἀπερειδόμενον εἰς τὸν Παρνασόν.[3] προθυμούμενος δ' αὐτὸς[4] ἰδεῖν οὐκ εἶδεν ὑπὸ λαμπρότητος, ἀλλ' ἤκουεν παριὼν φωνὴν ὀξεῖαν γυναικὸς ἐν μέτρῳ φράζουσαν ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ[5] χρόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτῆς. ἔλεγεν δὲ ὁ δαίμων τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι Σιβύλλης· ᾄδειν γὰρ αὐτὴν περὶ
E τῶν μελλόντων ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τῆς σελήνης περιφερομένην. βουλόμενος οὖν ἀκροᾶσθαι πλείονα τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς σελήνης εἰς τοὐναντίον ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς δίναις ἐξεώσθη καὶ βραχέα κατήκουσεν· ὧν ἦν καί τι περὶ[6] τὸ Βέσβιον[7] ὄρος καὶ τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν[8] ὑπὸ πυρὸς φορᾷ[9] γενησομένην, καί τι κομμάτιον περὶ τοῦ τότε ἡγεμόνος ὡς

. . . ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν νούσῳ[10] τυραννίδα[11] λείψει.

30. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῶν κολα-

[1] ἐπίγυιον X¹ F N M² Y W (ἐπίγυον G Ry K C) : ὑπόγυιον X³ M¹ (ὑπόγυον hki [V is wanting] v) ; ἐπίγειον l².
[2] ἐπιδεικνύειν] ἐπιδείκνυσιν G¹ X N M¹ Y W¹ (-υσθαι S).
[3] Παρνασόν] παρνασσόν G X F.
[4] προθ. δ' αὐτὸς Pohlenz : προθυμούμενος (προθ. δὲ G³ ; προθ. οὖν hki C¹ ; καὶ προθ. F Ry M² [V is wanting] v ; ὁ προθ. X³).
[5] ἄλλα τὲ τινὰ καὶ X³ : ἄλλα τινὰ G¹ X¹ (ἀλλὰ τινὰ N) M¹ Y W (ἄλλον τινὰ F¹ [V is wanting] v ; ἄλλα τινὰ καὶ G³ F³ Ry hki M² C).
[6] τι περὶ nos : περὶ (τὰ περὶ X³ Ry).
[7] βέσβιον G³ K N Y C¹W : λέσβιον (τελέσβιον hki).
[8] δικαιάρχειαν G³ R? C (-είαν X¹? Y W ; -ίαν) : Δικαιαρχείας Reiske.
[9] φορᾷ] φορᾶς S ; φορὰν K ; φᾶ v (V is wanting) ; φθορὰν l² and Reiske.
[10] νούσῳ hki : νόσῳ.
[11] τυραννίδα] τὰ τυραννικὰ ?

for the cable [a] of your soul gives no further upward play and does not grow slack, but holds taut, being made fast to the body." At the same time he endeavoured to draw Thespesius near and show him the light that came (he said) from the tripod,[b] and passing through the bosom of Themis,[c] rested on Parnassus, but it was so bright that Thespesius, for all his eagerness, did not see it. But he did hear, as he passed by, a woman's high voice foretelling in verse among other things the time (it appears) of his own death.[d] The voice was the Sibyl's, the daemon said, who sang of the future as she was carried about on the face of the moon.[e] He accordingly desired to hear more, but was thrust back, as in an eddy, by the onrush of the moon, and caught but little. Among this was a prophecy about Mt. Vesuvius and the surge of flame that would pass over Dicaearcheia,[f] and a fragment of verse about the emperor [g] of those days :

. . . good, he will through sickness leave the throne.

30. They now turned to view those who were

[a] *Cf.* the image of the anchor (564 c, *supra*), the shadowy line (564 D, *supra*), and the *syndesmos* or " tie " of the *De Genio Socratis*, 591 F—592 B.

[b] This celestial tripod is evidently connected with the Delphic ; it may symbolize the sun : *cf.* Cornutus, *De Nat. Deorum*, chap. xxxii.

[c] Themis preceded Apollo at Delphi.

[d] In such visions the seer's own death is often foretold : *cf. Mor.* 592 E and Homer, *Od.* xi. 134-137.

[e] *Cf. Mor.* 398 c and Clement, *Strom.* i. 15. 70. 4.

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 398 E ; Dicaearcheia is the modern Pozzuoli. With Reiske's conjecture the text would mean : " the impending destruction of Dicaearcheia by fire." But there is no real evidence that the town was burnt.

[g] Titus : *cf.* Introduction, p. 174.

(566) ζομένων ἐτρέποντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δυσχερεῖς καὶ οἰκτρὰς εἶχον μόνον ὄψεις· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ συνήθεσιν ὁ Θεσπέσιος, οὐκ ἂν F προσδοκήσας, κολαζομένοις ἐνετύγχανε, καὶ δεινὰ παθήματα καὶ τιμωρίας ἀσχήμονας καὶ ἀλγεινὰς ὑπομένοντες ᾠκτίζοντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνεκλαίοντο, τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατεῖδεν ἔκ τινος βαράθρου στιγμάτων καὶ οὐλῶν μεστὸν ἀναδυόμενον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ καὶ σιωπᾶν οὐκ ἐώμενον, ἀλλ' ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστώτων ταῖς τιμωρίαις ὅτι περὶ ξένους τινὰς μιαρὸς γενόμενος χρυσίον ἔχοντας φαρμάκοις διαφθείρας καὶ ἐκεῖ διαλαθὼν ἅπαντας ἐνταῦθ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς τὰ μὲν ἤδη πέπονθε, τὰ δὲ ἄγεται 567 πεισόμενος, ἱκετεύειν μὲν ἢ παραιτεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἐτόλμα δι' ἔκπληξιν καὶ δέος, ὑποστρέψαι[1] δὲ καὶ φυγεῖν βουλόμενος οὐκέτι τὸν πρᾶον ἐκεῖνον ἑώρα καὶ οἰκεῖον ξεναγόν, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἑτέρων τινῶν φοβερῶν τὴν ὄψιν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὠθούμενος, ὡς ἀνάγκην οὖσαν οὕτω διεξελθεῖν, ἐθεᾶτο τῶν μὲν γνωρίμως[2] πονηρῶν γενομένων καὶ[3] κολασθέντων αὐτόθι τὴν αἰκίαν[4] οὐκέτ' ἐκεῖ[5] χαλεπῶς οὐδ' ὁμοίως τριβομένην, ἅτε δὴ[6] περὶ τὸ ἄλογον καὶ παθητικὸν ἔτι μόνον[7] οὖσαν· ὅσοι δὲ B πρόσχημα καὶ δόξαν ἀρετῆς περιβαλλόμενοι[8] διεβίωσαν κακίᾳ λανθανούσῃ, τούτους[9] ἐπιπόνως καὶ

[1] ὑποστρέψαι] ἀποστρέψαι hki M^1 Vv Y C^1W qflp (F and N are wanting).
[2] γνωρίμως Reiske : γνωρίμων.
[3] καὶ Reiske : ᾗ.
[4] αἰκίαν Pohlenz : σκιάν.
[5] οὐκέτ' ἐκεῖ nos : οὐκέτ'(-τι X K) εἶναι (οὐκέτι λίαν Madvig).
[6] ἅτε δὴ Ry l^2 : ἀτελῆ (ἅτε τῇ hki).
[7] ἔτι μόνον Pohlenz : ἐπίπονον (ἐπίτονον M).

suffering punishment. At first these presented only a disagreeable and piteous spectacle ; but as Thespesius kept meeting friends, kinsmen, and comrades who were being punished, a thing he never would have looked for, and these lamented to him and raised a cry of wailing as they underwent fearful torments and ignominious and excruciating chastisements, and when he at last caught sight of his own father emerging from a pit, covered with brands and scars, stretching out his arms to him, and not allowed by those in charge of the punishments to keep silent, but compelled to confess [a] his foul wickedness to certain guests he had poisoned for their gold, a crime detected by no one in the lower world, but here brought to light, for which he had suffered in part and was now being taken away to suffer more, Thespesius in his consternation and terror did not dare to resort to supplication or intercede for his father, but wishing to turn back and escape, saw no longer that kindly kinsman who had been his guide, but certain others of frightful aspect, who thrust him forward, giving him to understand that he was under compulsion to pass that way. He observed that while the torment of those who had been recognized in their wickedness and punished on the spot was not so harsh or so prolonged in the other world, as it now dealt only with the irrational and passionate part of the soul, those who on the contrary had cloaked themselves in the pretence and repute of virtue and passed their lives in undetected vice were surrounded

[a] For confession as a form of punishment *cf.* Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*[3], p. 275.

[8] περιβαλλόμενοι] περιβαλόμενοι X[3] M[2] l[2].
[9] τούτους G[3?] X[3?] (F is wanting) Y[2] : τούτοις.

(567) ὀδυνηρῶς ἠνάγκαζον ἕτεροι περιεστῶτες ἐκτρέπεσθαι τὰ ἐντὸς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς, ἰλυσπωμένους παρὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀνακαμπτομένους,[1] ὥσπερ αἱ θαλάττιαι[2] σκολόπενδραι καταπιοῦσαι τὸ ἄγκιστρον ἐκτρέπουσιν ἑαυτάς· ἐνίους δὲ ἀναδέροντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναπτύσσοντες ἀπεδείκνυσαν ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλους,[3] ἐν τῷ λογιστικῷ καὶ κυρίῳ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἔχοντας. ἄλλας δ' ἔφη ψυχὰς ἰδεῖν ὥσπερ τὰς ἐχίδνας περιπεπλεγμένας σύνδυο καὶ σύντρεις καὶ πλείονας, ἀλλήλας ἐσθιούσας ὑπὸ μνησικακίας
C καὶ κακοθυμίας ὧν ἔπαθον ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἢ ἔδρασαν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ λίμνας παρ' ἀλλήλας, τὴν μὲν χρυσοῦ περιζέουσαν,[4] τὴν δὲ μολίβδου ψυχροτάτην, ἄλλην δὲ τραχεῖαν σιδήρου· καί τινας ἐφεστάναι δαίμονας ὥσπερ οἱ χαλκεῖς ὀργάνοις ἀναλαμβάνοντας καὶ καθιέντας ἐν μέρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δι' ἀπληστίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν πονηρῶν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ χρυσῷ διαπύρους καὶ διαφανεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φλέγεσθαι γινομένας ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὴν τοῦ μολίβδου βάπτοντες· ἐκπαγείσας δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ γενομένας σκληρὰς ὥσπερ αἱ χάλαζαι πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου μεθ-
D ίστασαν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ μέλαιναί τε δεινῶς ἐγίνοντο[5] καὶ περικλώμεναι διὰ σκληρότητα καὶ συντριβόμεναι τὰ εἴδη μετέβαλλον· εἶθ' οὕτω πάλιν εἰς τὸν χρυσὸν ἐκομίζοντο, δεινάς, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ἀλγηδόνας ὑπομένουσαι.

[1] *ἀνακαμπτομένους* Ry : *ἅμα καμπτομένους*.

[2] *θαλάττιαι*] *θαλάττιοι* X^1 (F is wanting) $p^c f^{1ss} l^c$ (*θαλάττιαιοι* q).

[3] *ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλους*] *ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλως* G^4 X (F is wanting) M Y : *ὑπούλως καὶ ποικίλως* hki.

by a different set of officers who compelled them laboriously and painfully to turn the inward parts of their souls outward, writhing unnaturally and curving back upon themselves, as the sea-scolopendras turn themselves inside out when they have swallowed the hook [a]; and some of them were skinned and laid open and shown to be ulcered and blotched, their wickedness being in their rational and sovereign part. He told of seeing other souls coiled like vipers around each other in twos and threes and yet greater number, devouring one another in rancour and bitterness for what they had endured or done in life; moreover (he said) there were lakes lying side by side, one a seething lake of gold, a second, piercing cold, of lead, and a third of rugged iron, with certain daemons in charge, who, like smiths, were using tongs to raise and lower alternately the souls of those whose wickedness was due to insatiable and overreaching avarice. Thus, when the souls had grown red hot in the gold from the blazing heat, the daemons plunged them into the lake of lead; when they had there been chilled and hardened, like hailstones, they were removed to the lake of iron. Here they turned an intense black and were altered in appearance, as their hardness caused them to become chipped and crushed; and after this they were once more taken to the gold, enduring, as he said, the most fearful agonies in the course of each change.

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 977 B (where Aristotle's account of the fox-shark [*Hist. Animal.* ix. 37, 621 a 12-16] is confused with that of the sea-scolopendra); Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* ix. 37 (621 a 6-9); Aelian, *De Nat. Animal.* vii. 35; Oppian, *Halieutica*, ii. 424; Dioscorides, ii. 16; Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 145.

[4] περιζέουσαν Reiske: περιζέοντος.
[5] ἐγίνοντο] ἐγένοντο M Vv.

(567) 31. Πάντων δὲ πάσχειν ἔλεγεν οἰκτρότατα τὰς ἤδη δοκούσας ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς δίκης, εἶτ' αὖθις συλλαμβανομένας· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ὧν εἴς τινας ἐκγόνους ἢ παῖδας ἡ ποινὴ περιῆλθεν. ὁπότε γάρ τις ἐκείνων ἀφίκοιτο καὶ περιτύχοι προσέπιπτεν ὀργῇ καὶ κατεβόα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν παθῶν ἐδείκνυεν,
E ὀνειδίζουσα καὶ διώκουσα[1] φεύγειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένην, οὐ δυναμένην δέ. ταχὺ γὰρ μετέθεον οἱ κολασταὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν δίκην[2] ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἤπειγον[3] ὀλοφυρομένας τῷ προγινώσκειν τὴν τιμωρίαν. ἐνίαις[4] δὲ καὶ πολλὰς ἅμα τῶν ἐκγόνων ἔλεγε συνηρτῆσθαι καθάπερ μελίττας ἢ νυκτερίδας ἀτεχνῶς ἐχομένας καὶ τετριγυίας[5] ὑπὸ μνήμης καὶ ὀργῆς ὧν ἔπαθον δι' αὐτάς.

32. Ἔσχατα[6] δὲ ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπὶ δευτέραν γένεσιν τρεπομένας ψυχὰς εἴς τε ζῷα παντοδαπὰ
F καμπτομένας βίᾳ καὶ μετασχηματιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα δημιουργούντων, ὀργάνοις τισὶ καὶ πληγαῖς τὰ μὲν κολλώντων μέρη καὶ συνελαυνόντων, τὰ δὲ[7] ἀποστρεφόντων, ἔνια δ' ἐκλεαινόντων καὶ ἀφανιζόντων παντάπασιν ὅπως ἐφαρμόσειεν ἑτέροις ἤθεσι καὶ βίοις, ἐν ταύταις φανῆναι τὴν Νέρωνος,[8] τά τε ἄλλα κακῶς ἔχουσαν ἤδη καὶ διαπεπαρμένην

[1] ὀνειδίζουσα καὶ διώκουσα Victorius: ὀνειδίζουσα καὶ δοκοῦσα (ὀνειδίζουσα [-αν R] καὶ δοκοῦσαν Ry; ὀνειδίζουσα δοκοῦσαν X³).
[2] καὶ πρὸς τὴν δίκην nos: πρὸς τὴν δίκην καί.
[3] ἤπειγον] ἀπῆγον Pohlenz (after Wyttenbach), omitting πρὸς τὴν δίκην.
[4] ἐνίαις Reiske: ἐνίας.
[5] τετριγυίας] περιτετριγυίας C.
[6] ἔσχατα] ἐσχάτας hki C.
[7] τὰ μὲν κολλώντων μέρη καὶ συνελαυνόντων, τὰ δὲ Pohlenz: τὰ μὲν ὅλων τῶν μέρη καὶ σ. τὰ δὲ X¹ (N resumes with ὅλων) Y

31. Most piteous of all, he said, was the suffering of the souls who thought that they were already released from their sentence,[a] and then were apprehended again; these were the souls whose punishment [b] had passed over to descendants or children. For whenever the soul of such a child or descendant arrived and found them, it flew at them in fury and raised a clamour against them and showed the marks of its sufferings, berating and pursuing the soul of the other, which desired to escape and hide, but could not. For they were swiftly overtaken by the tormentors and hastened back once more to serve their sentence, lamenting from foreknowledge of the penalty that awaited them. To some, he said, great clusters of the souls of descendants were attached, clinging to them like veritable swarms of bees or bats, and gibbering shrilly [c] in angry memory of what they had suffered through their fault.

32. He was viewing the final spectacle of his vision, the souls returning to a second birth, as they were forcibly bent to fit all manner of living things and altered in shape by the framers of these, who with blows from certain tools were welding and hammering together one set of members, wrenching another apart, and polishing away and quite obliterating a third, to adapt them to new characters and lives, when among them appeared the soul of Nero, already in a sorry plight and pierced with incandescent rivets.[d]

[a] In the Greek *dikê*. [b] In the Greek *poinê*.
[c] *Cf.* Homer, *Od.* xxiv. 5 ff.
[d] *Cf. Mor.* 718 D and Plato, *Phaedo*, 83 D.

C¹W; *τὰ* (*τῶν* M²) *μὲν ὅλα τὰ μέρη καὶ σ. τὰ δὲ* G hki M¹; *τῶν μὲν ὅλα τὰ μέρη σ. τῶν* (*τὰ* X³) *δὲ* F Ry Vv.
[8] *νέρωνος*] all but G X F add *ψυχὴν* after *νέρωνος*.

(567) ἥλοις διαπύροις. προκεχειρισμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ[1] τῶν δημιουργῶν Νικανδρικῆς[2] ἐχίδνης εἶδος, ἐν ᾧ κυηθεῖσαν καὶ διαφαγοῦσαν[3] τὴν μητέρα βιώσεσθαι, φῶς ἔφασκεν ἐξαίφνης διαλάμψαι μέγα καὶ φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς γενέσθαι προστάττουσαν εἰς ἄλλο γένος ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλεῖν, ᾠδικόν[4] τι μηχανησαμένους περὶ ἕλη καὶ λίμνας ζῷον[5]· ὧν μὲν γὰρ ἠδίκησεν δεδωκέναι[6] δίκας, ὀφείλεσθαι δέ τι καὶ
568 χρηστὸν αὐτῷ παρὰ θεῶν ὅτι τῶν ὑπηκόων τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον γένος ἠλευθέρωσε.[7]

33. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων εἶναι θεατής. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέφειν ἔμελλεν, ἐν παντὶ γενέσθαι[8] διὰ φόβον· γυναῖκα γὰρ αὐτοῦ λαβομένην[9] θαυμαστὴν τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, "δεῦρο δή," εἰπεῖν,[10] "οὗτος, ὅπως ἕκαστα μᾶλλον μνημονεύσῃς," καί τι ῥαβδίον, ὥσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι, διάπυρον προσάγειν· ἑτέραν δὲ κωλύειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ θώμιγγος[11] ἐξαίφνης σπασθέντα πνεύματι νεανικῷ σφόδρα καὶ βιαίῳ τῷ σώματι προσπεσεῖν καὶ ἀναβλέψαι σχεδὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ μνήματος.

[1] καὶ ταύτῃ Reiske : καὶ ταύτην (ταύτην Y).
[2] Νικανδρικῆς Morel : πινδαρικῆς.
[3] κυηθεῖσαν καὶ διαφαγοῦσαν X³ : κυηθεῖσα καὶ διαφυγοῦσα (-φαγοῦσα G⁴ F M³).
[4] ᾠδικόν G³ F Ry M² V : ἄδικόν.
[5] ζῷον X^d? M² Vv : ζῴων.
[6] δεδωκέναι Reiske : δέδωκε (-εν N¹ Y ; ἔδωκε Vv).
[7] τὴν ἑλλάδα deleted by Hartman after ἠλευθέρωσε.
[8] γενέσθαι Wyttenbach : κακῷ γενέσθαι G X F : γενέσθαι κακῷ.
[9] αὐτοῦ λαβομένην G X F : τινα λαβομένην αὐτοῦ.
[10] εἰπεῖν X³ hki Y² : εἶπεν.
[11] ἀπὸ θώμιγγος nos (διὰ σύριγγος Reiske ; ἀπὸ μηρίνθου?

For his soul too the framers had made ready a form, that of Nicander's [a] viper, in which it was to live on eating its way out of its pregnant mother,[b] when suddenly (he said) a great light shot through and a voice came out of the light commanding them to transfer it to a milder kind of brute and frame instead a vocal creature,[c] frequenter of marshes and lakes, as he had paid the penalty for his crimes, and a piece of kindness too was owing him from the gods, since to the nation which among his subjects was noblest and most beloved of Heaven he had granted freedom.[d]

33. Thus much he beheld. He was about to turn back, when he was driven frantic with terror, for a woman marvellously beautiful and tall took hold of him and said : " Come hither, sirrah, the better to remember everything," and was about to apply to him a red hot rod, such as painters use [e] ; but another woman interposed, and he was suddenly pulled away as by a cord [f] and cast in a strong and violent gust of wind upon his body, opening his eyes again almost from his very grave.

[a] Nicander, *Theriaca*, 133 f. For the story that the young of vipers eat their way out of the womb *cf.* Herodotus, iii. 109 ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* xv. 16 ; Antigonus, *Hist. Mir.* chap. xxi ; Pliny, *N.H.* x. 170 ; Hierax in Stobaeus, vol. iii, p. 428. 20-22 Hense (of the muraena).

[b] Nero had his mother murdered in A.D. 59.

[c] That is, a frog (*cf.* M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.* vol. ii, p. 529) ; Nero was a vocalist.

[d] Nero emancipated Greece in A.D. 67 ; *cf. Life of Flamininus*, chap. xii. 13 (376 C).

[e] In encaustic painting : *cf.* the *Life of Cato the Younger*, chap. i. 7 (760 A).

[f] *Cf.* 566 D, *supra*, and note.

Wyttenbach ; *ὑπ' ἴυγγος* J. G. Schneider and Pohlenz ; *ὑπὸ Σφιγγὸς* Kronenberg) : *ὑπὸ σύριγγος*.

ON FATE

(DE FATO)

INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that the manuscripts are mistaken in ascribing the treatise *On Fate* to Plutarch.[a] There is no need to repeat here all the arguments that have been adduced against its authenticity ; it is enough to point out that the incidence of hiatus is far greater than in passages of comparable length in the works admittedly genuine.

The writer, evidently a Platonist, is apparently either a teacher or fellow student of the unknown Piso to whom the treatise is addressed.[b] Doctrine very similar to his own, and doubtless derived from a common source, is found in Nemesius and in the commentary of Chalcidius on the *Timaeus* [c] ; echoes

[a] *Cf.* K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1, col. 726. O. Apelt, however, accepts the work as genuine, and seems to be unaware that its authenticity has even been called in question : *cf.* the introduction and notes to his translation (*Plutarch Moralische Schriften*, Zweites Bändchen, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 133 ff.). It is also accepted without comment by P. Duhem, *Le Système du monde* (Paris, 1913–1914), vol. i, p. 288 ; vol. ii, pp. 398 ff.

[b] A. Gercke, *Rheinisches Museum*, xli (1886), p. 277, feels that the words " as we learned before, and as later, in the lectures in the school, we shall know yet better " (568 D) are those of a fellow student and not of a teacher. Other passages, however, point rather to a teacher : thus, the author speaks of his reluctance to write as well known to Piso, refers to a previous exposition (568 F) and to a subsequent detailed examination (574 F), and throughout the treatise is quite free with the use of the first person.

[c] *Cf.* A. Gercke, " Eine platonische Quelle des Neuplatonismus " in *Rheinisches Museum*, xli (1886), pp. 266-291.

of this doctrine appear in Albinus [a] and Apuleius.[b] Nemesius [c] alludes to the work of a certain Philopator *On Fate* and couples him with Chrysippus. The formulation of the doctrine presented in Nemesius can, then, be traced with some probability to the time of Philopator, and as the doctrine in Chalcidius and in the treatise *On Fate* is of the same origin as that of Nemesius' Platonists, we may conjecture that it was formulated in the early part of the second century A.D.,[d] possibly by Gaius, the teacher of Albinus and the most celebrated Platonist of the day. Our treatise, then, was probably not written before the first decades of the second century.

Our author's aim is to construct a theory of fate compatible with providence in God and free will in man. His view is opposed to the Stoic view that "everything conforms to fate," and a polemic against Stoicism is implicit in the treatise. Yet in several respects the argument reveals the influence of Stoic doctrines.

Chrysippus and the Stoics maintained that the

[a] *Cf. Epitome*, chap. xxvi.

[b] *Cf. De Platone*, i. 12.

[c] Chap. xxxv, pp. 291. 9 and 293. 14 (ed. Matthaei).

[d] Galen attended the lectures of Albinus at Smyrna in 151 or 152 (*cf. De Libris Propriis*, chap. ii, vol. xix, p. 16 Kühn); he heard a Stoic, pupil of Philopator, and a Platonist, pupil of Gaius, at Pergamum in 143 or 144 (*cf. De Cognoscendis Curandisque Animi Morbis*, chap. viii, vol. v, p. 41 Kühn). Thus both Philopator and Gaius would belong to the first half of the second century. Alexander (*De Anima Libri Mantissa*, p. 186. 30 f. Bruns) mentions a book *On Fate* by Polyzelus, presumably a Peripatetic, but otherwise unknown. It may well belong to this period. *Cf.* W. Theiler, "Tacitus und die antike Schicksalslehre" in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll* (Basle, 1946), pp. 71, 81 f.

universe is governed by an immanent divine power, variously called God, providence, fate, or nature. They explained the continual change that occurs in the universe as a " chain " of causes, a series of situations in which an antecedent leads to a consequent, the consequent in its turn becoming the antecedent of the next consequent. In such a series, however, different kinds of causes were distinguished. In the sphere of human conduct, for example, the impression that a person receives from an external object often initiates a course of action, but the exact character of that action is in large part determined by the nature of the person, as revealed in his assent and impulse. A cause which initiates a sequence but does not determine its course is called by the Stoics a *procatarctic* (" initiatory ") cause,[a] whereas causes that determine completely the character of their effects are called *autotelê* (" complete in themselves ").[b] In such an analysis the continuity of fate is provided by the procatarctic causes, whereas the determination of particular events depends on the nature of the objects involved. It is in some such way as this that the Stoics reconciled fate and free will.[c]

The Stoics used the relation of antecedent to consequent to refute the " indolent " argument, which

[a] On the procatarctic cause *cf.* 574 D, *infra.*

[b] For the meaning of the term *cf.* W. Theiler, " Tacitus und die antike Schicksalslehre," in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll*, p. 62.

[c] The views of Chrysippus are most conveniently consulted in A. Gercke, " Chrysippea," in *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.*, Vierzehnter Supplementbd. (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 689-779. *Cf.* also M. Pohlenz, " Grundfragen der stoischen Philosophie," in *Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Philol.-Hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 26 (1940), pp. 104-112, and W. Theiler, *op. cit.* pp. 61-66.

maintained that what is fated to occur cannot be altered by any acts of ours. To this the Stoics replied that a consequent is " co-fated " with its antecedent, and that the one will not occur without the other.[a] It is not fated simply that the patient shall recover whether he calls a physician or no ; rather, his calling a physician is co-fated with his recovery.

Our author accepts the Stoic formulation of fate as a relation of antecedent to consequent, but rejects the view that the antecedent is in conformity with fate. He considers fate to be a law which states that a certain consequent will follow upon a certain antecedent, but which does not thereby determine the antecedent. He says further that fate, like human law, is hypothetical[b] and universal, the particular being co-fated[c] with the universal in the sense that it is an instance of the universal law.

The antecedents, which are free, include " what is in our power," chance, the possible and the contingent (570 E). Our author proceeds to define them and describe their relations to one another and to the spontaneous (which is not expressly mentioned here, but dealt with later). As human law " includes " our acts, but legislates their consequences only, the acts themselves not being " lawful " or " in conformity with law," so fate " includes " the possible,

[a] For the " co-fated " *cf.* Cicero, *De Fato*, 13 (30) ; Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* iii. 37. 1 ; Diogenianus quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 8. 16-24.

[b] The Stoic doctrine of fate could have been formulated hypothetically (" if the physician is called the patient will recover "), but there is evidence that Chrysippus did not so formulate it: *cf.* Cicero, *De Fato*, 6 (12) and 8 (15), and Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Gr.* iii. 1[5], p. 108, note 5.

[c] 569 F, *infra*. Here the Stoic term is used with altered meaning.

the contingent, what is in our power, chance, and the spontaneous, and is in its turn included in providence.[a]

Providence is defined as the intellection or will or both of the primary God ; fate is the rule or law proclaimed by him to the gods who are his offspring. These gods in turn have their own intellection and will, which singly or in combination constitute secondary providence ; while the intellection and will of daemons, who are guardians of the acts of men, constitute, singly or in combination, a third kind of providence. While primary providence includes fate, tertiary providence is included in fate, and secondary providence and fate exist side by side, neither including the other. The author, however, does not insist upon this view of the relation of secondary providence to fate, but countenances another view, that secondary providence is contained in fate.[b]

The author's distinction between fate and providence, his interruption of the " chain " of causes by the introduction of antecedents that are not fated, and his assertion that fate is primarily universal serve to differentiate his view from that of the Stoics. In the final chapter he makes this difference explicit by

[a] We have here, it seems, two different sorts of inclusion : the inclusion of the possible and the rest in fate, and of our good and evil acts in the law is of one kind, whereas the inclusion of fate in providence is of another. In the former kind, the thing included is not determined or brought about by what includes it ; in the latter, the thing included is so determined and brought about.

[b] In the definition of providence as " intellection " or " will " or both, and in the inclusion in it of fate, we observe the influence of the Stoic psychology which attempted to preserve free will : as our intellection and will is free, but is the antecedent cause of fated actions, so here the intellection and will of God is free and leads to fate itself.

contrasting the Stoic view with his own and listing the arguments for each in their proper order. He nevertheless shares with the Stoics the doctrine that the universe passes through recurrent cycles, the events of each cycle being repeated in all the rest; he concedes that the argument of the "chain" may correctly apply to celestial phenomena; and he uses in his discussion a number of Stoic terms (though often with altered meanings). He agrees with the Stoics that fate is "not transgressed" (*aparabatos*) and that it "determines the course" (*diexagetai*) of everything that comes to be. Yet he gives alternate interpretations to the Stoic view that "everything conforms to fate," and in calling fate a *logos* he is using the term in a sense quite different from that intended by the Stoics. The latter meant by *logos* the "reason" of the supreme God, whom they identified with providence, nature, necessity, and the rationale of the universe; our author, to judge by the passages he cites from Plato, takes *logos* to mean "statement," "formula," or "proposition." This recasting of Stoic language and doctrine into a form acceptable to a Platonist is one of the many causes of the notorious obscurity of the treatise. Others are the condensations and omissions inevitable in an epitome, our imperfect knowledge of the views which the author is attacking, modifying, or defending, the abstruse nature of the subject, and the corruptions and lacunas in the text.[a]

[a] Our author appears to have used the Peripatetics as he used the Stoics: although he borrowed much from them, yet he differed from them on some points. But in general his views are less at variance with the Peripatetics than with the Stoics. His debt to Aristotle is especially great in his discussion of chance and the spontaneous (571 E to 572 E).

There are translations by Adrian Turnebus [a] and Hugo Grotius.[b]

The treatise does not appear in the catalogue of Lamprias, which mentions instead a lost work *On Fate*, in two books (No. 58).

The text is based on α and X. Conjectures are occasionally quoted from descendants of α: Aγ βmμσEns, and from α^{ep}, an epitome, breaking off at 569 E, on folios 273^{v} and 275^{r} of α.

Possible allusions to differences with the Peripatetics have been indicated in notes to 568 D, 569 F, and 573 A.

[a] Adriani Turnebi . . . Opera . . ., Argentorati . . . M.DC, vol. ii, pp. 48-57.

[b] Philosophorum Sententiae De Fato . . . Collectae partim, & de Graeco versae, per Hugonem Grotium. Amsterodami . . . MDCXLVIII, pp. 42-61.

(568) B

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ

Τὰ περὶ τῆς εἱμαρμένης δοκοῦντα ἡμῖν ὡς οἷόν
C τε σαφῶς καὶ συντόμως πειράσομαι ἐπιστεῖλαί σοι, φίλτατε Πείσων, ἐπειδὴ σὺ τοῦτο ἠξίωσας οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἣν ἔχω πρὸς τὸ γράφειν εὐλάβειαν.

1. Πρῶτον τοίνυν ἴσθι ὅτι εἱμαρμένη διχῶς καὶ λέγεται καὶ νοεῖται· ἡ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐνέργεια, ἡ δὲ οὐσία.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐνέργειαν τύπῳ ὑπέγραψεν ὁ Πλάτων ἔν τε τῷ Φαίδρῳ λέγων " θεσμός τε Ἀδραστείας ὅδε[1]· ἥτις ἂν ψυχὴ[2] θεῷ ξυνοπαδὸς γενομένη " ἔν τε[3] τῷ Τιμαίῳ " νόμους " οὓς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς φύσει ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ταῖς ἀθανάτοις
D ψυχαῖς· ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ " Ἀνάγκης θυγατρὸς κόρης Λαχέσεως λόγον " φησὶν εἶναι τὴν εἱμαρμένην, οὐ τραγικῶς ἀλλὰ θεολογικῶς τὸ ἀρέσκον αὐτῷ ἀποφαινόμενος. εἰ δὲ κοινότερον ἐθέλοι τις ταῦτα μεταλαβὼν ὑπογράψαι, ὡς μὲν ἐν Φαίδρῳ

[1] ὅδε Plato and a^{ep} : ὧδε. [2] ψυχὴ added from Plato. [3] ἔν τε Leonicus : ἐν δὲ.

[a] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxliii, p. 203. 9-13 (ed. Wrobel), and Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, p. 303. 9 f. (ed. Matthaei).

[b] 248 c, quoted more fully 570 A, *infra.*

[c] 41 E, quoted more fully 573 D, *infra.* [d] 617 D.

[e] " Word " translates *logos,* which is used by our author in the sense of " statement " or " proposition."

ON FATE

I shall endeavour to send you my views on fate in as clear and concise a form as possible, dear Piso, since you have asked this of me although not unaware of my scruple about writing.

The two senses of fate

1. You must know, then, to begin with, that the term "fate" is used and understood in two senses: one fate is an activity, the other, a substance.[a]

Active fate: its substance

In the first place, Plato has roughly indicated an activity (*a*) in the *Phaedrus* [b] with these words: "This is the *ordinance* of Adrasteia: if a soul have accompanied a god . . ." and (*b*) in the *Timaeus*,[c] when he speaks of the "*laws*," applying to the nature of the universe, which God proclaimed to the immortal soul; while (*c*) in the *Republic* [d] he calls fate the "*word* [e] of Lachesis, maiden daughter of Necessity," expressing his view not in high tragic style, but in the language of theology.[f] Should one wish to recast these descriptions and phrase them in more ordinary language, fate as described in the *Phaedrus* might

[f] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxliii, p. 203. 13-16 (ed. Wrobel).

(568) λέγοιτ' ἂν ἡ εἱμαρμένη λόγος θεῖος ἀπαράβατος δι' αἰτίαν ἀναπόδραστον,[1] ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ, νόμος ἀκόλουθος τῇ τοῦ παντὸς φύσει καθ' ὃν διεξάγεται τὰ γινόμενα, ὡς δ' ἐν Πολιτείᾳ, νόμος θεῖος καθ' ὃν συμπλέκεται τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τοῖς γινομένοις τὰ γενησόμενα[2]· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ[3] Λάχεσις ἐργάζεται, ἡ τῆς Ἀνάγκης ἀληθῶς θυγάτηρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον παρελάβομεν καὶ ὕστερον ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰσόμεθα ἐν τοῖς κατὰ σχολὴν λόγοις. ἥδε[4] μὲν οὖν ἡ κατ' ἐνέργειαν εἱμαρμένη.

E 2. Ἡ δὲ[5] κατ' οὐσίαν ἔοικεν εἶναι σύμπασα ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ τριχῇ διανεμηθεῖσα, εἴς τε τὴν ἀπλανῆ μοῖραν καὶ εἰς τὴν πλανᾶσθαι νομιζομένην καὶ τρίτην εἰς τὴν ὑπουράνιον τὴν περὶ γῆν ὑπάρ-

[1] ἀναπόδραστον nos (*cf.* Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. ii, p. 166. 2, and *De Anima Libri Mantissa*, p. 180. 1 Bruns; Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, p. 303. 12 Matthaei; Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 18 Wrobel; Plutarch quoted by Stobaeus, vol. i, p. 81. 26 Wachsmuth): ἀνεμπόδιστον (defended by Post, who refers to ἐμποδὼν 571 B, *infra*).

[2] ὡς δ' ἐν Πολιτείᾳ through γενησόμενα our addition from Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 22 f. (ed. Wrobel), and Aëtius, i. 28. 3, p. 328 b 19-21 (ed. Diels), to fill a lacuna indicated by Drexler.

[3] ἡ] ἔχει ἡ X (ἐκεῖ ἡ?).

[4] ἥδε *s* Turnebus: ἤδη.

[5] ἡ δὲ *s* Turnebus: τῇ.

[a] "Formula" translates *logos*.

[b] The words "while . . . present" translate a conjectural supplement. *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 17-23 (ed. Wrobel): "Possumus ergo inevitabile quidem scitum interpretari legem minime mutabilem ex inevitabili causa; leges vero quas de universae rei natura dixit animis deus, legem quae mundi sequitur naturam et qua reguntur mundana omnia; Lacheseos vero, hoc est necessitatis, orationem, divinam legem qua praeteritis et item praesentibus conectuntur futura."

be called " a divine formula [a] which, owing to a cause from which there is no escape, is not transgressed " ; as described in the *Timaeus* it would be a " law conforming to the nature of the universe, determining the course of everything that comes to pass " ; while as described in the *Republic* it is a " divine law determining the linking of future events to events past and present." [b] For this is what Lachesis, in very truth [c] the " daughter of Necessity," performs, as we learned before, and as later, in the lectures in the school, we shall know yet better. This, then, is fate in the sense of activity.[d]

Substantial fate

2. Fate as a substance appears to be the entire soul of the universe in all three of its subdivisions, the fixed portion,[e] the portion supposed to wander, and third, the portion below the heavens in the region

[c] Perhaps a glance at the Peripatetics : *cf.* Anon. *In Eth. Nic. Comm.* p. 150. 2-4 (ed. Heylbut) : εἴη δὲ ἂν καὶ ἡ εἱμαρμένη λεγομένη κατὰ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας [that is, the Peripatetics] ὑπὸ τὴν φύσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπαράβατον τὸ εἱμαρμένον οὐδ' ἀναγκαῖον. " According to these philosophers fate would be classed under nature ; for what is fated is not incapable of being transgressed and not necessary."

[d] *Cf.* the three definitions of Chrysippus in Aëtius, i. 28. 3, p. 323 (ed. Diels) : Χρύσιππος . . . πολυτρόπως ἀποφαίνεται λέγων· εἱμαρμένη ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ κόσμου λόγος, ἢ νόμος [νόμος Plutarch : λόγος Stobaeus] τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ προνοίᾳ διοικουμένων, ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν τὰ μὲν γεγονότα γέγονε, τὰ δὲ γινόμενα γίνεται, τὰ δὲ γενησόμενα γενήσεται. The terms *aparabatos* and *diexagein* both appear in Stoic accounts of fate: for the former *cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 917 f. pp. 265 f. and 1000, pp. 293 f. (ed. von Arnim) ; for the latter, Diogenes Laert. vii. 149.

[e] *Moira* (" portion ") can also mean " Fate."

(568) χουσαν· ὧν ἡ μὲν ἀνωτάτω Κλωθὼ προσαγορεύεται, ἡ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν Ἄτροπος, ἡ κατωτάτω δ' αὖ Λάχεσις, δεχομένη μὲν τὰς οὐρανίας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐνεργείας, συμπλέκουσα δὲ καὶ διαδιδοῦσα[1] ταύτας εἰς τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τεταγμένα τὰ ἐπίγεια.

Δυνάμει μὲν οὖν εἴρηται ὁποῖα χρὴ λέγεσθαι
F περὶ τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν εἱμαρμένης· καὶ γὰρ ἥτις ἐστὶ καὶ πόση τις καὶ ὁποία καὶ ὅπως τέτακται καὶ ὅπως ἔχει αὐτή τε πρὸς ἑαυτὴν καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ εἴρηται· τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα περὶ τούτων ὁ ἕτερος μῦθος, ὁ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ, μετρίως αἰνίττεται, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς δύναμίν σοι ταῦτα ἐπειράθημεν ἐξηγήσασθαι.

3. Πάλιν γε μὴν τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν εἱμαρμένην ἀναλαβόντες λέγωμεν[2]· περὶ γὰρ ταύτην[3] τὰ πολλὰ ζητήματα φυσικά τε καὶ ἠθικὰ καὶ διαλεκτικὰ τυγχάνει ὄντα. τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἐπιεικῶς ἀφώρισται· ὁποία δέ ἐστιν ἑξῆς ῥητέον, εἰ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄτοπον φαίνεται.

[1] διαδιδοῦσα σ[2] : διδοῦσα.
[2] λέγωμεν Ald.[2] Turnebus : λέγομεν.
[3] ταύτην Sieveking : ταῦτα.

[a] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 23-25 (ed. Wrobel).

[b] Literally, "receiving the celestial activities of her sisters." Mr. Post suggests that the figure is that of a reservoir (*dechomenê* in Greek).

[c] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, pp. 203. 26–204. 4 (ed. Wrobel), who assigns Atropos to the sphere of the fixed stars (*cf.* the etymologies of Chrysippus as given by Diogenianus, quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 8. 9 f.). The order of

of the earth[a]; of these the highest is called Clotho, the next Atropos, and the lowest Lachesis, who is receptive to the celestial activities of her sisters,[b] and combines and transmits them to the terrestrial regions subject to her authority.[c]

What needs to be said, then, about substantial fate has been implicitly stated, as an abridged account has been given of its substance, quantity, quality, order, and relation both to itself and to us[d]; the full account of these matters is well presented in the imagery of the second myth, that of the *Republic*,[e] and I have done my best to give you an exposition of that account.[f]

Active fate

3. But let us once more turn our attention to active fate, as the greater number of problems—physical, ethical, and dialectical—are concerned with it.[g] Its substance has been adequately defined[h]; we must next tell its quality, strange though it may appear to many.

Clotho and Atropos in our treatise depends on Plato, *Republic*, 617 c.

[d] Its substance is the soul of the universe; its quantity the triad of portions into which that soul is divided; its quality the characters of these portions; its order their sequence from highest to lowest; and its relation the dependence of Lachesis on her sisters and her authority over the earth.

[e] The first is that of the *Phaedrus* (245 c—256 e).

[f] Apparently a reference to a previous book or lecture on the myth of the *Republic*. Proclus (*In Plat. Rem Pub. Comm.* ii, p. 96. 11-13 Kroll) mentions Numenius, Albinus, Gaius, Maximus of Nicaea, Harpocration, Eucleidês, and Porphyry as expounders of this myth.

[g] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 4-6 (ed. Wrobel).

[h] 568 d, *supra*.

569 Ἀπείρων γὰρ ἐξ ἀπείρου καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ὄντων[1] τῶν γινομένων, τὰ πάντα περιβαλοῦσα ἐν κύκλῳ ἡ εἱμαρμένη οὐκ ἄπειρος ἀλλὰ πεπερασμένη ἐστίν· οὔτε γὰρ νόμος οὔτε λόγος οὔτε τι θεῖον ἄπειρον ἂν εἴη. ἔτι δ' ἂν μάθοις τὸ λεγόμενον νοήσας τήν τε ὅλην περίοδον καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα χρόνον, " ὅταν[2] τῶν ὀκτὼ περιόδων,"[3] ὥς φησιν ὁ Τίμαιος, " τὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπερανθέντα[4] τάχη σχῇ κεφαλὴν τῷ τοῦ[5] ταὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμοίως ἰόντος ἀναμετρηθέντα κύκλῳ." ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ,[6] ὡρισμένῳ τε ὄντι καὶ θεωρουμένῳ, πάντα ὅσα τε κατ' οὐρανὸν
B ἅ τ' ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄνωθεν συνίσταται πάλιν μὲν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καταστήσεται,[7] πάλιν δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ[8] τὰ αὐτὰ ὡσαύτως ἀποδοθήσεται. μόνη γοῦν ἡ κατ' οὐρανὸν σχέσις αὐτή τε πρὸς ἑαυτὴν[9] κατὰ[10] πάντα τεταγμένη πρός τε τὴν γῆν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα διὰ μακρῶν περιόδων

[1] *ὄντων* added here by Wyttenbach, after *γινομένων* in *s*.
[2] *ὅταν*] *ὅταν ἁπασῶν* Plato.
[3] *περιόδων* Plato : *ποδῶν* (*πόλων* a[ep]).
[4] *συμπερανθέντα* a[ep] E : *συμπεραθέντα*.
[5] *τοῦ* added from Plato.
[6] *χρόνῳ* Maresch from Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 18 f. (ed. Wrobel) : *λόγῳ*.
[7] *καταστήσεται* Leonicus : *κεῖται στήσεται*.
[8] *κατὰ* nos (*ὅλα κατὰ* Wyttenbach ; Post deletes) : *κεῖται*.
[9] *ἑαυτὴν* a[ep] E : *ἑαυτὸν*.
[10] *κατὰ* Vulcobius : *κεῖται*.

[a] The phrase is Stoic, doubtless from Chrysippus, as Gercke (*Chrysippea*, Index, *s.v.* *ἄπειρος*) points out : *cf.* Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. xxii, p. 192. 15-17 (ed. Bruns).
[b] " Formula " translates *logos*.
[c] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 7-11 and chap. cxlix, pp. 206. 25–207. 3 (ed. Wrobel).

Its quality

Although events are infinite, extending infinitely into the past and future,[a] fate, which encloses them all in a cycle, is nevertheless not infinite but finite, as neither a law nor a formula [b] nor anything divine can be infinite.[c] Further, you would understand what is meant if you should apprehend the entire revolution and the complete sum of time, " when," as Timaeus says, " the speeds of the eight revolutions, completing their courses relatively to one another, are measured by the circuit of the Same and Uniformly moving and come to a head." [d] For in this time, which is definite and knowable,[e] everything in the heavens and everything on earth whose production is necessary and due to celestial influences, will once again be restored to the same state and once more be produced anew in the same way and manner.[f] Thus the arrangement of the heavenly bodies, the only one in all respects ordered both in relation to itself and to the earth and all things terrestrial, will eventually return, at intervals composed of long

[d] Plato, *Timaeus*, 39 D; *cf.* also Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 12-18 (ed. Wrobel). Plato means that the " Complete Year " has elapsed when the eight bodies—the moon, sun, Venus and Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the sphere of the fixed stars—all return to the same relative position. This " great year " could be discovered by finding the least common multiple of the eight revolutions. The words " are measured by the circuit of the Same and Uniformly moving " mean that the great year must contain an integral number of sidereal days.

[e] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 20 (52).

[f] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 18-22 (ed. Wrobel). This is the Stoic *apokatastasis*, or return of the cosmos to its former state: *cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 599, p. 184. 35 (ed. von Arnim), and Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, pp. 309. 4–310. 3 (ed. Matthaei).

(569) *πάλιν ἐπανήξει ποτέ· αἵ*[1] *τε μετ' αὐτὴν ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλλήλαις*[2] *ἐχομένως παρέψονται,*[3] *ἑκάστη τὰ αὑτῆς ἐξ ἀνάγκης φέρουσαι. (ἔστω δὲ πρὸς τὸ σαφὲς τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς νῦν ὄντων ὅτι οὐ συμβαίνει δι' αὐτῶν τῶν*[4] *οὐρανίων ὡς πάντων αἰτίων*[5] *ὄντων* C *καὶ τὸ ἐμὲ γράφειν νυνὶ τάδε καὶ ὡδὶ σέ τε πράττειν ἅπερ καὶ ὅπως τυγχάνεις πράττων.) πάλιν τοίνυν ἐπειδὰν ἡ αὐτὴ ἀφίκηται αἰτία τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι πράξομεν,*[6] *οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι· καὶ τά τε*[7] *ἑξῆς κατὰ τὴν ἑξῆς αἰτίαν γενήσεται καὶ πραχθήσεται καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ*[8] *μίαν τὴν ὅλην περίοδον καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ὅλων ὡσαύτως ἀποδοθήσεται. φανερὸν τοίνυν ἤδη ὅ τι ἔφαμεν, τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἄπειρον τρόπον τινὰ οὖσαν μὴ ἄπειρον εἶναι, καὶ τό γε ῥηθέν, ὅτι κύκλος τίς ἐστι, μετρίως που κατῶπται· ὡς γὰρ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κύκλου κίνησις ὅ τε ταύτην παραμετρῶν χρόνος*[9] *κύκλος τίς ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν κατὰ κύκλον γινομένων ὁ λόγος κύκλος ἂν νομισθείη.*

D 4. *Σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὁποῖόν τι τυγχάνει ἡ εἱμαρμένη, πλὴν οὐχ ἥ γε κατὰ*[10] *μέρος*

[1] *αἵ* E : *ἥ*.
[2] *ἀλλήλαις* Leonicus (*ἀλλήλων* Post) : *ἄλληλα*.
[3] *παρέψονται* Post (*παρέσονται* Wyttenbach ; *advenient* Grotius ; *παραδέχονται* Drexler) : *παρέχονται*.
[4] *συμβαίνει δι' αὐτῶν τῶν* nos (following Post's *συμβαίνει διὰ τῶν*) : *συμβαίνειν αὐτῶν*.
[5] *αἰτίων* nos : *αἰτιῶν*.
[6] *πράξομεν* A² E : *πράξωμεν* a X.
[7] *τ'* Wilamowitz (that is, *τε* or *θ'*) : *γε*.
[8] *κατὰ* Leonicus : *κεῖται*.
[9] *χρόνος* s : *χρόνου*.
[10] *κατὰ* Turnebus : *κεῖται*.

[a] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 22-24 (ed. Wrobel).

revolutions ; and those arrangements that come after it in a series and are contiguous to one another, will occur in contiguous fashion, each bringing with itself of necessity its own set of events.[a] (Be it noted, however, to make our present situation clear, that my writing these words at this moment as I write them, and your doing what you happen to be doing as you happen to be doing it are not events brought about by the agency of the heavenly bodies alone as causes of everything.)[b] And so, when the same cause returns again, we shall, once more becoming the same persons, do the same things and in the same way, and so will all men besides ; and what comes next in order will come into existence and be done in accordance with the cause that comes next in order, and everything that is found in a single entire revolution will be repeated in similar fashion in each of the entire revolutions as well.[c] And so it is now plain what we meant by our statement that fate, although in a way infinite, is not infinite ; and our remark[d] that it is a sort of cycle has, I take it, been adequately understood : for just as the movement of a cycle and the time which measures that movement are cycles, so too the formula[e] of cyclical events would be considered a cycle.[f]

4. Even this treatment, then, I venture to say, shows the quality of fate, except that it does not tell

[b] That is, the heavenly bodies influence us, but we are also causes in our own right. This statement excludes astrological determinism.

[c] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, p. 310. 3-10 (ed. Matthaei).

[d] 569 A, *supra.*

[e] " Formula " translates *logos.*

[f] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cxlix, pp. 206. 25–207. 6 (ed. Wrobel).

(569) οὐδ' ἡ[1] καθ' ἕκαστα. ποία τις οὖν καὶ ἥδε κατ' αὖ τόδε[2] τὸ εἶδος τοῦ λόγου; ἔστι τοίνυν, ὡς ἄν τις εἰκάσαι, οἷος ὁ πολιτικὸς νόμος, ὅς[3] πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πλεῖστα, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, ἐξ ὑποθέσεως προστάττει, ἔπειτα μὴν καθόλου τὰ πόλει προσήκοντα εἰς δύναμιν περιλαμβάνει.

Πάλιν δὴ τούτων ἑκάτερον ὁποῖόν τί ἐστι σκεπτέον.

Ἀκολούθως τοίνυν ὁ πολιτικὸς νόμος περί τε ἀριστέως καὶ λιποτάκτου διαλέγεται καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ τοῦδε ἢ τοῦδ' ὃ[4]
E νόμιμόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ[5] μὲν καθόλου προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ ὑποπίπτοντα τούτῳ[6] ἑπομένως. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τιμῆσαι τόνδε τινὰ ἠριστευκότα καὶ τὸ κολάσαι τόνδε τινὰ λιποτακτήσαντα νόμιμον ἂν φήσαιμεν, ὡς δυνάμει καὶ περὶ τούτων διατεταγμένου τοῦ νόμου, ὃν τρόπον ὁ ἰατρικὸς καὶ ὁ γυμναστικὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν νόμος δυνάμει τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τοῖς ὅλοις συμπεριλαμβάνει· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος τὰ μὲν καθόλου προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ καθ'
F ἕκαστα ἑπομένως. ἔστι τε εἱμαρμένα τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, ὄντα[7] ἐκείνοις συνειμαρμένα.

[1] ἡ] ᾗ E^c.
[2] κατ' αὖ τόδε K. F. Hermann (κατὰ τόδε Wyttenbach) : κατ' αὐτὸ δὲ (κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ s). [3] ὅς added by Wyttenbach.
[4] τοῦδ' ὃ nos (τοῦδ' ᾗ Wyttenbach) : τοῦδε.
[5] τὸ nos : τά.
[6] τούτῳ s (τούτοις Wilamowitz) : τούτων.
[7] πάντα, ὄντα nos (ὄντα Wyttenbach) : πάντα.

[a] *Cf.* Albinus, *Epitome*, chap. xxvi. 1-2; Porphyry, *On the Things in Our Power*, quoted in Stobaeus, vol. ii, p. 169. 3-20 (ed. Wachsmuth); Oenomaüs, *The Charlatans Detected*, quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 7. 32 f.; Aristeides Quintilianus, *On Music*, iii. 26, p. 96. 8-12 (ed. Jahn).

of that fate which is particular or individual. What, then, is the quality of this fate, considered in turn as this kind of formula? It is, we may conjecture, of the quality of the law of a state, which in the first place promulgates most, if not all, of its commands as consequents of hypotheses,[a] and secondly, so far as it can, embraces all the concerns of a state in the form of universal statements.

Let us go on to examine in turn the meaning of these two points.

The universality of fate

The law of a state uses the form of a supposition and its conclusion [b] to speak of a "soldier distinguishing himself in action" and of a "deserter," and so with the rest; it does not lay down the law for this or that individual, but speaks primarily of the general case, and only secondarily of what comes under it.[c] Thus we should say that it is lawful to honour this particular man who has distinguished himself in action, and to punish this other who has deserted his post, on the ground that the law has potentially provided for them, just as the "law" (if one may use the expression) of medicine and of gymnastics [d] embraces the particular cases potentially in its general provisions; so also the law of nature, while dealing with universals primarily, deals secondarily with particulars. The latter too are all fated after a fashion, since they are co-fated with the former. Perhaps a

[b] That is, it uses a statement of the form: if p, then q: *cf. akolouthia*, 570 A, *infra*.

[c] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clxxix, p. 228. 20 f. (ed. Wrobel).

[d] For the relation of statesmanship and legislation to medicine and gymnastics *cf.* Plato, *Gorgias*, 464 B-C.

(569) τάχα δ' ἄν τις τῶν ἄγαν ἀκριβολογουμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοὐναντίον φαίη προηγούμενα συντετάχθαι τὰ[1] καθ' ἕκαστα εἶναί[2] τε τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ καθόλου, προηγεῖται[3] δὲ τῶν ἕνεκά του τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις σκεπτέον· ὅτι δὲ οὐ πάντα καθαρῶς οὐδὲ διαρρήδην ἡ εἱμαρμένη περιέχει, ἀλλ' ὅσα καθόλου, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥηθὲν πρός τε τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον καὶ
570 τὸν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν χώραν ἔχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡρισμένον οἰκεῖον[4] τῇ θείᾳ φρονήσει ἐν τῷ καθόλου μᾶλλον θεωρεῖται (τοιοῦτος μέντοι γε ὁ θεῖος νόμος καὶ ὁ πολιτικός[5]), τὸ δ' ἄπειρον ἐν τῷ καθ' ἕκαστα.

Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα οἷον μέν ἐστι τὸ[6] ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, ὅτι δὲ τοιοῦτον καὶ ἡ εἱμαρμένη, ὡρίσθω.[7]

Ἐξ ὑποθέσεως δὴ ἔφαμεν τὸ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τιθέμενον, ἀλλά πως[8] ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑποτεθέν, ὁπόσα ἀκολουθίαν σημαίνει· "θεσμός τε Ἀδραστείας ὅδε· ἥτις ἂν ψυχὴ θεῷ[9] συνοπαδὸς

[1] τὰ a²ᵐᵍ : καί. [2] εἶναί Wyttenbach : ἕν.
[3] προηγεῖται] προηγεῖσθαι Wyttenbach.
[4] οἰκεῖον] οἰκεῖον ὂν Post.
[5] τοιοῦτος μέντοι γε ὁ θεῖος νόμος καὶ ὁ πολιτικός Wyttenbach : τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ θεῖος νόμος· ὁ μέντοι γε πολιτικὸς (for ὁ μ. γε s has καὶ μ. γε ὁ).
[6] ἐστι τὸ Pohlenz : ἐστιν.
[7] ὁρίσθω (that is, ὡρίσθω) Wyttenbach : οἰέσθω.
[8] πως Wyttenbach : πρὸς.
[9] θεῷ added from Plato.

[a] Such a view is attributed to Boëthus and Alexander the Peripatetics : *cf.* Dexippus, *In Aristot. Cat. Comm.* ii. 12, p. 45. 12-31 (ed. Busse), and Simplicius, *In Aristot. Cat. Comm.* chap. v, p. 82. 22 f. (ed. Kalbfleisch).

stickler for precision in such matters might insist that on the contrary it is the particulars that have priority,[a] and that the universal exists for their sake —the end being prior to what serves it. But these questions have their place elsewhere, whereas the statement that fate does not contain everything plainly or expressly, but only universals, when made at this point, is properly placed both in respect of the point made shortly before [b] and of the one that is now to be made : the determinate, which is appropriate to divine wisdom, is seen rather in the universal—and the divine law and the political are of this description —while the unlimited is seen in the particular.

The hypothetical character of fate

Let us next determine the character of what is a " consequent of an hypothesis," and show that fate is of that character.[c]

We meant by " consequent of an hypothesis " that which is not laid down independently, but in some fashion is really " subjoined " [d] to something else, wherever there is an expression implying that if one thing is true, another follows : " this is the ordinance of Adrasteia : if a soul have accompanied a god and

[b] 569 A, *supra.*

[c] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, pp. 304. 7–305. 1 (ed. Matthaei). Chalcidius (chaps. cl-clii, pp. 207-210 Wrobel) uses *ex praecessione* for the καθ' ὑπόθεσιν of Nemesius, and *secundum praecessionem* or *iuxta praecessionem* (in chap. cl, p. 208. 1-6 Wrobel the MSS. appear to vary between *secundum praecessionem* and *secundum concessionem*) for his ἐξ ὑποθέσεως. *Cf.* Willy Theiler in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll*, pp. 72 f.

[d] *Hypothesis* has the literal sense of " putting under " or " subjoining."

(570) γενομένη κατίδῃ τι τῶν ἀληθῶς,[1] μέχρι τε[2] τῆς ἑτέρας περιόδου εἶναι ἀπήμονα, κἂν ἀεὶ δύνηται
B τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀεὶ[3] ἀβλαβῆ εἶναι." τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἅμα καὶ καθόλου. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ εἱμαρμένη τοιοῦτον τυγχάνει ὂν ἔκ τε τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας δῆλον· εἱμαρμένη τε γὰρ προσαγορεύεται ὡς ἂν εἰρομένη τις· θεσμὸς δὲ καὶ νόμος ὑπάρχει τῷ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς γινομένοις πολιτικῶς διατετάχθαι.

5. Ἑξῆς δὲ σκεπτέον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ πρός τι· πῶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πρόνοιαν ἡ εἱμαρμένη ἔχει, πῶς δὲ πρὸς τὴν τύχην καὶ τό τε[4] ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον[5] καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ διωρίσθω πῇ μὲν ἀληθές, πῇ δὲ ψεῦδος τὸ "πάντα καθ' εἱμαρμένην."

C Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐν τῇ εἱμαρμένῃ πάντα περιέχεσθαι δηλοῖ, συγχωρητέον εἶναι ἀληθές (εἴτε[6] ὅσα περὶ[7] ἀνθρώπους εἴτε περὶ[8] γῆν ἅπαντα εἴτε κατ' οὐρανὸν γινόμενα βούλεταί τις ἐν τῇ εἱμαρμένῃ τίθεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν συγκεχωρήσθω)· εἰ δ', ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμφαίνει, τὸ καθ' εἱμαρμένην

[1] ἀληθῶς (*cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clii, p. 209. 19 Wrobel)] ἀληθῶν Plato.
[2] τε added from Plato. [3] ἀεὶ added from Plato.
[4] τε nos: γε. [5] ἐνδεχόμενον Victorius: ἐπιδεχόμενον.
[6] εἴτε] εἴ θ' Sieveking. [7] περὶ a: παρὰ X.
[8] περὶ a: παρὰ X (κατὰ Sieveking).

[a] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248 c. Chalcidius, chap. clii, pp. 209 f. (ed. Wrobel) makes a similar use of the same quotation.
[b] This is Chrysippus' etymology: *cf.* Diogenianus, quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 8. 8.

beheld aught of reality, *it shall suffer nought until the next revolution*, and if able to do so ever, *it shall ever go unscathed*." [a] What is both consequent upon an hypothesis and universal is, then, of the description given above. That fate is actually of this description is evident from its substance alone and from its name: it is called fate (*heimarmenê*) as being a thing concatenated (*eiromenê*) [b]; and it is an ordinance and a law because it has laid down the consequences which follow upon occurrences, as in the legislation of a state.

The relations of active fate

5. We must next examine what comes under the heading of relation—how fate stands in relation to providence on the one hand, and on the other to chance, to what is in our power and the contingent, and to the like; we must moreover distinguish in what way the dictum "everything conforms to fate" is true, and in what way false.[c]

Examination of the dictum "Everything conforms to fate"

Now (*a*) if the statement means that everything is contained *in* fate, we must grant that it is true (whether it is all human events, or all terrestrial or all celestial events one wishes to place *in* fate, let us for the present [d] grant these points too); but (*b*) if the expression "conforming to fate," as would rather seem to be its implication, designates not everything,

[c] The topics are discussed in the reverse order of their listing here. This is a mannerism of our author.

[d] The author has in mind his later discussion of the relation of the secondary providence of the astral gods to fate (574 B-D, *infra*).

(570) *οὐχ ἅπαντα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον*[1] *τὸ ἑπόμενον αὐτῇ*[2] *σημαίνει, οὐ πάντα ῥητέον καθ' εἱμαρμένην, οὐδ' εἰ καθ' εἱμαρμένην*[3] *πάντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ νόμιμα οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ὁπόσα περιείληφεν ὁ νόμος· καὶ γὰρ προδοσίαν καὶ λιποταξίαν καὶ μοιχείαν καὶ*
D *πολλὰ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα περιλαμβάνει, ὧν οὐδὲν ἄν τις εἴποι νόμιμον, ὁπότε οὐδὲ τὸ ἀριστεῦσαι ἢ τυραννοκτονῆσαι ἤ τι ἄλλο κατορθῶσαι φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε νόμιμον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δὴ νόμιμον πρόσταγμα νόμου ἐστί· τὸ*[4] *δ' εἴπερ ὁ νόμος προστάττει, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπειθοῖεν καὶ παρανομοῖεν οἵ γε μὴ ἀριστεύοντες καὶ τυραννοκτονοῦντες καὶ ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ κατορθοῦσιν; ἢ πῶς, εἰ παράνομοι οἵδε, οὐ δίκαιον κολάζειν τοὺς τοιούτους; εἴ γε μὴν ταῦτα λόγον*[5] *οὐκ ἔχει, μόνα ῥητέον νόμιμά τε καὶ κατὰ νόμον τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὁρισθέντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν πραττομένοις· μόνα δὲ εἱμαρμένα*
E *καὶ καθ' εἱμαρμένην τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἐν τῇ θείᾳ διατάξει προηγησαμένοις. ὥστε πάντα μὲν τὰ γινόμενα ἡ εἱμαρμένη περιλαμβάνει, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ σχεδὸν ὅσα προηγεῖται οὐκ ὀρθὸν λέγειν*[6] *καθ' εἱμαρμένην.*

6. Τούτων *δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἑξῆς ῥητέον ὡς τό γ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ τύχη, τό τε δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, καὶ τὰ τούτων συγγενῆ, ταχθέντα ἐν τοῖς προηγουμένοις, αὐτά*[7] *τε σῴζοιτ' ἂν καὶ τὴν*

[1] *μόνον* $\beta^{1?ss}$ σ^2 *ς* : *μένον.*
[2] *αὐτῇ* Pohlenz (omit ?) : *αὐτῷ.*
[3] *καθ' εἱμαρμένην*] *κἂν εἱμαρμένῃ* Sandbach.
[4] *τὸ*] *τὰ* Pohlenz. [5] *ταῦτα λόγον*] *λόγον ταῦτα* X[1].

but only the consequences of fate, we must not say that everything conforms to fate, even if "everything conforms to fate."[a] For neither is everything included in law "lawful" or "in conformity with law"; for law includes treason, desertion, adultery, and a good many other things of the sort, none of which one would term lawful; indeed I should not even call an act of valour, the slaying of a tyrant, or the performance of any other right action lawful. For the lawful is what the law enjoins; but if the law enjoins such conduct, how then can we deny that persons who display no valour, slay no tyrant, and perform no such right action, disobey and violate it? Or how, if such persons are lawbreakers, is it not right to punish them? If, however, all this is unreasonable, we must call "lawful" and "in conformity with law" only what the law determines as applicable to any action performed, whatever its character; and we must call "fated" and "in conformity with fate" only the consequents of antecedents in the divine appointment of things.[b] Fate, then, includes everything that occurs, but much of what is thus included, and I might say all antecedents, could not rightly be said to be in conformity with fate.[c]

6. Such being the case with these matters, we must next discuss how it is that what is in our power and chance, the possible and the contingent, and what is akin to these, by being classed among antecedents, might find a place themselves and leave a place in

[a] That is, in the sense given to the dictum in (*a*).
[b] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clxxix, p. 228. 9-25 (ed. Wrobel).
[c] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. cli, p. 209. 5-8 (ed. Wrobel).

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[6] *ὀρθὸν λέγειν* Turnebus: *ὀρθολογεῖν*.
[7] *αὐτά* Wyttenbach (*ipsa* Turnebus): *ταὐτά*.

(570) εἱμαρμένην σῴζοι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἱμαρμένη πάντα περιέχει καθάπερ καὶ δοκεῖ· τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης
F γενήσεται, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν οἷον καὶ πέφυκεν εἶναι.

Πέφυκε δὲ τὸ δύνατὸν ὡς γένος προϋφεστάναι τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, τὸ δὲ[1] ἐνδεχόμενον ὡς ὕλη τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν προϋποκεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὡς κύριον χρῆσθαι τῷ ἐνδεχομένῳ· ἡ δὲ τύχη παρεμπίπτει τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ῥοπὴν τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου. μάθοις δ' ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον σαφῶς ἐννοήσας ὡς τὸ γινόμενον ἅπαν καὶ ἡ γένεσις αὐτὴ οὐ δίχα
571 δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ δύναμις οὐκ ἄνευ οὐσίας (οἷον τὸ δι' ἀνθρώπου,[2] εἴτε γένεσις εἴτε γενητόν, οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς δυνάμεως, αὕτη δὲ περὶ ἄνθρωπον, οὐσία δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος). ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μεταξὺ οὔσης ἡ μὲν οὐσία δυνάμενον, ἡ δὲ γένεσις καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἄμφω δυνατά. τριῶν τοίνυν τούτων,

[1] δὲ added here by *s* Leonicus; after ἐνδεχόμενον in *μ*.
[2] τὸ δι' ἀνθρώπου is our supplement of a lacuna of 19 letters in *a* X (ἀνθρώπου Ald.[2]).

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[a] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clxxvii, pp. 226. 23–227. 1 (ed. Wrobel).

[b] "Prior in reality" (*prohyphestanai*) implies the terms "subsist" (*hyphestanai*) and "subsistence" (*hypostasis*). Galen (*Instit. Logica*, p. 7. 19-22 Kalbfleisch) asserts that in his day "subsist," "exist" (*hyparchein*), and "be" were synonymous; other writers observe a difference, as Chrysippus, who said (*Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 509, 518, pp. 164. 27, 165. 35) that present time "exists" while time past and future merely "subsist." Our author seems to use the word in the sense of real existence (*cf.* Porphyry, *Isagogê*, p. 1. 9-13 Busse), implying thereby that what is universal and

turn for fate. For fate contains them all, as indeed it is held to do ; yet these things will not occur necessarily, but each will follow its own nature in its manner of occurrence.[a]

The possible

It is the nature of the possible, as genus, to be prior in reality[b] to the contingent[c] ; of the contingent, as matter, to be prior as substrate to the things which are in our power ; of what lies in our power, as sovereign, to make use of the contingent ; and chance is incidental to what is in our power because of the variation of the contingent in either direction.[d] You will apprehend my meaning clearly if you reflect that everything that comes to pass, as well as the process itself of coming to pass, is always accompanied with potency,[e] and potency with a substance. For example, what comes about through the agency of man, whether we take the process or the thing which has been brought to pass, is never found without the potency which produces it ; this is found in man ; and man is a substance. It is owing to the potency, which is intermediate,[f] that the substance is potent, and the process of coming to pass and the thing which comes to pass are both possible. Of these three, then,

what is intangible has a higher reality than what is particular or concrete.

[c] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clv, p. 211. 12-14 (ed. Wrobel).

[d] *Cf.* 572 E, *infra* ; Chalcidius, chap. clxii, p. 217. 24 f. (ed. Wrobel) ; Albinus, *Epitome*, chap. xxvi. 3.

[e] *Dynamis* (" potency ") can also be translated " capacity " or " capability."

[f] Between the substance on the one hand and the process of coming to pass and the thing that comes to pass on the other.

(571) δυνάμεως καὶ δυναμένου καὶ δυνατοῦ, δυνάμεως μὲν ὡς τὸ[1] εἶναι προϋπόκειται τὸ δυνάμενον, δυνατοῦ δὲ ἡ δύναμις προϋφίσταται. σαφὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ οὕτως τὸ δυνατόν· τύπῳ δ' ἂν ἀφορισθείη κοινότερον μὲν τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν πεφυκὸς γίνεσθαι, κυριώτερον δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁπόταν μηδὲν ἔξωθεν
B ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι ἐμποδών.

Τῶν δὲ δυνατῶν τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἂν κωλυθείη ποτέ, ὥσπερ τὰ κατ' οὐρανόν, ἀνατολαὶ καὶ δύσεις καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια· τὰ δὲ οἷά τε κωλυθῆναί ἐστιν, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μεταρσίων. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρότερα ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γινόμενα ἀναγκαῖα προσαγορεύεται, ἃ[2] δὲ πρὸς[3] τοὐναντίον ἐπιδέχεται ἐνδεχόμενα. ἀφορίζοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ κατὰ[4] ταῦτα· τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, δυνατὸν τὸ ἀντικείμενον ἀδυνάτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενον, δυνατὸν οὗ καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δυνατόν.[5]
C τὸ μὲν γὰρ καταδῦναι τὸν ἥλιον ἀναγκαῖόν τε ἅμα καὶ δυνατόν· ἀντίκειται ἀδύνατον τὸ μὴ καταδῦναι·

[1] τὸ] τῷ?
[2] ἃ s: τὰ.
[3] πρὸς a^2 X (a lacuna of 7 letters in a^1; πως Bern.; καὶ s; καὶ πρὸς?).
[4] καὶ κατὰ nos (*ad hunc quoque modum* Turnebus; κατὰ Pohlenz): καὶ.
[5] δυνατόν s Leonicus: ἀδύνατον.

[a] The potent and potency are apparently regarded as relatives, and as such neither is prior to the other; but the potent, in its quality of substance, is prior to potency. *Cf.* Ammonius' discussion (*In Porphyrii Isagogen*, pp. 47. 6–48. 10 Busse) of the priority of genus to species, where, as relatives the two are "simultaneous," while as substances, the genus is prior to the species.

potency, the potent, and the possible, the potent, in its quality of substance,[a] is prior as substrate to potency, while potency is prior in reality to the possible. It is plain, then, even from this statement, what the possible is; it might, however, be roughly defined in two ways: in a looser fashion as that whose nature it is to occur in conformity with potency,[b] while we might define it more strictly by adding the clause "when there is nothing outside it interfering with its occurrence." [c]

The contingent

Of things possible some can never be prevented, as celestial phenomena—risings and settings and the like—whereas others are preventible, as for example much of what pertains to man and many meteorological phenomena [d] as well. The former sort, as occurring *necessarily*, are termed necessary; while those things which in addition allow (*epidechetai*) their contrary are contingent (*endechomena*).[e] They might also be defined as follows: the necessary is the possible whose opposite is impossible; whereas the contingent is the possible whose opposite is also possible. Thus, that the sun should set is necessary as well as possible—it has an opposite, its not setting,

[b] With the preceding discussion of potency *cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 287. 2-10 (ed. Matthaei).

[c] *Cf.* the Stoic view in Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. x, p. 176. 15 f. (ed. Bruns): *δυνατὸν μὲν εἶναι γενέσθαι τοῦτο ὃ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κωλύεται γενέσθαι, κἂν μὴ γένηται* . . . "that thing is capable [literally "possible"] of occurring which nothing prevents from occurring, even if it does not occur."

[d] For this use of *metarsia cf.* Achilles, *Isagoga*, chap. xxxii, p. 68. 1-6 (ed. Maass).

[e] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, pp. 287. 14–288. 2 (ed. Matthaei).

(571) τὸ δὲ καταδύντος ἡλίου ὄμβρον γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι[1] ἀμφότερα δυνατὰ καὶ ἐνδεχόμενα.

Πάλιν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπ' ἔλαττον, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπίσης καὶ ὁπότερον ἔτυχεν· τοῦτο μὲν φανερὸν ὡς αὐτὸ αὑτῷ ἀντιτέτακται, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἀλλήλοις· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει τὸ πλεῖστον, ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ[2] τὸ ἐπίσης. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ κύνα καῦμα ἢ ψῦχος, ὧν τὸ μὲν[3] ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, τὸ δ' ὡς ἐπ' ἔλαττον, τῇ φύσει ἄμφω ὑποτέτακται·
D τὸ δὲ περιπατεῖν καὶ μὴ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ὧν ἑκάτερον ἐπίσης,[4] τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ὁρμῇ ὑποτέτακται, ὃ δὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν λέγεται. γενικώτερον δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν· δύο γὰρ ἔχει[5] εἴδη, τό τε ἐκ πάθους καὶ θυμοῦ ἢ ἐπιθυμίας τό τε ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ ἢ διανοίας, ὅπερ ἤδη κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἄν[6] τις εἴποι. ἔχει δὲ λόγον μὴ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦτο ὅπερ καθ' ὁρμὴν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν

[1] *καὶ* (*ἢ* s) *μὴ γενέσθαι* added by s Leonicus.
[2] *δὲ* Gercke : *τε*.
[3] *ὧν τὸ μὲν* added by Wyttenbach (*τὸ μὲν* Leonicus).
[4] *ἐπίσης* Maresch, Gercke : *ἐπὶ*.
[5] *ἔχει* Wyttenbach : *εἶναι*, perhaps rightly.
[6] *ἄν* added by Bern.

[a] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 288. 2-4 (ed. Matthaei). The same threefold division of the contingent is found in Ammonius, *In Aristot. De Int. Comm.* chap. ix, p. 142. 1-5 (ed. Busse); *cf.* also his remark (*ibid.* p. 143. 3-6) that only to the ἐπ' ἴσης is the phrase ὁπότερον ἔτυχε applied.

[b] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 286. 13 f. and chap. xl, p. 318. 4 f. (ed. Matthaei); Ammonius, *ibid.* chap. ix, p. 143. 1 f. (ed. Busse).

which is impossible ; whereas the falling and not falling of rain after sunset are both of them possible and contingent.

What is in our power

Again, in the case of the contingent, one form occurs usually, another is unusual, and another is as usual as its opposite and an " even chance." [a] This last is evidently opposed to itself, whereas the usual and the unusual are opposite to each other ; and the latter are for the most part determined by nature, while the form which is as usual as its opposite is in our power.[b] Thus, that during the dog days there should be hot weather or cold weather,[c] the former of which is usual, the latter, unusual, is in both cases under the control of nature ; whereas walking and not walking and the like, either of which is as usual as its opposite, are under the control of human impulse, and what is under its control is said to lie in our power and be a matter of choice.[d] Of these what is in our power is the more general, as it has two species, the one comprising actions proceeding from passion—anger or desire, the other, actions that proceed from calculation or thought, in which last case we may now speak of " a matter of choice." It is reasonable that the form of the " possible and contingent " which has been said to conform to our impulse and lie in our power should, in a different

[c] The same example appears in Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 8 (199 a 2 f.), and *Metaphysics*, xi. 8 (1064 b 36 f.).

[d] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 288. 2-11 (ed. Matthaei), and for the whole preceding discussion of the possible and the contingent Chalcidius, chaps. clv-clvi, pp. 211. 11–212. 12 (ed. Wrobel).

(571) εἴρηται τὸ[1] αὐτὸ κατ' ἄλλο λέγεσθαι[2]· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον δυνατόν τε καὶ ἐνδεχόμενον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τε καὶ καθ' ὁρμήν. ἀφορίζοιτο δ' ἂν ὧδε· τὸ μὲν ἐνδεχόμενον ὅπερ αὐτό τε δυνατὸν[3] καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
E θάτερον μέρος τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὁρμὴν ἤδη γινόμενον.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸ δυνατὸν τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου πρότερον τῇ φύσει, τὸ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προϋφίσταται, καὶ οἷον αὐτῶν τυγχάνει ὂν ἕκαστον καὶ πόθεν ὀνομάζεται καὶ τά γε παρακείμενα αὐτοῖς, σχεδὸν εἴρηται.

7. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ ταῦτα θεωρεῖται νῦν ἡμῖν λεκτέον.

Αἴτιον μὲν δή τι ἡ τύχη. τῶν δὲ αἰτίων τὰ μὲν καθ' αὐτά, τὰ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός· οἷον οἰκίας ἢ νεὼς καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν αἴτιον τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν καὶ τὸ
F ναυπηγικόν, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ τὸ μουσικὸν ἢ γεωμετρικόν, καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν τῷ οἰκοδομικῷ ἢ ναυπηγικῷ εἴδει συμβεβήκῃ,[4] εἴτε κατὰ σῶμα εἴτε

[1] τὸ Schwartz : μὴ τό.
[2] <καὶ ἄλλο ?> λέγεσθαι nos : λέγεται (λέγηται E[1ss]).
[3] δυνατὸν added here by us, by Pohlenz after ὅπερ.
[4] συμβεβήκῃ Stephanus : συμβεβήκει.

[a] This distinction is no doubt meant to answer the contention that the contingent is concerned exclusively with the future, for which *cf.* Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. xxvi, p. 197. 12-15 (ed. Bruns).

[b] Natural priority appears here to refer to the priority of genus to species: *cf.* Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, v. 11 (1019 a 2-4); Alexander, *In Aristot. Metaph. Comm.* p. 384. 35 (ed.

connexion, be spoken of under a different name; for in connexion with the future it is called "possible and contingent," in connexion with the present, "in our power" and "in conformity with our impulse." [a] They might be defined as follows: the contingent is that which is both possible itself and has a possible opposite, whereas what is in our power is one of the two parts of the contingent, namely, the one that is already occurring in conformity with our impulse.

Our discussion of the natural priority [b] of the possible to the contingent, of the real priority [c] of the contingent to what is in our power, of their respective characters, of the sources of their names, and of related matters, is now, I trust, complete.

7. We must now speak of chance and the spontaneous and matters the theory of which depends on these.[d]

Chance

Chance is a kind of cause.[e] Of causes some are essential,[f] some accidental; thus skill in housebuilding and skill in shipbuilding are essential causes of a house or of a ship, whereas skill in music or in geometry, and everything accidental, whether in the body, in the soul, or in externals, to the housebuilding

Hayduck); Simplicius, *In Aristot. Cat. Comm.* chap. xii, pp. 421. 12, 422. 21-24 (ed. Kalbfleisch); Dexippus, *In Aristot. Cat. Comm.* ii. 11, p. 45. 5-11 (ed. Busse).

[c] For "real priority" *cf.* note on 570 F, *supra*. The contingent appears to be prior in reality to free will (τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν) and prior as substrate to the things which we are free to do (τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν).

[d] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clviii, p. 213. 14-18 (ed. Wrobel).

[e] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 4 (195 b 31); Aëtius, i. 29. 3, p. 326 b 16 (ed. Diels).

[f] Literally, *per se*.

(571) κατὰ ψυχὴν εἴτε κατὰ τὰ ἐκτός. ὅθεν καὶ δῆλον ὡς τὸ καθ' αὑτὸ ὡρισμένον καὶ ἕν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ
572 συμβεβηκὸς οὐχ ἕν τε καὶ ἀόριστον· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄπειρα τῷ ἑνὶ ὑπάρχει παντάπασιν ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα. τὸ μέντοι κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ὅταν μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἕνεκά του γίγνηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν οἷς ἡ προαίρεσις, τότε δὴ καὶ τὸ[1] ἀπὸ τύχης προσαγορεύεται· οἷον τὸ εὑρεῖν χρυσίον σκάπτοντα ἵνα φυτεύσῃ, ἢ παθεῖν τι ἢ δρᾶσαι τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἔθος φεύγοντα ἢ διώκοντα ἢ ἄλλως βαδίζοντα ἢ αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιστραφέντα οὐ τούτου ἕνεκα ὅπερ συνέπεσεν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινὸς χάριν. διὸ καὶ ἀπρονόητον αἰτίαν καὶ ἄδηλον ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ τὴν τύχην ἀπέδοσαν τῶν παλαιῶν ἔνιοι. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς
B ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος, ἔγγιον ἔτι προσιόντας αὐτῆς τῷ λόγῳ, οὕτως ἀφώρισται ἡ τύχη· αἰτία κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς τῶν ἕνεκά του ἐν τοῖς κατὰ προαίρεσιν· ἔπειτα ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἀπρονόητον καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ προστιθέασιν (καίτοι γε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ σπάνιον καὶ παράλογον ἐμφαίνεται τῷ κατὰ συμβεβηκός). οἷον δέ ἐστι τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ

[1] τὸ] omitted in n.

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[a] The form is in the mind of the artisan: *cf.* Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, vii. 7 (1032 a 32–b 1).

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 5 (196 b 24-27), and Chalcidius, chap. clviii, p. 213. 24 f. (ed. Wrobel).

[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 5 (196 b 27-29).

[d] The example comes ultimately from Aristotle: *cf. Eth. Nic.* iii. 5 (1112 a 27), *Metaphysics*, v. 30 (1025 a 15 f.).

[e] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 5 (197 a 17 f.).

[f] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 23 f.).

[g] This view is mentioned by Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 4 (196 b 5-7), who may be alluding to Democritus: *cf.* Diels and

or shipbuilding form,[a] is an accidental cause.[b] Hence it is evident that the essential is determinate and one, whereas the accidental is not one and is indeterminate ; for a single thing has a multiplicity, indeed an infinity, of attributes that are quite different from one another.[c] The accidental, however, when found not simply in things directed toward an end, but further in those among them in which choice is found, is then called " by chance " as well ; examples are : discovering a sum of gold when one is digging for the purpose of planting,[d] or doing or undergoing something unusual when one is pursuing or being pursued [e] or proceeding on foot [f] in some other way, or merely turning around with some other end in view than the actual result. Hence some of the ancients described chance as a cause unforeseen and not evident to human calculation.[g] But according to the Platonists, who formulate it yet more closely, chance is defined as follows : " chance is an accidental cause found in the class of things directed toward an end which take place in conformity with choice," [h] and only then do they add " unforeseen " and " not evident to human calculation." (For that matter, " rare " and " unexpected " are also similarly implied in the term " accidental.") [i] What sort of thing chance is, if not

Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], ii, p. 101, Democritus, A 70. It is also the Stoic definition : *cf.* Aëtius, i. 29. 7, p. 326. 3-4 (ed. Diels) ; *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 956 f., 970 f., pp. 280 f. (ed. von Arnim).

[h] This is Aristotle's definition : *cf. Physics*, ii. 5 (197 a 5 f.).

[i] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clviii, p. 214. 4-14 (ed. Wrobel) ; Nemesius, chap. xxxix, pp. 312. 11–313. 1 (ed. Matthaei). Alexander (*De Animi Libri Mantissa*, p. 170. 2-9 Bruns) says that by the doctrine of accidental causes it is possible to hold that nothing happens without a cause and at the same time to save chance, the spontaneous, and what is in our power.

(572) μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἄρτι ῥηθέντων,[1] ἀλλ' ἔκ γε[2] τῶν ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνι γεγραμμένων σαφέστατα προσπίπτει. γέγραπται δὲ ὧδε· "Οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἄρα ἐπύθεσθε[3] ὃν τρόπον ἐγένετο; Ναί· ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἤγγειλέ τις· καὶ ἐθαυμάζομέν γε ὅτι πάλαι αὐτῆς γενομένης[4] ὕστερον φαίνεται ἀποθανών· τί[5] ἦν
C τοῦτο, ὦ Φαίδων; Τύχη τις αὐτῷ, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, συνέβη· ἔτυχε γὰρ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης ἡ πρύμνα ἐστεμμένη τοῦ πλοίου ὃ εἰς Δῆλον Ἀθηναῖοι πέμπουσιν." ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὸ συνέβη οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ γέγονεν ἀκουστέον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκ συνδρομῆς τινος αἰτίων[6] ἀπέβη, ἄλλου πρὸς ἄλλο γεγονότος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱερεὺς ἔστεφε τὸ πλοῖον ἄλλου χάριν, ἀλλ' οὐ Σωκράτους[7]· οἱ δὲ δι' ἕτερον κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἀποβὰν παράλογον καὶ τοιοῦτο ἀπέβη οἷον κἂν ἐκ προνοίας ἐγεγόνει ἤτοι ἀνθρωπίνου τινὸς ἢ τῶν ἔτι κρειτ-
D τόνων. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς τύχης ταῦτα ἱκανά.

Ἑξῆς δὲ ῥητέον[8] οἷς[9] συνυφίστασθαι ἀνάγκη. τοῦ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν

[1] ἄρτι ῥηθέντων Wyttenbach : ἀντιρρηθέντων.
[2] γε Dübner : τε.
[3] ἐπύθεσθε Plato : ἐπύθοντο.
[4] αὐτῆς γενομένης] γενομένης αὐτῆς Plato.
[5] τί] τί οὖν Plato.
[6] αἰτίων Sieveking : αἰτιῶν.
[7] σωκράτους *a* : -ης X.
[8] ἑξῆς δὲ ῥητέον our supplement of a lacuna of 12 letters in *a*, 13 in X (ἑξῆς δὲ σκεπτέον Sieveking).

evident from the preceding remarks, is to be seen very clearly in the words of the *Phaedo*.[a] The passage runs as follows: "—And did you not hear of the course of the trial either?—Yes; a report came to us about that; and we were astonished that he was evidently put to death long after the trial had taken place. What was the reason, Phaedo?—There was a certain chance coincidence,[b] Echecrates; the stern of the ship which the Athenians send to Delos chanced to have been garlanded on the day before the trial." In this passage we are not to take "coincidence" as equivalent to "occurrence"; the meaning is rather that the outcome resulted from a concourse of causes,[c] each of them having a different end. Thus the priest placed a garland on the ship for some other purpose, and not for Socrates' sake; and the court condemned him with a different end in view; while the actual outcome was unexpected and fell out as if it had occurred as a result of forethought,[d] whether human or that of some still higher power. So much, then, will suffice for our discussion of chance.

The spontaneous

We must next speak of the things with which it necessarily co-exists. The contingent, we said,[e] is

[a] 58 A.

[b] "Coincidence" translates the verb συνέβη, "fell out," which has the literal meaning "came together."

[c] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxix, p. 313. 1-4 (ed. Matthaei), and Chalcidius, chap. clix, pp. 214, 15–215. 3 (ed. Wrobel).

[d] "Forethought" (*pronoia*) is also translated "providence."

[e] 570 F, 571 E, *supra*.

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[9] οἷς Wyttenbach: ὡς.

(572) *προϋποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον,*[1] *τὸ δὲ αὐτόματον ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς τύχης, εἰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν περιλαβὸν ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως συμπίπτειν πεφυκότων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ*[2] *κατ' ὄνομα ὅπερ αὐτόματον*[3] *λέγεται τὸ πεφυκὸς ἄλλου ἕνεκα ὅταν μὴ ἐκεῖνο περαίνῃ οὗ ἕνεκα*[4] *ἐπεφύκει· οἷον δοκεῖ τὸ ὑπὸ κύνα ψῦχος. ποτὲ γὰρ ψῦχος οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ αὐτὸ γέγονε χωρὶς οὗ ἕνεκά ἐστιν.*[5] *τὸ δὲ*[6]
E *ὅλον, ὡς τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μέρος τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, οὕτως ἡ τύχη τοῦ αὐτομάτου. ἔστι τε*[7] *ἑκατέρου ἑκάτερον σύμπτωμα, τὸ μὲν αὐτόματον τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, ἡ δὲ τύχη τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τούτου οὐχ ἅπαντος, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἂν καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ᾖ, ὡς προείρηται. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτόματον κοινὸν ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ἀψύχων, ἡ δὲ τύχη ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου*[8] *ἤδη πράττειν δυναμένου. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τὸ εὐτυχεῖν καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν ταὐτὰ εἶναι δοξάζεται· ἡ δὲ εὐδαιμονία*

[1] *τοῦ μὲν . . . ἐνδεχόμενον* nos: *τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προϋποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη* Sieveking; *τὸ μὲν ἐνδεχόμενον τῶν κατὰ προαίρεσιν καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προϋποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη* Sandbach (who reads in the next sentence *ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτὸ μάτην παρωνύμως λέγεται*); *τοῦ μὲν αὐτομάτου ὅπερ ὀνομάζεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προϋποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη* Post: *τὸ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προϋποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη.*

[2] *καὶ* our addition.

[3] *αὐτόματον*] *αὐτὸ μάτην* m[2ss].

[4] *περαίνῃ οὗ ἕνεκα* supplied by Bern. for *παρ* followed by a lacuna of 8 letters in *a*, 10 in X (*περαίνῃ οὗ ἕνεκα ἦν καὶ* Wyttenbach).

[5] *αὐτὸ γέγονε χωρὶς οὗ ἕνεκά ἐστιν* our supplement of a lacuna of 37 letters in *a*, 26 in X.

[6] *δὲ* omitted in X.

[7] *τε*] so *a* X.

[8] *ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου*] *ἀνθρώπου ἴδιον* X[1].

the pre-existent substrate of what, by an expression derived from "chance," is said to be "by chance," and of what is in our power, whereas the spontaneous has a greater extension than chance,[a] since it comprises both the latter and moreover many of the things whose nature it is to fall out differently at different times. What is meant by the term "spontaneous" (*automaton*), as the very name shows,[b] is that which has a certain natural end when it does not accomplish that natural end.[c] An example is held to be cold weather during the dog days[d]; for at some times cold weather is not purposeless (*matên*), and does not occur in isolation (*auto*) from its end.[e] To put the matter generally, as what is in our power is a part of the contingent, so chance is a part of the spontaneous. Taken two by two, the one set is incidental to the other, the spontaneous to the contingent, and chance to what is in our power—not to all of the latter, but to that part of it which is also a matter of choice, as has been previously stated.[f] Hence the spontaneous is common both to living things and things without life, whereas chance is peculiar to a man who has reached the stage of being able to act.[g] A sign of this is the belief that enjoying good fortune[h] and enjoying happiness are the same;

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 a 36–b 1).
[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 29 f.).
[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 22-27).
[d] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, x. 8 (1064 b 36).
[e] The words "occur . . . end" translate a conjectural supplement.
[f] 572 A-B, *supra*.
[g] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 2-6); Aëtius, i. 29. 3, p. 325 b 16-18 (ed. Diels); Chalcidius, chap. clviii, pp. 213. 18-24 and 214. 10-14, and chap. clix, p. 215. 9-11 (ed. Wrobel); Nemesius, chap. xxxix, p. 313. 8 f. (ed. Matthaei).
[h] Literally "good chance."

(572) εὐπραξία τις, ἡ δὲ εὐπραξία περὶ μόνον καὶ τέλειον ἄνθρωπον.

8. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς εἱμαρμένης τοιαῦτα, τό τε ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ τὸ[1] δυνατόν, ἥ τε προαίρεσις καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἥ τε τύχη καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον,
F τά τε παρακείμενα αὐτοῖς, ὧν καὶ τὸ τάχα καὶ τὸ ἴσως· ἃ δὴ πάντα περιέχει μὲν ἡ εἱμαρμένη, οὐδὲν δ' αὐτῶν ἐστι καθ' εἱμαρμένην. λοιπὸν δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ προνοίας εἰπεῖν, ὡς αὐτή γε περιείληφε τὴν εἱμαρμένην.

9. Ἔστιν οὖν πρόνοια ἡ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτη τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ νόησις εἴτε καὶ βούλησις οὖσα εὐεργέτις ἁπάντων, καθ' ἣν πρώτως ἕκαστα τῶν θείων διὰ παντὸς ἄριστά τε καὶ κάλλιστα κεκόσμηται, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα δευτέρων θεῶν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν
573 ἰόντων, καθ' ἣν τά τε θνητὰ γίνεται τεταγμένως καὶ ὅσα πρὸς διαμονὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἑκάστων τῶν γενῶν, τρίτη δ' ἂν εἰκότως[2] ῥηθείη πρόνοιά τε καὶ προμήθεια τῶν ὅσοι περὶ γῆν δαίμονες τεταγμένοι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων φύλακές τε καὶ ἐπίσκοποί εἰσι. τριττῆς τοίνυν τῆς προνοίας θεωρουμένης, κυριώτατα δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς πρώτης λεγομένης, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμεν εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ φιλοσόφοις ἀνδράσι τἀναντία λέγειν δόξαιμεν, ὡς πάντα μὲν

[1] τὸ added by Pohlenz. [2] εἰκότως σ² s Turnebus : εἰκότι.

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[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 3-5).

[b] Literally " the perhaps and the peradventure." For the " perhaps " *cf.* note on 574 D, *infra.*

[c] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xliii, p. 343. 11 f. (ed. Matthaei), and Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 204. 6 f. (ed. Wrobel).

now happiness is a kind of doing well, and doing well is found in man alone when he has reached his full development.[a]

8. What is included in fate—the contingent and the possible, choice and what is in our power, chance and the spontaneous, as well as matters associated with these, such as what is designated by the words "perhaps" and "peradventure"[b]—is of the description we have given above; and fate contains them all, although none of them conforms to fate. It remains to speak of providence, as it in turn includes fate.

Primary providence

9. The highest and primary providence is the intellection or will, beneficent to all things, of the primary God[c]; and in conformity with it all things divine are primordially arranged throughout, each as is best and most excellent. Secondary providence belongs to secondary gods, who move in heaven, and in conformity with it all mortal things come into being in orderly fashion, together with all that is requisite to the survival and preservation of the several genera. The providence and forethought which belongs to the daemons stationed in the terrestrial regions as watchers and overseers of the actions of man would reasonably be called tertiary.[d] As providence, then, is seen to be threefold, and as primary providence is providence in the strictest sense and to the highest degree,[e] I should not hesitate to say, even at the cost of appearing to contradict certain philosophers, that while all that conforms to fate

[d] *Cf.* Apuleius, *De Platone*, i. 12, p. 96. 2-15 (ed. Thomas), and Nemesius, chap. xliv, pp. 345. 2–346. 7 (ed. Matthaei).

[e] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xliv, p. 346. 7-10 (ed. Matthaei).

(573) τὰ[1] καθ' εἱμαρμένην καὶ κατὰ πρόνοιαν, οὐ μὴν
B καὶ κατὰ φύσιν· ἀλλ' ἔνια μὲν κατὰ πρόνοιαν (καὶ ἄλλα γε κατ' ἄλλην), ἔνια δὲ καθ' εἱμαρμένην. καὶ ἡ μὲν εἱμαρμένη πάντως κατὰ πρόνοιαν, ἡ δὲ πρόνοια οὐδαμῶς καθ' εἱμαρμένην (ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος τὰ νῦν περὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀνωτάτω)· τὸ μὲν γὰρ[2] κατά τι ὕστερον ἐκείνου καθ' ὅ τι ἂν καὶ λέγηται (οἷον τὸ κατὰ νόμον τοῦ νόμου καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τῆς φύσεως)· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ καθ' εἱμαρμένην τῆς εἱμαρμένης νεώτερον ἂν εἴη· ἡ δὲ ἀνωτάτω πρόνοια πρεσβύτατον ἁπάντων, πλὴν οὗπέρ ἐστιν εἴτε βούλησις εἴτε νόησις εἴτε καὶ ἑκάτερον· ἔστι δ', ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, τοῦ πάντων πατρός τε καὶ
C δημιουργοῦ. "λέγωμεν"[3] γὰρ "δή," φησὶν ὁ Τίμαιος, "δι' ἥντινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε ὁ ξυνιστὰς συνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν[4]· ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε περὶ οὐδενὸς[5] ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δὲ ἐκτὸς ὤν, πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι[6] παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ. ταύτην δὴ[7] γενέσεως καὶ κόσμου μάλιστα ἄν τις ἀρχὴν κυριωτάτην παρὰ

[1] τὰ added by Wyttenbach.
[2] γὰρ added by Sieveking.
[3] λέγωμεν Plato : λέγομεν.
[4] ἦν Plato : ὢν.
[5] οὐδέποτε περὶ οὐδενὸς] περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε Plato.
[6] ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι] γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη Plato.
[7] δὴ] δὲ Plato.

[a] Zeno called fate providence and nature (*cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 176, pp. 44. 35 ff. von Arnim). The later Peripatetics held that the fated and the natural were the same (Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. vi, p. 169. 18-22 Bruns, *De An. Libri Mant.* p. 182. 4-11 Bruns, and Aëtius, i. 29. 4, p. 325 b 30-32 Diels). The Peripatetics, however, were thought to leave no room for providence (Alexander, *Quaest.* ii. 21, pp. 70. 33–71. 2 Bruns). Atticus (quoted by Eusebius, *Praep.*

conforms to providence (though not to nature as well [a]), yet some things conform to providence (some to one, some to another), some to fate. And whereas fate most certainly conforms to providence,[b] providence most certainly does not conform to fate (here it is to be understood that we are speaking of the primary and highest providence): for what is said to " conform to " a thing is posterior to that, whatever it may be, to which it is said to conform (for example, " what conforms to law " is posterior to law and " what conforms to nature " to nature); thus " what conforms to fate " is younger than fate, while the highest providence is eldest of all, save the one whose will or intellection or both it is, and it is that, as has been previously stated,[c] of the Father and Artisan of all things. Timaeus says : " Let us state for what reason the realm of events and this universe were framed by him who framed them. He was good ; and in the good no grudging ever arises about aught ; and being exempt from this, he wished all things to become as similar as might be to himself. To accept from men of wisdom this, rather than any other, as the foremost principle of

Evang. vi. 12. 1) ascribes to Plato the doctrine that since soul and nature are identical, and everything occurs in conformity with nature, everything occurs in conformity with providence. See also W. Theiler in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll*, p. 46, note 2.

Cf. also Chalcidius, chap. cxlv, p. 204. 19-22 (ed. Wrobel): " Et divina quidem et intellegibilia quaeque his proxima sunt [*scil.* Platoni placet esse] secundum providentiam solam, naturalia vero et corporea iuxta fatum . . ."

[b] *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, p. 304. 5-7 (ed. Matthaei); Chalcidius, chap. cxlvii, p. 206. 2 f. and chap. cxliv, p. 204. 9-14 (ed. Wrobel); and Boëthius, *Philos. Cons.* iv. 6. 14.

[c] 572 F, *supra.*

(573) ἀνδρῶν φρονίμων ἀποδεχόμενος ὀρθότατα ἀποδέχοιτ' ἄν. βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα, φαῦλον[1] δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν, οὕτω δὴ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὁρατὸν παραλαβὼν οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον ἀλλὰ κινούμενον πλημμελῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἦγεν[2] ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, ἡγησάμενος ἐκεῖνο τοῦδε[3] πάντως ἄμεινον. θέμις δὲ οὔτ' ἦν οὔτε
D ἐστὶ τῷ ἀρίστῳ δρᾶν ἄλλο πλὴν τὸ κάλλιστον." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα μέχρι ψυχῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κατὰ πρόνοιαν νομιστέον τήν γε πρώτην συνεστηκέναι· τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν—οὕτω λεγόμενα· "συστήσας δὲ τὸ πᾶν διεῖλεν ψυχὰς ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς ἄστροις ἔνειμέν θ'[4] ἑκάστην πρὸς ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐμβιβάσας ὡς εἰς ὄχημα τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ἔδειξε νόμους τε τοὺς εἱμαρμένους εἶπεν αὐταῖς"[5]—ταῦτα δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν διαρρήδην καὶ σαφέστατα οἰηθείη τὴν εἱμαρμένην δηλοῦν, ὥσπερ τινὰ βάσιν καὶ πολιτικὴν νομοθεσίαν ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ψυχαῖς προσήκουσαν, ἧς δὴ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἑξῆς ἐπιφέρει;

Τὴν δὲ δευτέραν πρόνοιαν ὧδέ πως ἐπισημαίνεται
E λέγων· "διαθεσμοθετήσας πάντα αὐτοῖς[6] ἵνα τῆς[7] ἔπειτα εἴη κακίας ἑκάστων ἀναίτιος, ἔσπειρε τοὺς

[1] φαῦλον] φλαῦρον Plato.
[2] ἦγεν] ἤγαγεν Plato.
[3] τοῦδε] τούτου Plato.
[4] διεῖλεν . . . ἔνειμέν θ' Plato: ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς ἄστροις ἔταξεν (α has here a lacuna of 12 letters; X has ἔταξε and a lacuna of 13 letters) διεῖλε τὲ ψυχὰς.
[5] εἶπεν αὐταῖς Plato: a lacuna of 13 letters in α, 17 in X.
[6] πάντα αὐτοῖς] δὲ πάντα αὐτοῖς ταῦτα Plato.
[7] τῆς E[2ss] β[1ss] (with some MSS. of Plato): τοῖς (with other MSS. of Plato).

[a] Plato, *Timaeus*, 29 D—30 A.
[b] Plato, *Timaeus*, 41 D-E.
[c] Our author seems to have obtained this notion of

Coming into being and of Order, is to accept most rightly. For God, wishing that all things should be good, and naught, so far as possible, evil, took over all that was visible, which was in no state of rest, but in discordant and disordered motion, and brought it into order out of its disorder, deeming the former in all ways better than the latter. It neither was nor is right for him who is best to do aught save that which is most excellent." [a] These matters and what is mentioned after them, as far as and including the souls of men, we must take to have been framed in conformity with providence—primary providence; but the words that follow (" and when he had compounded the whole, he divided it into souls equal in number to the stars and assigned to every star a soul, and mounting them thereon as on a vehicle, showed them the nature of the universe and proclaimed to them the laws of fate "),[b] who would not suppose to indicate fate, explicitly and in the plainest of terms, as a sort of foundation [c] and political legislation appropriate to the souls of men, the very legislation for which he next proceeds to state the reason? [d]

Secondary providence

He indicates secondary providence in the following words: " Having prescribed all these ordinances to them, to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be

" foundation " (*basis*) by pressing Plato's words " mounting (*embibasas*) them thereon as on a vehicle." It is perhaps significant that the astrologers called the horoscope a *basis*, as foundation of a man's lot in life (*cf.* Cumont, " Écrits hermétiques " in *Rev. de Philol.* xlii, p. 71, note 5).

[d] Plato, *Timaeus*, 42 D; *cf.* 573 F, *infra.*

(573) μὲν εἰς τὴν[1] γῆν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν[1] σελήνην, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα[2] ὄργανα χρόνου. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸν σπόρον τοῖς νέοις παρέδωκε θεοῖς σώματα πλάττειν θνητά, τό τε ἐπίλοιπον ὅσον ἔτι ἦν[3] ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης δέον προσγενέσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἀκόλουθα ἐκείνοις ἀπεργασαμένους, ἄρχειν καὶ
F κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα τὸ θνητὸν διακυβερνᾶν ζῷον, ὅ τι μὴ κακῶν[4] αὐτὸ αὑτῷ γίνοιτο αἴτιον." ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὸ μὲν "ἵνα τῆς[5] ἔπειτα εἴη κακίας ἀναίτιος ἑκάστῳ"[6] σαφέστατα τὴν[7] αἰτίαν σημαίνει τῆς εἱμαρμένης, ἡ δὲ τῶν νέων θεῶν τάξις καὶ δημιουργία τὴν δευτέραν πρόνοιαν δηλοῖ.

Καί πως καὶ τρίτης παρεφάπτεσθαι ἔοικεν, εἴ γε δὴ τούτου χάριν ἡ θεσμοθεσία, "ἵνα τῆς ἔπειτα εἴη κακίας ἑκάστῳ[8] ἀναίτιος"· θεὸς δὲ κακίας ἄμοιρος οὔτε νόμων οὔτε εἱμαρμένης ἐπιδέοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ γεννήσαντος συνεπισπώμενος
574 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πράττει τὰ αὑτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ὅτι[9]

[1] τὴν omitted in Plato.
[2] τὰ ἄλλα] τἆλλα ὅσα Plato.
[3] ἔτι ἦν Plato : ἐστὶ.
[4] κακῶν Plato : κακὸν a ; μακρὸν X.
[5] τῆς E[2ss] (with some MSS. of Plato) : τοῖς (with other MSS. of Plato).
[6] ἀναίτιος ἑκάστῳ] ἀναίτιος ἑκάστων E[1] ; ἑκάστων ἀναίτιος Plato.
[7] σαφέστατα τὴν nos : σαφεστάτην.
[8] ἑκάστῳ] ἑκάστων Plato.
[9] ὅτι our addition (Bern. adds ὅτι δὲ before ταῦτα).

[a] Plato, *Timaeus*, 42 D-E.

severally guilty, he sowed some on the earth, some on the moon, and others on the remaining instruments of time. After the sowing he delegated to the new-made gods the task of modelling mortal bodies, and, when they had completed all the rest of the human soul that it was necessary to add and all that this involved, of ruling and guiding the mortal animal, so far as lay within their powers, in the fairest and best fashion possible, except for those evils which it should incur from its own guilt."[a] In this passage the phrase " to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty " indicates in the plainest language the reason for fate, while the government and creation which is in the hands of the new-made gods refers to secondary providence.

Tertiary providence

He appears, moreover, to allude to a third providence as well, inasmuch as the enactment of ordinances is " to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty " : a god, having no part in evil, can stand in no need of either laws or fate, but each of them[b] fulfils his own office[c] as the providence of his begetter draws him along in its train.[d] The words

[b] That is, each of the new-made gods.

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus*, 247 A.

[d] Evil is found in daemons, mortal beings created by the secondary gods. The will or thought (or both) of these daemons constitutes tertiary providence. Hence our author finds an allusion to tertiary providence in the words " to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty."

(574) *ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ Πλάτωνι φανερά μοι δοκεῖ μαρτύρια*[1] *εἶναι τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Νομοθέτου ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις οὕτω λεγόμενα· "ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' εἴ*[2] *ποτέ τις ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἱκανός, θείᾳ μοίρᾳ γεννηθείς, παραλαβεῖν δυνατὸς εἴη, νόμων οὐδὲν ἂν δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ἀρξόντων*[3]*· ἐπιστήμης γὰρ οὔτε νόμος*[4] *οὔτε τάξις οὐδεμία κρείττων, οὐδὲ θέμις ἐστὶ νοῦν*[5] *οὐδενὸς ὑπήκοον οὐδὲ δοῦλον ἀλλὰ πάντων*[6] *ἄρχοντα εἶναι, ἐάνπερ ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύθερός τε ὄντως ᾖ κατὰ φύσιν."*

10. *Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸς*[7] *τοῦ Πλάτωνος* B *τοιαῦτ' ἢ παρόμοια*[8] *λαμβάνω. τριττῆς γὰρ οὔσης τῆς προνοίας ἡ μέν, ἅτε γεννήσασα τὴν εἱμαρμένην, τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὴν περιλαμβάνει, ἡ δέ, συγγεννηθεῖσα τῇ εἱμαρμένῃ, πάντως αὐτῇ συμπεριλαμβάνεται, ἡ δέ, ὡς ὕστερον τῆς εἱμαρμένης*[9] *γεννωμένη,*[10] *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ ἐμπεριέχεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς καθ' ἃ καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ τύχη εἴρηται. "οἷς" γὰρ "ἂν συλλάβηται τῆς συνουσίας ἡ*[11] *τοῦ δαιμονίου δύναμις," ὥς φησι Σωκράτης, μονονουχὶ θεσμόν τινα (καίτοι οὐ τὸν*[12] *Ἀδραστείας) διεξιὼν πρὸς τὸν Θεάγην,*[13] *" οὗτοί εἰσιν ὧν καὶ σὺ ᾔσθησαι· ταχὺ γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐπιδιδόασιν." οὐκοῦν ἐν*

[1] *μαρτύρια γ*: *μαρτυρία*.
[2] *ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' εἴ* nos (*ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἴ* Plato): *ἔπη τοῦ τί*.
[3] *αὐτοῦ ἀρξόντων a* X: *τῶν ἀρξόντων ἑαυτοῦ* Plato.
[4] *νόμος* Plato: *νόμων*.
[5] *ἐστὶ νοῦν* Plato: *ἐστὶν*.
[6] *πάντων* Plato: *πάντα*.
[7] *πρὸς*] omitted by m and Wyttenbach.
[8] *τοιαῦτ' ἢ παρόμοια* Pohlenz: *ταύτῃ τῇ παροιμίᾳ*.
[9] *τῆς εἱμαρμένης σ*[2] Leonicus: *τὴν εἱμαρμένην*.
[10] *γεννωμένη* nos (*γενομένη s* Ald.[2]): *γειναμένη*.
[11] *τῆς συνουσίας ἡ* Plato: *ἡ τῆς οὐσίας*.
[12] *καίτοι οὐ τὸν* Turnebus: *καὶ τοιοῦτον*.

of the Lawgiver in the *Laws*[a] are, I think, clear testimony that this is true and the doctrine held by Plato. They are to this effect: "Since if ever any man, gifted by nature, born under a divine dispensation, should be capable of apprehending this, he would need no laws to govern him, for no law or ordinance is mightier than understanding, nor is it permitted that intelligence should be subject or slave to aught; it must rather be ruler in all things, if it be genuine and really free in conformity with its nature."

The three providences and fate

10. Now I take Plato's meaning to be as described or very near it: as providence is threefold, the first, since it has begotten fate, includes it in a sense; the second, having been begotten together with fate, is most certainly included together with it[b]; and the third, since it is begotten later than fate, is contained in it in the same way as what is in our power and chance were said[c] to be contained in fate.[d] For, "those persons with whom the daemonic power encourages me to associate," as Socrates says in recounting to Theages what is all but an ordinance, although not that of Adrasteia, "are the ones you have remarked; for their progress is immediate and

[a] Plato, *Laws*, 875 C-D. The argument implicit in our author is this: if a man should be gifted with understanding he would need no law to govern him; how much less, then, would a god have need of laws, and of fate, which is a kind of law! [b] That is, in the first or primary providence.
[c] 570 E, *supra*.
[d] *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clxxvii, pp. 226. 18–227. 1 (ed. Wrobel).

[13] Θεάγην Xylander: θεατήν.

(574) C τούτῳ τὸ μὲν συλλαμβάνειν τισὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον κατὰ τὴν τρίτην πρόνοιαν θετέον,[1] τὸ δὲ ταχὺ παραχρῆμα ἐπιδιδόναι καθ' εἱμαρμένην· τὸ δὲ ὅλον οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἱμάρμένη τίς ἐστι.

Τάχα δ' ἂν οὕτω[2] πολὺ πιθανώτερον δόξειε καὶ τὴν δευτέραν πρόνοιαν ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης περιέχεσθαι καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ γινόμενα, εἴ γε καὶ ἡ κατ' οὐσίαν εἱμαρμένη ὀρθῶς ἡμῖν εἰς τὰς τρεῖς μοίρας διανενέμηται καὶ ὁ τῆς ἁλύσεως λόγος τὰς περὶ οὐρανὸν περιόδους τοῖς ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀποβαίνουσι συγκαταλέγει. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων D οὐκ ἂν[3] ἔγωγε ἐπὶ πλέον διενεχθείην πότερον[4] ἐξ ὑποθέσεως λεγόμενα[5] ἢ ὡς μᾶλλον σὺν εἱμαρμένῃ,[6] προκατάρχοντος αὐτῆς τῆς εἱμαρμένης εἱμαρμένου.

[1] θετέον Wyttenbach : ἀναθετέον.
[2] οὕτω] αὖ τῳ Wyttenbach.
[3] ἂν added by Bern.
[4] πότερον Leonicus : πρότερον.
[5] λεγόμενα] ἂν εἴη ὀρθῶς λεγόμενα Pohlenz ; γενόμενα Post.
[6] σὺν εἱμαρμένῃ] συνειμαρμένα Wyttenbach.

[a] *Theages*, 129 E. In the context of the dialogue the "daemonic power" is of course the sign of Socrates.

[b] That is, while primary providence includes fate, tertiary providence is included in fate, being the "hypothesis" which leads to a fated result.

[c] 568 E, *supra*.

[d] To the Stoics the "chain"—that is, the chain of causes—represents the whole course of cosmic change : *cf.* Cicero, *De Div.* i. 56 (127) ; Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. xxiii, p. 193. 6 and chap. xxiv, p. 194. 3 (ed. Bruns) ; and Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* viii. 19. See also W. Theiler in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll*, p. 44, note 5.

rapid." [a] In this passage we must posit that the encouragement given to association with certain persons by the daemonic power conforms to tertiary providence, while their immediate and rapid progress conforms to fate ; and the whole complex is plainly enough none other than a form of fate.[b]

On this view, however, it might appear much more credible that secondary providence also, and indeed all things, without any limitation, that come to pass, are contained in fate, if we were right [c] in dividing substantial fate into the three portions and if the argument of the "chain" [d] brings the revolutions in heaven [e] into the class of consequences of an hypothesis. Yet with regard to this question I for one would not pursue the quarrel further whether these matters are to be termed consequences of an hypothesis, the initiatory cause of fate itself being fated,[f] or, as I rather take to be the case, they exist side by side with fate.

[e] The author means the planetary movements. The planets constitute the second division of substantial fate.

[f] The Stoics called a cause external to the thing affected "procatarctic" or "initiatory." Thus the man who starts a cylinder rolling down a slope is the procatarctic cause of the course of the cylinder. He does not determine what that course shall be ; he merely sets the cylinder in motion. Cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 346, pp. 119 f. (ed. von Arnim) ; Cicero, *De Fato*, 19 (43) ; Galen, *De Causis Pulsuum*, i. 1, vol. ii, p. 261 (ed. Kühn) ; Proclus, *In Plat. Rem P. Comm.* ii, p. 261 (ed. Kroll) ; M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, 1948), vol. i, pp. 104 ff., vol. ii, pp. 60 f. Our author's meaning appears to be that on the theory which presents secondary providence as included in fate, we shall find that secondary providence or the planets initiate certain terrestrial situations, which are fated, while the movements of the planets are themselves fated, inasmuch as they are the results of certain antecedent conditions.

(574) 11. Ὁ μὲν[1] οὖν ἡμέτερος λόγος ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτός τις ἂν εἴη, ὁ δὲ τούτων ἐναντίος οὐ μόνον ἐν εἱμαρμένῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' εἱμαρμένην πάντα τίθεται. πάντα δὲ θατέρῳ συνᾴδει· τὰ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ συνῳδὰ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ θατέρῳ.[2]

Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τόνδε τὸν λόγον τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πρῶτον[3] εἴρηται καὶ τό γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἥ τε τύχη καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ ὅσα κατ' αὐτά· ἔπαινος δὲ καὶ ψόγος καὶ τὰ τούτων συγγενῆ τέταρτα, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εὐχαὶ
E θεῶν καὶ θεραπεῖαι λεγέσθω· ἀργοὶ[4] δὲ καὶ θερίζοντες λόγοι καὶ ὁ παρὰ τὴν εἱμαρμένην ὀνομα-

[1] μὲν added by Stephanus.
[2] θατέρῳ Turnebus (κατὰ θατέρου Pohlenz) : θάτερον.
[3] πρῶτον added by Drexler.
[4] ἀργοὶ Leonicus : ἀγροί.

[a] The Stoic view.

[b] That is, praise and blame are not made meaningless by the author's view of fate: *cf.* Cicero, *De Fato*, 17 (40); Albinus, *Epitome*, chap. xxvi. 1; Chrysippus in *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 998, pp. 292 f. (ed. von Arnim); Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. xxxiv, p. 206. 1 (ed. Bruns).

[c] For the "indolent argument" *cf.* Cicero, *De Fato*, 12 f. (28 f.); Gellius, vii. 2. 4-5; *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 957, p. 278. 19-26 (ed. von Arnim). Addressed to a sick man, it runs as follows: "If it is fated for you to recover from your illness, you will recover whether you call a physician or no; again, if it is fated for you not to recover, you will not recover, whether you call a physician or no; now it is fated for you

The order of points in the present argument

11. Our argument, then, presented under its main heads, would be as described; the contrary argument,[a] on the other hand, posits that everything is not only *in* fate but also *conforms to* it. But everything is consistent with the former contention, and what is consistent with the latter is evidently consistent with the former as well.

In our argument the contingent is placed first; what is in our power, second; third come chance and the spontaneous and all that conforms to them; fourth, praise and blame and whatever is related to them [b]; while the fifth and final place must be given to prayers to the gods and worship of them. But the "indolent argument," [c] that of the "reaper," [d] and

either to recover or not recover: you therefore call a physician in vain."

[d] For the argument of the reaper *cf.* Diogenes Laert. vii. 25 and Ammonius, *In Aristot. De Int. Comm.* chap. ix, p. 131. 25-32 (ed. Busse): *εἰ θεριεῖς, φησίν* [scil. *ὁ λόγος*], *οὐχὶ τάχα μὲν θεριεῖς τάχα δὲ οὐ θεριεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντως θεριεῖς, καὶ εἰ μὴ θεριεῖς, ὡσαύτως οὐχὶ τάχα μὲν θεριεῖς τάχα δὲ οὐ θεριεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντως οὐ θεριεῖς· ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἤτοι θεριεῖς ἢ οὐ θεριεῖς· ἀνῄρηται ἄρα τὸ τάχα, εἴπερ μήτε κατὰ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τοῦ θεριεῖν πρὸς τὸ μὴ θεριεῖν ἔχει χώραν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦ ἑτέρου τούτων ἐκβαίνοντος, μήτε κατὰ τὸ ἑπόμενον ὁποτερᾳοῦν τῶν ὑποθέσεων· τὸ δὲ τάχα ἦν τὸ εἰσφέρον τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον· οἴχεται ἄρα τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον.* "If you are going to reap (the argument runs) it does not follow that you will perhaps reap, perhaps not, but you will certainly reap; and similarly if you are not going to reap: it does not follow that you will perhaps reap, perhaps not, but you will certainly not reap. But necessarily you are either going to reap or not going to reap. 'Perhaps' then is eliminated, since it has no place in the opposition between 'going to reap' and 'not going to reap'—as one of these two must necessarily occur—nor yet in what follows on either supposition. But 'perhaps' is what introduced the contingent. The contingent therefore disappears."

(574) ζόμενος σοφίσματα ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τυγχάνει ὄντα.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐναντίον μάλιστα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ἂν[1] εἶναι δόξειεν τὸ μηδὲν ἀναιτίως γίγνεσθαι ἀλλὰ κατὰ προηγουμένας αἰτίας, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ φύσει διοικεῖσθαι τόνδε τὸν κόσμον σύμπνουν καὶ συμπαθῆ αὐτὸν αὑτῷ ὄντα, τρίτον δὲ ἃ[2] πρὸς τούτοις μαρτύρια μᾶλλον ἔοικεν εἶναι· μαντικὴ μὲν ἅπασιν[3] ἀνθρώποις εὐδόκιμος ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῷ συνυπάρ-
F χουσα,[4] ἡ δὲ τῶν σοφῶν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα εὐαρέστησις ὡς πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν γιγνόμενα δευτέρα,[5] τρίτον δὲ τὸ πολυθρύλητον[6] τοῦτο ὅτι πᾶν ἀξίωμα ἢ ἀληθές ἐστιν ἢ ψευδές.

Τούτων γε μὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐμνήσθημεν ἵνα

[1] ἂν added by Bern. [2] ἃ Wyttenbach : τὰ.
[3] ἅπασιν] πρῶτον πᾶσιν Patzig.
[4] θεῷ συνυπάρχουσα Schwartz (σὺν θεῷ ὑπάρχουσα von Arnim) : θεῶ ὑπάρχουσα.
[5] δευτέρα Patzig : δεύτερα.
[6] πολυθρύλητον Dübner : πολυθρύλλητον.

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[a] The argument " contrary to fate " is not mentioned elsewhere by name ; for a conjecture *cf.* Zeller, *Die Philos. der Griechen*, iii. 1[5], p. 171, note 1.

[b] Chrysippus had tried to show that the " indolent argument " was a fallacy : *cf.* Cicero, *De Fato*, 13 (30). Our author would regard all three arguments as valid against the Stoic position, while fallacious against his own.

[c] *Cf.* Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. ix, p. 175. 12 (ed. Bruns).

[d] " Spirit " (*pneuma*) in Stoic theory is a corporeal substance pervading the whole universe and holding it together (*cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 439-444, pp. 144-146 and 543,

that termed "contrary to fate"[a] turn out on this view to be sophisms indeed.[b]

The order of points in the Stoic argument

According to the opposing argument the chief and first point would appear to be that nothing occurs without cause, and that instead everything occurs in conformity with antecedent causes[c]; the second, that this universe, at one with itself in spirit and in affections,[d] is governed by nature; and in the third place comes what would rather seem to be evidence added to these points in corroboration: the good repute in which the art of divination is held by all mankind, in the belief that its existence and that of God are in fact involved in one another[e]; the acquiescence of the wise[f] in whatever befalls, in the belief that everything that occurs is in order,[g] in the second place; and third, that oft repeated dictum, that every proposition is either true or false.[h]

I have dealt with these matters thus briefly in order

p. 172. 19 von Arnim). *Sympathes* (here rendered "at one with itself . . . in affections") points to their theory of "sympathy": that the universe is so perfectly integrated a whole that when one part of it is affected all its other parts are affected as well.

[e] For the proof of the existence of fate from that of divination *cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 939-944, pp. 270-272 (ed. von Arnim); for the appeal to all mankind *cf.* Cicero, *De Div.* i. 6 (11); for the involvement of the existence of God in that of divination *cf.* Cicero, *ibid.* i. 5 (9) and i. 38 (82-83).

[f] *Cf.* W. Theiler in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll*, p. 86, note 3.

[g] The expression κατὰ μοῖραν ("in order") can mean "duly" or "in conformity with fate."

[h] *Cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 962, p. 275, 23-27 (ed. von Arnim).

(574) ὡς ἐπὶ βραχὺ τὰ τῆς εἱμαρμένης κεφάλαια δηλωθείη[1]· ἃ χρὴ διερευνήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ βάσανον ἑκατέρου τῶν λόγων· τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα τούτων ἐσαῦθις μέτιμεν.

[1] κεφάλαια δηλωθείη supplied by Wyttenbach to fill a lacuna of 13 letters in *a*, 7 in X.

to present the main headings of the topic of fate in a compendious form; these we must investigate when we subject the two arguments to exact scrutiny. The details that come under these headings we shall enter into at some later time.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES
(DE GENIO SOCRATIS)

INTRODUCTION

In the *De Genio Socratis* Caphisias, Epameinondas' brother, gives Archedamus and a distinguished circle at Athens an account of the recent exploits and discussions at Thebes.[a] The exploits were those of the conspiracy that freed the city from Spartan domination; the discussions took place at the conspirators' meetings, and were concerned with the meaning of an ancient inscription, the question when benefactions should be rejected, and above all with the interpretation of Socrates' sign.

Thebes was liberated in December, 379 B.C.[b] The story is also told by Plutarch in the *Life of Pelopidas* (chapters vi-xiii), and brief accounts are preserved in Xenophon's *Hellenica* (v. 4. 1-13), in Nepos' *Pelopidas* (ii. 1-iv. 1), and in Diodorus Siculus (xv. 25-27).[c] There are irreconcilable differences between the

[a] That Plutarch composed his dialogue with Plato's *Phaedo* in mind was long ago pointed out by R. Hirzel (*Der Dialog*, Zweiter Theil, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 148-151; *cf.* also W. Christ, "Plutarchs Dialog vom Daimonion des Sokrates," in *Sitz.* Munich, 1901, pp. 59-110, K. Kahle, *De Plut. Rat. Dialogorum Componendorum*, Göttingen, 1912, pp. 17-19, and G. M. Lattanzi, *Il* "*De genio Socratis*" *di Plutarco*, Rome, 1933, pp. 15-17).

[b] E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, vol. v, pp. 373 f.

[c] *Cf.* also Polyaenus, ii. 3. 1 and ii. 4. 3.

accounts of Xenophon, Diodorus, and Plutarch [a]; and there are even a few discrepancies between Plutarch's briefer account in the *Life of Pelopidas* and his fuller account here.[b] Such incidents, however, as the assassination of Androcleidas at Athens, the execution of Hismenias, the meeting at Charon's house, Chlidon's failure to deliver the message to the exiles, the letter from Archias of Athens to Archias of Thebes, and the banquet given for Archias by Phyllidas, appear in either Nepos or Xenophon (or both) as well as in the *Life of Pelopidas*. Xenophon [c] differs from Plutarch [d] in setting the number of returning exiles at seven, rather than at twelve,[e] and

[a] For the fullest discussion of the different accounts *cf.* the two works of Ernst von Stern: *Gesch. d. spart. u. theb. Hegemonie vom Königsfrieden bis zur Schlacht bei Mantinea*, Dorpat, 1884, and *Xenophons Hell. u. d. böot. Geschichtsüberlieferung*, Dorpat, 1887.

[b] In the dialogue (576 C-D) a messenger arrives the day the exiles cross the frontier, informs the conspirators of the fact, and is told where the exiles are to lodge; in the *Life* (chaps. vii. 4, viii. 3, 281 B, D) the house where they are to lodge is agreed upon in advance. In the *Life* (chap. x. 5, 283 A-B) Charon tells the truth about his interview to Pelopidas alone, inventing a fictitious story for the rest; in the dialogue (595 F ff.) he tells the truth to all. In the *Life* (chap. xi. 8, 283 F) Cephisodorus dies before Leontiades is killed, in the dialogue (597 F), after. Again, in the dialogue (596 D) only a few of the conspirators in Melon's group are dressed as women; in the *Life* (chap. xi. 2, 283 C-D) all apparently are. *Cf.* Lattanzi, p. 81.

[c] *Hell.* v. 4. 1 and 3.

[d] 576 C; *cf.* Nepos, *Pel.* ii.

[e] Of the conspirators named in the course of the dialogue three, Pelopidas, Damocleidas, and Theopompus, evidently (594 D) belong to the twelve. We learn of two more, Melon and Menecleidas, from the *Life of Pelopidas* (chap. viii. 2, 281 C, and chap. xxv. 5, 290 F). Possibly Eumolpidas, Samidas, Lysitheüs, and Cephisodorus can be added to the number; but there is no proof that they were exiles.

in stressing the rôle of Melon; he does not even mention Pelopidas' part in the exploit. Again, he places a day's interval between the return of the exiles and the revolt,[a] and he gives two versions of the entrance of the conspirators into the presence of Archias. In the first, three were disguised as ladies, the rest as maids; in the second, they entered as revellers.[b] Plutarch says that some were attired as revellers, and a few disguised as women (596 D). Xenophon goes on to say that after the seven had killed Archias, Phyllidas went with three of them to kill Leontiades [c]; whereas in Plutarch the exiles divide into two groups, Melon's group killing Archias and Philippus, Pelopidas' Leontiades and Hypates (577 C, 596 C-D, 596 F—598 A).

Most of the personages of the dialogue are known from other sources and may be considered historical. Archedamus is evidently an Athenian public figure with well-known Theban sympathies (575 D, F). Such a person was Archedemus of Pelex, surnamed "the blear-eyed," and mentioned by Aeschines (*Or.* ii. 139) as one who had risked much for the sake of Thebes.[d] There is no external evidence for Caphisias, whom Plutarch presents as a brother of Epameinondas, or for his embassy to Athens. But there is no reason

[a] *Hell.* v. 4. 3.

[b] *Hell.* v. 4. 6 f.

[c] *Hell.* v. 4. 5-7.

[d] *Cf.* Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* no. 2326. The form Archedamos is not Attic, although not unknown at Athens (*cf. ibid.* no. 2312; the name Archidamos occurs seven times: *ibid.* nos. 2482-2488). The forms Archedamos and Archidamos both occur in Boeotian inscriptions: *cf.* the index to *IG*, vol. vii. Plutarch may have used the Boeotian form to show the bearer's intimacy with Boeotians and friendliness to Thebes.

to doubt the existence of a brother of that name; and embassies from Thebes must have been fairly frequent at Athens in the stirring times that followed the liberation. As the philosophical discussions are scarcely historical, there is no compelling reason to suppose that the personages exclusively concerned with them are authentic. Timarchus, the hero of the myth, is probably a fiction of Plutarch's,[a] and the same may hold true of the Pythagorean Theanor (literally, "man of God"); no other ancient author speaks of them. No mention is found elsewhere of the conspirators Bacchylidas, Eumolpidas, Hismenodorus, Lysitheüs, and Samidas; but here there is no reason to suppose that the names were invented. Plutarch, a local patriot, was well read in Boeotian history, and there are other instances where he alone has preserved some detail of it.[b]

The dialogue opens with a speech by Archedamus, who asks Caphisias for the story of the events he had taken part in and for an account of the discussions he had heard at the time. Caphisias asks where he shall begin; and Archedamus, briefly sketching the events already known to himself and the audience, tells him to begin with the return of the exiles and the overthrow[c] of the tyrants.

[a] Like Plutarch, Timarchus is a Chaeronean, and his name was presumably modelled on Plutarch's own; *cf.* also the unhistorical detail about Lamprocles (590 A with the note, and von Arnim, "Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik," in *Verhandelingen d. K. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afd. Lett. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel xxii (1921), pp. 17 f.).

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 548 F—549 A with Reiske's note: "Res Boeoticas alii auctores negligentius tractarunt, quas, ut patrias, attingere Plutarchus amat."

[c] Plutarch avoids the terms "assassination" and "conspiracy."

The rest of the dialogue consists of Caphisias' narrative. A messenger from Athens informs the conspirators that the exiles will arrive at nightfall, and asks to what house they shall proceed. Charon offers his own. The party, which includes Charon, Caphisias, and Theocritus, a diviner, is now met by Archias (the leading spirit among the Theban oligarchs), Lysanoridas (the Spartan commander), and Phyllidas, a conspirator who is secretary to the Theban polemarchs. Theocritus is called away for a private conversation with Lysanoridas, and Phyllidas, drawing Caphisias aside, learns that the exiles are to come that evening, and congratulates himself on having chosen that time for a banquet to which Archias will be invited and made drunk. At the house of Simmias, the meeting-place of the conspirators, Pheidolaüs asks the party to wait, as Simmias is closeted with Leontiades, an influential oligarch, interceding for the life of Amphitheüs, an imprisoned democrat.

While they are waiting, Theocritus asks Pheidolaüs about the discoveries made by the Spartans who excavated Alcmena's tomb in the territory of Pheidolaüs' native city of Haliartus. An inscription in unknown characters was the most remarkable, and Agesilaüs was reported to have sent a copy to Egypt for the priests to interpret.

Meanwhile Leontiades leaves. The party enter and find Simmias very downcast; his intercession had evidently failed. As Simmias had recently returned from Egypt, Theocritus asks whether the priests succeeded in reading the inscription. Simmias answers that such a document had been interpreted by a priest with whom Plato and he had studied

philosophy ; and that it contained a divine command that the Greeks should settle their disputes by appealing not to arms, but to the Muses and discussion. Plato had remembered this message when the Delians consulted him about the duplication of the cube : they had received an oracle to the effect that when the cubical altar at Delos had been doubled the miseries of Delos and of all Greece would be at an end. Plato promised help, but told them that Apollo's real purpose was to urge the Greeks to cultivate geometry, great proficiency being required for the solution, and to make an end of war by calming their passions in such mathematical and philosophical pursuits.

So ends the first discussion. Polymnis, the father of Epameinondas and Caphisias, now enters with the news that Epameinondas is bringing a Pythagorean stranger who had spent the night at the tomb of Lysis, a Pythagorean who had trained the sons of Polymnis in philosophy. The stranger had intended to remove the remains to Italy, if no sign from heaven should prevent him ; and had brought a large sum of gold, with which he insisted on rewarding Epameinondas for supporting Lysis in his old age.

Galaxidorus, in a burst of indignation at the stranger's superstitious practices, denounces religious mummery in general, contrasting it with the simplicity and frankness of Socrates. Theocritus retorts that Socrates after all had a divine sign ; to this Galaxidorus replies that Socrates allowed himself to be guided by the signs of ordinary divination—sneezes and chance remarks overheard—when the rational grounds for a decision were evenly balanced. Polymnis adds that he has heard that the sign was a

sneeze, but is astonished that Socrates did not call it so. The sneeze, Galaxidorus answers, was a mere instrument, the real agent being Heaven; and Socrates, who knew the proper use of words, spoke therefore of receiving intimations from Heaven (*to daimonion*),[a] not from its instrument.

The conversation is interrupted by the entrance of Epameinondas and the Pythagorean. Theanor (for that is the stranger's name) begs the company to judge between them: Epameinondas rejects the proffered money. A dialogue follows between the two on the question when it is right to accept a benefaction; and Epameinondas justifies his refusal by the need to refrain from even legitimate gain if he would harden himself against profiting from injustice. Simmias' decision is that the disputants must settle the question themselves.

Phyllidas now enters with Hipposthenеidas, another conspirator, and draws Charon, Theocritus, and Caphisias aside. It appears that Hipposthenеidas, alarmed among other things by an ominous dream, had sent a mounted messenger to meet the exiles at the frontier and tell them to turn back. Theocritus shows that the dream was actually a propitious omen, and the whole episode ends happily when the messenger appears and tells how a violent quarrel with his wife prevented him from setting out.

Caphisias and Theocritus return to Simmias, who has answered Galaxidorus in the interval, and is now presenting his own theory. The sign was Socrates' perception of the unspoken language of the higher powers. Simmias goes on to tell the story or myth

[a] *To daimonion* is also the name of the divine sign, the "genius" of Socrates.

of Timarchus. The substance of Timarchus' vision is this : all souls have understanding or intellect, but some are so deeply sunk in the body that their understanding loses its character and becomes irrational. Others keep partly clear of the body, and the portion not immersed in it is called the daemon. Souls that obey this daemon from their earliest years are those of seers and divine men, and such was Socrates.

Theanor has the last word. Setting aside the myth, he combines parts of the explanations of Simmias and Galaxidorus, maintaining that the gods view certain persons with special favour and communicate with them directly by symbols. Others they help indirectly : when the cycle of birth is over, good men become daemons, and are allowed by the gods to call out to and help those who are approaching the end of their cycle.

At the conclusion of the discussion Theocritus, Galaxidorus, and Caphisias urge Epameinondas to join them in killing the oligarchs. Epameinondas gives his reasons for refusing.

Toward nightfall the exiles slip into the city and gather at Charon's house. When all the conspirators have assembled there two officers appear and summon Charon to the presence of Archias and Philippus. The rest, convinced that the plot is discovered, are preparing a desperate sortie when Charon returns with the joyful news that the magistrates have no definite information and are already the worse for drink.

The conspirators now set out in two parties, the one to attack Leontiades and Hypates, the other, Archias and Philippus. Meanwhile a letter is brought

to Archias, revealing the whole plot. The bearer says that it deals with serious business ; but Archias slips it under his cushion with the remark that serious business can wait for the morrow. Both parties are completely successful : Archias, Philippus, Leontiades, and Hypates are all dispatched. Epameinondas and his followers join the conspirators and call the citizenry to arms. The Spartan sympathizers flee to the citadel ; and the terrified garrison makes no descent into the lower town. The Spartans capitulate and withdraw their forces.

By the very nature of its dramatic setting the *De Genio Socratis* contains no reference to the events of Plutarch's own time. No absolute date can then be fixed. Von Arnim,[a] comparing the myths of the *De Defectu Oraculorum, De Facie in Orbe Lunae, De Genio Socratis*, and *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, supposes that the four were composed in that order. If so—and many of his arguments are hardly cogent [b]—the *De Genio Socratis* was written after 95 or thereabouts, the approximate date of Plutarch's election to the Delphic priesthood.[c]

A few translations can be added to those listed in the Preface.[d]

Only two manuscripts contain the dialogue, E and B. In estimating the length of lacunas we mention E first.

[a] *Op. cit.* pp. 21-27, 42-46.

[b] *Cf.* W. Hamilton, " The Myth in Plutarch's De Genio " in *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. xxviii (1934), pp. 175-182.

[c] *Cf.* p. 173, note *e*, *supra*. For the question of the relative dates of the *De Genio Socratis* and the *Life of Pelopidas* see the papers quoted by K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1, coll. 842 f.

[d] J. Mähly, Plutarch, *Über den Genius des Sokrates. Politische Vorschriften* (Stuttgart, 1890).

The work is No. 69 in the catalogue of Lamprias, where it is called περὶ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου πρὸς Ἀλκιδάμαντα.

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(575) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥ[1]

B 1. —Ζωγράφου τινός, ὦ Καφισία,[2] μέμνημαί ποτε[3] περὶ τῶν θεωμένων τοὺς γεγραμμένους πίνακας λόγον οὐ φαῦλον ἀκούσας ἐν εἰκόνι λελεγμένον. ἔφη γὰρ ἐοικέναι τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας καὶ ἀτέχνους θεατὰς ὄχλον ὁμοῦ πολὺν ἀσπαζομένοις,[4] τοὺς δὲ κομψοὺς καὶ φιλοτέχνους, καθ' ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων προσαγορεύουσι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀκριβής, ἀλλὰ τύπῳ τινὶ γίνεται μόνον, ἡ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων σύνοψις, τοὺς δέ, τῇ κρίσει κατὰ μέρος τὸ ἔργον διαλαμβάνοντας, οὐδὲν ἀθέατον οὐδὲ ἀπροσφώνητον ἐκφεύγει τῶν καλῶς ἢ τοὐναντίον γεγονότων. οἶμαι δὴ καὶ περὶ τὰς
C ἀληθινὰς πράξεις ὁμοίως τῷ μὲν ἀργοτέρῳ[5] τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξαρκεῖν πρὸς ἱστορίαν εἰ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πέρας πύθοιτο τοῦ πράγματος, τὸν δὲ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον τῶν ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ὥσπερ τέχνης μεγάλης ἀπειργασμένων[6] θεατὴν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν, ὡς[7] τοῦ μὲν τέλους

[1] *τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου*] *σωκράτους δαιμονίου πρὸς ἀλκιδάμαντα* Lamprias.

[2] *Καφισία* Cobet : *καφεισία* and so *passim*.

[3] *μέμνημαί ποτε* Wilamowitz (*μέμνημαι* Xylander) to fill a lacuna of 17-11 letters.

[4] *ἀσπαζομένοις* Basle edition of 1542 : *ἀσπαζομένους*.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

(*The persons who take part in the dialogue are Archedamus, an Athenian, and Caphisias, a Theban.*)

1.—I RECALL, Caphisias, that a painter once gave me, in the form of a comparison, no bad description of those who view pictures. Spectators who are laymen and without instruction in the art resemble, he said, those who greet a large company with a single salutation, whereas cultivated and artistic spectators resemble men who have a private word of welcome for everyone they meet; for the general impression that the first obtain of the performance is inaccurate and as it were a mere sketch; whereas the others use their critical judgement for a separate scrutiny of each detail, and thus allow nothing well or poorly executed to pass without a look or word of recognition. I think the same is true of real events: duller minds are content with history if they learn the mere general drift and upshot of the matter, whereas the spectator fired with emulation and the love of noble conduct, when he views the works which virtue, like a great art, has executed, is more delighted with the particulars, feeling that in the outcome much is due

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[5] τῷ μὲν ἀργοτέρῳ Emperius: τῶν μὲν ἀργοτέρων.

[6] τὸν δὲ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον τῶν ὑπ' (ὑπὲρ Emperius) ἀρετῆς . . . ἀπειργασμένων Reiske: τῶν δὲ φιλοτίμων καὶ φιλοκάλων τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς . . . ἀπειργασμένον.

[7] ὡς added by Sieveking.

(575) *πολλὰ κοινὰ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἔχοντος, τοὺς*[1] *δ' ἐν*[2] *ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ*[3] *μέρους ἀγῶνας ἀρετῆς*[4] *πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα καὶ τόλμας ἔμφρονας παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καθορῶντα*[5] *καιρῷ καὶ πάθει μεμιγμένου λογισμοῦ. τούτου δὴ τοῦ γένους* D *τῶν θεατῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι δίελθέ τε τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡμῖν*[6] *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς ἐπράχθη καὶ τοῦ λόγου μετάδος ὃν ἀκούομεν*[7] *γενέσθαι τότε σοῦ*[8] *παρόντος, ὡς ἐμοῦ μηδ' ἂν εἰς Θήβας ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατοκνήσαντος ἐλθεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν Ἀθηναίοις πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐδόκουν βοιωτιάζειν.*[9]

—*Ἀλλὰ ἔδει μέν, ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε,*[10] *σοῦ δι' εὔνοιαν οὕτω προθύμως τὰ πεπραγμένα μαθεῖν σπουδάζοντος, ἐμὲ "καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον" θέσθαι κατὰ Πίνδαρον τὸ δεῦρο ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν· τὸ δὲ πρεσβείας ἀφιγμένους ἕνεκα καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἄχρι οὗ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῦ δήμου λάβω-* E *μεν ἀντιτείνειν καὶ ἀγροικίζεσθαι πρὸς εὐγνώμονα καὶ φίλον ἑταῖρον*[11] *δοκεῖ κἂν ἀνεγείρειν*[12] *τὸ κατὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀρχαῖον εἰς μισολογίαν ὄνειδος ἤδη μαραινόμενον παρὰ Σωκράτη τὸν ὑμέτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ δυσὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σπουδάζοντες οὕτως διε-*

[1] *τοὺς* Pohlenz : *τοῦ*. [2] *δ' ἐν* Bern. : *δὲ*.

[3] *ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ* Pohlenz (*ἐπὶ* Turnebus) to fill a lacuna of 19-23 letters. [4] *ἀρετῆς* Turnebus : *ἀρετῇ*.

[5] Post reads the passage as follows : *τοῦ δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι* (or *συναιτίοις*) *μέρους* [*sc. ἔχοντος*] *ἀγῶνας ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα καὶ τόλμας ἔμφρονας περὶ* (or *πρὸς* or *παρὰ*) *τὰ δεινὰ καὶ θορυβοῦντα.*

[6] *ἡμῖν* Schaefer : *ἥτις*.

[7] *μετάδος ὃν ἀκούομεν* Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 19-22 letters.

[8] *τότε σοῦ* Pohlenz (*σοῦ* Turnebus) to fill a lacuna of 15 letters. [9] *βοιωτιάζειν* Bern. : *βοιωτίζειν*.

to chance, whereas in the actions themselves and in their causes he observes the details of the struggles of virtue pitted against fortune, and the sober acts of daring in peril that come of reason blended with the stress and passion of the moment.[a] Take us to be spectators of this sort ; tell us of your enterprise from the beginning, and impart to us the discussion that we hear was held at the time in your presence ; for you may rest assured that to hear the story I should not have shrunk from journeying all the way to Thebes, except that the Athenians consider me unduly pro-Boeotian as it is.

—Indeed, Archedamus, seeing this friendly eagerness of yours to know what happened, I, for my part, should have been obliged to hold it a duty " transcending any business," as Pindar [b] says, to come here to tell the story ; as it is, when I am already here on an embassy and at leisure until the assembly delivers its reply, to refuse and be uncivil with one so sympathetic and friendly, would be enough, I think, to revive the ancient reproach against Boeotians of hostility to discussion,[c] just when that reproach was dying out. . . .[d] Yet consider whether the

[a] A desperate and much-emended sentence. The meaning is uncertain.

[b] *Isthmian Odes*, i. 2.

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 864 D.

[d] The Greek is corrupt. The sense was possibly : " now that Simmias and Cebes have distinguished themselves by their zeal for philosophy through their association with your countryman Socrates, and we [that is, Caphisias and Epameinondas] through ours with the holy Lysis."

[10] Ἀρχέδαμε nos (the MSS. have ἀρχέδαμε 595 B, D and 596 D, *infra*) : ἀρχίδαμε (*cf.* Ἀλκιδάμαντα Lamprias).

[11] φίλον ἑταῖρον Wilamowitz : φιλέταιρον.

[12] δοκεῖ κἂν ἀνεγείρειν Post (δόξειεν ἂν ἐγείρειν Holwerda) : δοκεῖν ἀνεγείρειν.

(575) φάνημεν.[1] ἀλλ' ὅρα τοὺς παρόντας εἰ πρὸς ἀκρόασιν ἅμα πράξεων[2] καὶ λόγων τοσούτων εὐκαίρως ἔχουσιν· οὐ γὰρ βραχὺ μῆκός ἐστι τῆς διηγήσεως, ἐπεὶ σὺ καὶ τοὺς λόγους προσπεριβαλέσθαι κελεύεις.

—Ἀγνοεῖς, ὦ Καφισία, τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἦ μὴν ἄξιον εἰδέναι, πατέρων ὄντας ἀγαθῶν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἰκείως ἐχόντων. ὁδὶ μέν ἐστιν ἀδελφιδοῦς
F Θρασυβούλου Λυσιθείδης, ὁδὶ δὲ Τιμόθεος Κόνωνος υἱός, οὗτοι δὲ Ἀρχίνου παῖδες, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τῆς ἑταιρείας[3] καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς[4] ἡμετέρας πάντες· ὥστε σοι τὸ[5] θέατρον εὔνουν καὶ οἰκείαν ἔχον[6] τὴν διήγησιν.

—Εὖ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ὑμῖν μέτριος ἀρχὴ γένοιτο τῆς διηγήσεως πρὸς ἃς ἴστε πράξεις;

—Ἡμεῖς, ὦ Καφισία, σχεδὸν ὡς εἶχον αἱ Θῆβαι πρὸ τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων ἐπιστάμεθα. καὶ γὰρ ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Λεοντιάδην[7] Φοιβίδαν πείσαντες ἐν σπονδαῖς καταλαβεῖν τὴν Καδμείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλον τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δὲ φόβῳ
576 κατεῖργον, ἄρχοντες αὐτοὶ παρανόμως καὶ βιαίως,

[1] The passage is corrupt. Schwartz indicates a lacuna after μαραινόμενον, supposing that some mention of Simmias and Cebes has dropped out ; K. F. Hermann reads Λῦσιν τὸν ἱερὸν (Bern. Λῦσιν τὸν γέροντα) for δυσὶ τῶν ἱερῶν. Post reads as follows after μαραινόμενον : ἐπεὶ πρὸς Σωκράτη τὸν ὑμέτερον ἡμεῖς γε περὶ λύσιν ἀποριῶν σπουδάζοντες οὕτως διεφάνημεν. We translate as if the following were written : ἐπεὶ παρὰ Σωκράτει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ Σιμμίας μὲν καὶ Κέβης, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Λύσιδι τῷ ἱερῷ σπουδάζοντες οὕτως διεφάνημεν.

[2] ἅμα πράξεων Basle edition of 1542 ; ἀναπράξεων.

[3] ἑταιρείας Bern. : ἑταιρίας.

company is disposed to hear a narrative involving so much history and philosophy combined; it will not be short in the telling, as you would have me include the discussions with the rest.

—You are unacquainted, Caphisias, with these gentlemen. I assure you that they are well worth knowing: their fathers were excellent men and good friends of your country. This is Lysitheides,[a] nephew of Thrasybulus[b]; this, Timotheüs,[c] son of Conon; these are the sons of Archinus[d]; and the rest, like these, are all men of our society. Your narrative, then, will have a friendly and interested audience.

—Excellent. But at what point would it suit you for me to begin the tale so as to connect it with the events you already know?

—We know pretty well, Caphisias, how matters stood at Thebes before the exiles' return. Thus, the news that after inducing Phoebidas to seize the Cadmeia in time of peace,[e] Archias and Leontiades had expelled some of your countrymen and were holding the rest in terrified submission, exercising authority themselves in defiance of the laws and by

[a] *Cf.* Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* no. 9392.

[b] The celebrated Athenian statesman: *cf.* Kirchner, *ibid.* no. 7305.

[c] The celebrated Athenian admiral: *cf.* Kirchner, *ibid.* no. 13700.

[d] An Athenian statesman: *cf.* Kirchner, *ibid.* no. 2526.

[e] The "King's Peace" or Peace of Antalcidas of 386 B.C. is meant. The Cadmeia was seized in 382.

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[4] *καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς* Wilamowitz (*τῆς* Ald.[2]) to fill a lacuna of 14-10 letters.

[5] *σοι τὸ* nos: *σοι.*

[6] *οἰκείαν ἔχον*] *οἰκεῖον ἔχειν* Madvig; *οἰκείως ἔχον πρὸς*? Post.

[7] *Λεοντιάδην* nos (*cf. Mor.* 1099 E and *Life of Agesilaüs*, chaps. xxiii. 11, 609 A and xxiv. 2, 609 B): *λεοντίδην* and so *passim.*

(576) ἔγνωμεν ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Μέλωνα καὶ Πελοπίδαν, ὡς οἶσθα, ἰδιόξενοι γενόμενοι καὶ παρ' ὃν χρόνον ἔφευγον ἀεὶ συνδιατρίβοντες αὐτοῖς· καὶ πάλιν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι Φοιβίδαν μὲν ἐζημίωσαν ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν Καδμείαν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς εἰς Ὄλυνθον στρατηγίας ἀπέστησαν, Λυσανορίδαν[1] δὲ τρίτον αὐτὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου πέμψαντες ἐγκρατέστερον ἐφρούρουν τὴν ἄκραν, ἠκούσαμεν· ἔγνωμεν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἱσμηνίαν[2] οὐ τοῦ βελτίστου θανάτου τυχόντα εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δίκης τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένης, Γοργίδου πάντα τοῖς φυγάσι δεῦρο διὰ
B γραμμάτων ἐξαγγείλαντος. ὥστε σοι λείπεται τὰ περὶ τὴν κάθοδον αὐτὴν[3] τῶν φίλων καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῶν τυράννων διηγεῖσθαι.

2. —Καὶ μὴν ἐκείναις γε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε, πάντες οἱ τῶν πραττομένων μετέχοντες εἰώθειμεν εἰς τὴν Σιμμίου συνιόντες οἰκίαν ἔκ τινος πληγῆς περὶ τὸ σκέλος ἀναλαμβάνοντος αὐτὸν ἐντυγχάνειν μὲν ἀλλήλοις εἴ του δεήσειε, φανερῶς δὲ διατρίβειν ἐπὶ λόγοις καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ, πολλάκις ἐφελκόμενοι τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον, οὐκ ὄντας ἀλλοτρίους παντάπασι
C τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σιμμίας πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης γεγονὼς καὶ πεπλανημένος ἐν ἀλλοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν εἰς Θήβας ἀφῖκτο μύθων τε[4] παντοδαπῶν καὶ λόγων

[1] Λυσανορίδαν] Ziegler reads the form Λυσανδρίδας in the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xiii. 3 (284 D), following Wade-Gery (in *Classical Quarterly*, xxi, 1927, p. 159, note 4), who com-

the use of force, reached us here,[a] as we had opened our homes to Melon and Pelopidas, as you know, and for the duration of their exile were constantly in their company. Again, we have heard that although the Lacedaemonians fined Phoebidas for seizing the Cadmeia and relieved him of the command against Olynthus,[b] they nevertheless sent in his place Lysanoridas with two others [c] and strengthened the garrison in the citadel; we have also learned that Hismenias, immediately after his trial, met death not in its noblest form; all this Gorgidas reported in letters to the exiles here. So all that remains for you to tell is the story how your friends returned and overthrew the tyrants.[d]

2. —In those days, Archedamus, all who were in the plot used to forgather at the house of Simmias, who was recovering from a wound in the leg. Our real purpose was to see each other as the need arose, but ostensibly we met for philosophical discussion; often, to avoid suspicion, we brought Archias and Leontiades along, who were not entire strangers to such pursuits. Indeed, after a long stay abroad and much travel among strange peoples, Simmias had but recently returned to Thebes with a great store of all manner

[a] At Athens.

[b] The army sent against Olynthus had seized the Cadmeia on the way.

[c] That is, Arcesus and Herippidas: *cf.* 598 F, *infra.*

[d] The oligarchic usurpers in Thebes are meant: Leontiades, Archias, Philippus, and Hypates.

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pares Theopompus, Frag. 240 (*Die Frag. d. gr. Hist.*, Zweiter Teil, pp. 587 f. Jacoby).

[2] Ἰσμηνίαν nos (*cf.* the note on the text of *Mor.* 606 F): ἰσμηνίαν and so *passim* and in all related words.

[3] αὐτὴν Reiske: αὐτῶν. [4] τε Dübner: δὲ.

(576) βαρβαρικῶν ὑπόπλεως· ὧν[1] ὁπότε τυγχάνοι σχολὴν ἄγων ὁ Ἀρχίας ἡδέως ἠκροᾶτο συγκαθιεὶς[2] μετὰ τῶν νέων καὶ βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς ἐν λόγοις διάγειν μᾶλλον ἢ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν οἷς ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι.

Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ᾗ σκότους ἔδει γενομένου τοὺς φυγάδας ἥκειν κρύφα πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀφικνεῖταί τις ἐνθένδε Φερενίκου[3] πέμψαντος ἄνθρωπος οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ Χάρωνι[4] γνώριμος· ἐδήλου δὲ τῶν φυγάδων ὄντας δώδεκα τοὺς νεωτάτους μετὰ κυνῶν περὶ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα θηρεῦσαι,
D ὡς πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀφιξομένους[5]· αὐτὸς δὲ πεμφθῆναι ταῦτά τε προερῶν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ κρυβήσονται παρελθόντες ὃς παρέξει γνωσόμενος, ὡς ἂν εἰδότες εὐθὺς ἐκεῖ βαδίζοιεν. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ σκοπούντων αὐτὸς ὡμολόγησεν ὁ Χάρων παρέξειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπος ἔγνω πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν σπουδῇ πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας.

3. Ἐμοῦ δὲ ὁ μάντις Θεόκριτος τὴν χεῖρα πιέσας σφόδρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Χάρωνα βλέψας προερχόμενον, "οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ὦ Καφισία, φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ μετείληφε παιδείας διαφόρου καὶ περιττῆς, ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁ σὸς ἀδελφός·
E ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς ὅτι φύσει πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀγόμενος τὸν μέγιστον ὑποδύεται κίνδυνον ἑκουσίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δέ, Βοιωτῶν

[1] ὑπόπλεως· ὧν Wyttenbach : ὑπόπλεως ὧν.
[2] συγκαθιεὶς] συγκαθεὶς B.
[3] Φερενίκου Stephanus : φερενείκου and so 577 A, *infra*.
[4] τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ Χάρωνι Benseler : ἢ χάρωνι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν.
[5] ἀφιξομένους Reiske : ἀφικομένους.

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[a] A Theban exile at Athens : *cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. v. 3 (280 C) and chap. viii. 1 (281 C).

[b] A mountain ridge between Attica and Boeotia.

of foreign legends and information ; to this Archias delighted to listen in his leisure moments, mingling affably with the youthful company and preferring that we should spend our time in talk rather than attend to what he and his party were doing.

On the day when the exiles were to come secretly to the walls after dark, a messenger from Pherenicus,[a] known to none of us except Charon, arrived from here with word that the youngest exiles, twelve in number, had taken hounds and gone out to hunt on Cithaeron,[b] intending to reach Thebes that evening [c] ; he had been sent, he said, to give notice of this and to learn who would provide a house for their concealment when they slipped into the city, so that with this information they could proceed to it at once. In the midst of our hesitation and perplexity, Charon offered to provide his own house.[d] The messenger, then, determined to rejoin the exiles with all speed.

3. Grasping my hand firmly, with his eyes on Charon, who was going on before,[e] Theocritus [f] the soothsayer said: " This man, Caphisias, is no philosopher, nor has he, like your brother Epameinondas, had any schooling of a distinguished and exceptional kind ; yet you observe that he is naturally guided to noble conduct by the laws, and willingly assumes the gravest risks for his country's sake. Whereas

[c] *Cf.* Nepos, *Pelopidas*, chap. ii. 5. Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4. 3, sets the number at seven.

[d] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. vii. 4 (281 B).

[e] We are not told where the messenger found the conspirators ; no doubt it was at Charon's house, as Charon alone was known to him. At all events the conspirators now leave and meet Archias and his party on the way ; they then proceed to Simmias' house. *Cf.* G. M. Lattanzi, *Il " De genio Socratis " di Plutarco*, p. 19 note 4.

[f] Mentioned in the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xxii. 3 (289 C).

(576) ἁπάντων τῷ πεπαιδεῦσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀξιῶν διαφέρειν, ἀμβλύς ἐστι καὶ ἀπρόθυμος . . . τοῦτον ἤ τινα[1] βελτίονα καιρὸν αὐτῷ[2] πεφυκότι καὶ παρεσκευασμένῳ καλῶς οὕτω χρησόμενος."

F Κἀγὼ πρὸς αὐτόν, "ὦ προθυμότατε," εἶπον, "Θεόκριτε, τὰ δεδογμένα πράττομεν ἡμεῖς· Ἐπαμεινώνδας δέ, μὴ πείθων, ὡς οἴεται βέλτιον εἶναι, ταῦτα μὴ πράσσειν, εἰκότως ἀντιτείνει πρὸς ἃ μὴ πέφυκε μηδὲ δοκιμάζει παρακαλούμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰατρὸν ἄνευ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς ὑπισχνούμενον τὸ νόσημα παύσειν εὐγνωμονοίης ἄν, οἶμαι, τέμνειν ἢ ἀποκαίειν βιαζόμενος τὸ νοσοῦν." ἐκείνου δ' ὁμολογήσαντος,[3] "οὐκοῦν καὶ οὗτος," ἔφην ἐγώ, "αὐτὸς μὲν[4] δήπου μηδένα[5] τῶν πολιτῶν φησιν ἄνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἀποκτενεῖν[6] ἄκριτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἵματος ἄτερ[7] ἐμφυλίου καὶ σφαγῆς τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθεροῦσι συναγωνιεῖσθαι προθύμως. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ πείθει τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλὰ ταύτην ὡρμήκαμεν τὴν ὁδόν, ἐᾶν αὐτὸν κελεύει, φόνου καθαρὸν ὄντα

577 καὶ ἀναίτιον, ἐφεστάναι τοῖς καιροῖς, μετὰ τοῦ

[1] There is here a lacuna of 60-56 letters followed by τοῦτον ἤ τινα. Emperius reads τοσοῦτον ἀγῶνα τίνα ; van Herwerden ἐν τῷ παρόντι βοηθεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Θηβῶν κινδυνεύουσιν, ὡς λαβὼν τούτου δή τινα ; Bern. βοηθεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κινδυνεύουσιν, ὡς εἰ μὴ παρὰ τοῦτον παρὰ τίνα ; Holwerda ὡς πρὸς τούτου δή τινα ; Wyttenbach εἰ μὴ εἰς τοῦτον, εἰς τίνα.

[2] αὐτῷ] αὑτῷ Pohlenz.

[3] τὸ σῶμα (νοσοῦν nos). ἐκείνου δ' ὁμολογήσαντος Bern., to fill a lacuna of 40-32 letters ; τὸ πεπονθός Wyttenbach.

[4] ἔφην ἐγώ, αὐτὸς μὲν Bern., to fill a lacuna of 20-19 letters ; λόγῳ καὶ πειθοῖ ταῦτα διαπράττεσθαι διανοούμενος, καὶ δοκιμάζων Wyttenbach ; συγγνώμης ἄξιος Pohlenz.

[5] μηδένα Wyttenbach : μηδὲ διά.

Epameinondas, who feels that by reason of his schooling he is superior in virtue to all other Boeotians, is not keen or eager [a] to help the men who are braving danger for their country. Yet what better occasion can he desire than this for putting himself to use, splendidly equipped as he is by nature and training ?"

I replied : " We, my eager friend, are carrying out our own decisions, whereas Epameinondas has been unsuccessful in his endeavour to persuade us to drop them, as he believes would be for the best. It is hardly surprising, then, that he refuses our invitation to proceedings that run counter to his nature and his judgement. Suppose a physician promised to cure a disease without recourse to the knife or cautery : here too it would be unreasonable of you, I think, to compel him to cut or sear the diseased member." Theocritus admitted this was true, and I pursued : " And is not Epameinondas in the same case ? He asserts, does he not ? that unless driven to it by extreme necessity, he will put no countryman to death untried, but will gladly join forces with all who endeavour without resorting to civil bloodshed and slaughter to set our city free.[b] But since the majority are against him, and we are already engaged in this course, he would have us allow him to await the favourable moment for intervention, remaining innocent and guiltless of bloodshed. Thus interest

[a] There is a long lacuna in the text here ; we translate a conjectural supplement.

[b] In the Greek text rendered by these three sentences are three considerable lacunas. The translation is conjectural.

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[6] φησιν ἄνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἀποκτενεῖν Bern., to fill a lacuna of 51-39 letters.

[7] καὶ αἵματος ἄτερ (or καὶ χωρὶς αἵματος) nos (καὶ τοῖς δίχ' αἵματος or δίχ' αἵματος Post) : καὶ αἵματος.

(577) δικαίου καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι προσοισόμενον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅρον ἕξειν[1] τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ Φερένικον μὲν ἴσως καὶ Πελοπίδαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους μάλιστα τρέψεσθαι καὶ πονηρούς, Εὐμολπίδαν δὲ καὶ Σαμίδαν,[2] ἀνθρώπους διαπύρους πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ θυμοειδεῖς, ἐν νυκτὶ λαβόντας ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι τὰ ξίφη πρὶν ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ὅλην φόνων καὶ διαφθεῖραι πολλοὺς τῶν ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων ὄντων."[3]

4. Ταῦτά μου διαλεγομένου πρὸς τὸν Θεόκριτον διακρούων[4] ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος[5] ἐγγὺς Ἀρχίαν ἤγγειλεν[6] καὶ Λυσανορίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας
B ὥσπερ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἡμῖν σπεύδοντας. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐπέσχομεν· ὁ δ' Ἀρχίας καλέσας τὸν Θεόκριτον καὶ τῷ Λυσανορίδᾳ προσαγαγὼν ἰδίᾳ λαλεῖ[7] πολὺν χρόνον ἐκνεύσας ἐκ[8] τῆς ὁδοῦ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἄμφιον, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγωνιᾶν μή τις ὑπόνοια προσπέπτωκεν ἢ μήνυσις αὐτοῖς, περὶ ἧς ἀνακρίνουσι τὸν Θεόκριτον.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φυλλίδας, ὃν οἶσθας,[9] ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε, τότε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν πολεμαρχοῦσι γραμματεύων,[10] συνειδὼς τοὺς φυγάδας μέλλοντας[11] ἥξειν καὶ τῆς πράξεως μετέχων, λαβόμενός μου

[1] ἕξειν Xylander : ἕξει.
[2] Σαμίδαν Reiske : σαμιάδαν.
[3] διαφόρων ὄντων Cobet : διαφερόντων.
[4] διακρούων nos (διέκρουσεν or διέκρουεν Bern.) : διακούων.
[5] Γαλαξίδωρος Salmasius : ἀναξίδωρος.
[6] Ἀρχίαν ἤγγειλεν nos (γὰρ Ἀρχίαν ἑώρα Bern.; γὰρ Ἀρχίαν ἔδειξε Wilamowitz) : γὰρ followed by a lacuna of 15-16 letters.
[7] λαλεῖ] διελάλει Wilamowitz.
[8] ἐκ nos, to fill a lacuna of 2 letters in E : B omits, leaving no lacuna.
[9] οἶσθας] οἶσθα Ald.².
[10] γραμματεύων] γραμματεύοντα Wilamowitz.

as well as justice will be served. For, he contends, no distinction will be drawn in the actual fighting; Pherenicus perhaps and Pelopidas will turn their arms against those most deep in guilt and crime, but Eumolpidas and Samidas,[a] men white-hot in anger and passionate in temper, once they get a free hand in the night, will not lay their swords aside until they have filled the entire city with slaughter and destroyed many of their personal enemies."

4. As I was thus conversing with Theocritus Galaxidorus [b] interrupted us to announce that Archias and Lysanoridas the Spartan were close at hand, hastening from the Cadmeia as if bent on meeting us. We, then, broke off; and Archias, summoning Theocritus and taking him to Lysanoridas, talked privately for a long time, withdrawing a short distance from the street to the foot of the Amphion,[c] so that we were in an agony of fear that some suspicion or intelligence had reached them and they were interrogating Theocritus about it.

Meanwhile Phyllidas [d]—you know the man, Archedamus—at that time secretary to Archias and the other polemarchs,[e] who was in the secret of the exiles' intended return and one of the conspiracy, took my

[a] The correct form is possibly Samiadas.

[b] Mentioned in Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 5. 1.

[c] The Amphion or Ampheion was taken by Plutarch to be a hill in the neighbourhood of the Cadmeia: *cf.* F. Schober in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* "Thebai" (vol. v. A, col. 1446. 34-62).

[d] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. vii. 4 (281 B); Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4. 2.

[e] There were probably three polemarchs. The names of two, Archias and Philippus, are known.

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[11] *συνειδὼς τοὺς φυγάδας μέλλοντας* Wilamowitz (*συνειδὼς* Schadewaldt) to fill a lacuna of 23-19 letters.

(577) τῆς χειρὸς ὥσπερ εἰώθει φανερῶς ἔσκωπτεν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν πάλην, εἶτα, πόρρω τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαγαγών, ἐπυνθάνετο περὶ τῶν φυγάδων εἰ τὴν C ἡμέραν φυλάττουσιν. ἐμοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, "οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν, "ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν παρεσκεύακα σήμερον ὡς δεξόμενος Ἀρχίαν καὶ παρέξων ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὐχείρωτον."

"Ἄριστα μὲν οὖν," εἶπον, "ὦ Φυλλίδα, καὶ πειράθητι πάντας ἢ[1] πλείους εἰς ταὐτὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συναγαγεῖν."

"Ἀλλ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρχίας ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν ἀφίξεσθαι τηνικαῦτα πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ βούλεται παρεῖναι τὸν Λεοντιάδην. ὥσθ' ὑμῖν[2] δίχα διαιρετέον αὑτοὺς[3] ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας· Ἀρχίου γὰρ D ἅμα καὶ Λεοντιάδου προκαταληφθέντων οἶμαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκποδὼν ἔσεσθαι φεύγοντας ἢ μενεῖν[4] μεθ' ἡσυχίας, ἀγαπῶντας ἄν τις διδῷ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν."

"Οὕτως," ἔφην, "ποιήσομεν. ἀλλὰ τί πρᾶγμα τούτοις πρὸς Θεόκριτόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ διαλέγονται;"

Καὶ ὁ Φυλλίδας, "οὐ σαφῶς," εἶπεν, "ἔχω λέγειν[5] οὐδὲ ὡς ἐπιστάμενος, ἤκουον δὲ σημεῖα καὶ μαντεύματα δυσχερῆ καὶ χαλεπὰ προτεθεσπίσθαι[6] τῇ Σπάρτῃ."

. . .[7] Φειδόλαος ὁ Ἁλιάρτιος[8] ἀπαντήσας, "μι-

[1] ἢ] ἢ τούς γε Wilamowitz. [2] ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν B.
[3] αὑτοὺς] αὐτοὺς B. [4] μενεῖν Stephanus : μένειν.
[5] ἔχω λέγειν added by Pohlenz (ἔχω εἰπεῖν Wyttenbach).
[6] προτεθεσπίσθαι Emperius : προστίθεσθαι.
[7] There is a lacuna in the MSS. here of 99-81 letters; Amyot supplies ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανελθόντος.
[8] Ἁλιάρτιος Amyot : τῖος.

hand and made a show of twitting me in his usual fashion about my fondness for exercise and wrestling; then, when he had drawn me aside from the rest, he asked if the exiles were keeping to the appointed day. When I answered that they were, he said: "I did well, then, to prepare for to-day the entertainment in which I am to receive Archias into my house and make him an easy prey for our men at a drunken banquet."

"Well done indeed, Phyllidas," I answered; "and endeavour to bring all or most of our enemies together."

"That is no easy matter," he said; "or rather it is impossible, as Archias, who expects a visit at that very time from a certain lady of rank, does not desire Leontiades to be present. You must therefore split forces and take the houses separately; for with Archias and Leontiades both disposed of I imagine the rest will take to flight and be out of the way, or make no trouble if they remain, only too glad to be offered safety."

"That we will do," I said. "But what business have these men with Theocritus that they are talking about?"

Phyllidas answered: "I cannot tell you definitely and do not speak from knowledge, but I have heard that disquieting and ominous portents and prophecies bode ill for Sparta."

Meantime Theocritus rejoined us and we proceeded to Simmias' house, where [a] we were met by Pheidolaüs [b] of Haliartus. "Simmias," he said, "asks you

[a] The words "Meantime . . . where" are a guess at the sense of words that have been lost in a long lacuna.

[b] Otherwise unknown.

(577) *κρόν,'' εἶπεν, '' ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα περιμεῖναι*[1] *παρακαλεῖ*[2] *Σιμμίας· ἐντυγχάνει γὰρ ἰδίᾳ Λεοντιάδῃ*[3] *περὶ Ἀμφιθέου, παραιτούμενος μεῖναι τὸ*[4] *διαπράξασθαι φυγὴν ἀντὶ θανάτου τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.''*
E

5. Καὶ ὁ Θεόκριτος, '' *εἰς καιρόν,'' ἔφη, '' καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες· καὶ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην πυθέσθαι τίνα ἦν τὰ εὑρεθέντα καὶ τίς ὅλως ἡ ὄψις τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης τάφου παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνοιχθέντος, εἰ δὴ*[5] *παρεγένου καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτε πέμψας Ἀγησίλαος εἰς Σπάρτην τὰ λείψανα μετεκόμιζε.''*

Καὶ ὁ Φειδόλαος, '' *οὐ γάρ,'' ἔφη, '' παρέτυχον, καὶ πολλὰ δυσανασχετῶν καὶ ἀγανακτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐγκατελείφθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν. εὑρέθη δ' οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ μνήματι πλὴν λίθου λείψανον οὐδὲν τοῦ*[6]
F *σώματος, ψέλλιον δὲ*[7] *χαλκοῦν οὐ μέγα καὶ δύο ἀμφορεῖς κεραμεοῖ*[8] *γῆν ἔχοντες ἐντὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου λελιθωμένην ἤδη καὶ συμπεπηγυῖαν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ*[9] *τοῦ μνήματος ἔκειτο*[10] *πίναξ χαλκοῦς*[11] *ἔχων γράμματα πολλὰ θαυμαστὰ*[12] *ὡς παμπάλαια· γνῶναι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν*[13] *οὐδὲν*[14] *παρεῖχε καίπερ ἐκφανέντα τοῦ χαλκοῦ καταπλυθέντος, ἀλλ' ἴδιός τις ὁ τύπος*

[1] *περιμεῖναι* Leonicus (*κελεύει περιμεῖναι* Reiske): *περιμείνασι.* [2] *παρακαλεῖ* added by Klaffenbach.

[3] *ἰδίᾳ Λεοντίδῃ* Reiske: *διὰ λεοντίδην.*

[4] *μεῖναι τὸ*] *αὐτὸν* Sieveking; *ἐνεῖναι τὸ* Post.

[5] *εἰ δὴ* Leonicus: *ἤδη.*

[6] *ἐν μὲν* through *τοῦ* our supplement of a lacuna of 37-33 letters; *λείψανον μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ* or *πλὴν ἢ λίθος λείψανον οὐδὲν τοῦ* Castiglioni; *λίθος ἀντὶ τοῦ* Wilamowitz.

[7] *δὲ*] *τε* Emperius.

[8] *ἀμφορεῖς κεραμεοῖ* Bern.: *ἀμφορέες κεράμειοι.*

[9] *ἔμπροσθεν δὲ* nos (*ἐπάνω δὲ* Bern.), to fill a lacuna of 15-14 letters.

to await him here a moment; he is conferring in private with Leontiades about Amphitheüs,[a] entreating him to wait until he can arrange for a sentence of banishment instead of death."

5. "You come most opportunely and as if by design," said Theocritus. "I had been desiring to hear what objects were found and what was the general appearance of Alcmena's tomb when it was opened up in your country—that is, if you were present when the remains were removed to Sparta on orders received from Agesilaüs." [b]

"I was not present," Pheidolaüs replied; "and although I expressed to my countrymen my strong indignation and exasperation at the outrage, they left me helpless. Be that as it may, in the tomb itself no remains were found, but only a stone,[c] together with a bronze bracelet of no great size and two pottery urns containing earth which had by then, through the passage of time, become a petrified and solid mass. Before the tomb, however, lay a bronze tablet with a long inscription of such amazing antiquity that nothing could be made of it, although it came out clear when the bronze was washed; but

[a] A leader of the anti-Spartan party, now in prison: *cf.* 598 B, *infra.*

[b] This act is elsewhere unrecorded.

[c] For the disappearance of Alcmena's body at her burial and the substitution for it of a stone *cf. Life of Romulus*, chap. xxviii. 7 (35 E); Pherecydes, Frag. 84 (ed. Jacoby); and Pausanias, ix. 16. 7.

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[10] ἔκειτο Reiske, to fill a lacuna of 9-8 letters.

[11] χαλκοῦς Bern.: χάλκεος.

[12] θαυμαστὰ] θαυμαστὸν Bern.

[13] αὐτῶν Sieveking: αὐτῶν.

[14] οὐδὲν Leonicus: οὐδὲ.

(577) καὶ βαρβαρικὸς τῶν χαρακτήρων ἐμφερέστατος Αἰγυπτίοις· διὸ καὶ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς ἔφασαν, ἐξέπεμψεν ἀντίγραφα[1] τῷ βασιλεῖ δεόμενος δεῖξαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰ ξυνήσουσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων μὲν ἴσως ἂν ἔχοι τι καὶ Σιμμίας ἡμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι,
578 κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διὰ φιλοσοφίαν συγγενόμενος. Ἁλιάρτιοι δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀφορίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπίβασιν τῆς λίμνης οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου[2] γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ μήνιμα τοῦ τάφου τοῦτο περιελθεῖν ἀνασχομένους ὀρυττόμενον."

Καὶ ὁ Θεόκριτος, μικρὸν διαλιπών, "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς," ἔφη, "Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀμήνιτον ἔοικεν εἶναι τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς προδείκνυσι τὰ σημεῖα περὶ ὧν ἄρτι Λυσανορίδας ἡμῖν ἐκοινοῦτο· καὶ νῦν μὲν ἄπεισιν εἰς Ἁλίαρτον ἐπιχώσων αὖθις τὸ σῆμα
B καὶ χοὰς ποιησόμενος Ἀλκμήνῃ καὶ Ἀλέῳ[3] κατὰ δή τινα χρησμόν, ἀγνοῶν τὸν[4] Ἄλεον ὅστις ἦν· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οἷός ἐστι τὸν Δίρκης ἀναζητεῖν τάφον, ἄγνωστον ὄντα τοῖς Θηβαίοις πλὴν τῶν ἱππαρχηκότων. ὁ γὰρ ἀπαλλαττόμενος τὸν παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν μόνος ἄγων μόνον ἔδειξε

[1] ἀντίγραφα Reiske : ἀντιγραφὰς.
[2] ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου B : ἀπαυτομάτου E.
[3] Ἀλέῳ Dübner : ἄλεον.
[4] τὸν B : τὸ E.

[a] The king of Egypt is meant, doubtless Nektanebis, whose reign began about 380 (*cf.* M. Pieper in Pauly-Wissowa, xvi, col. 2234 ; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 2, pp. 123 f.). On

the characters had a peculiar and foreign conformation, greatly resembling that of Egyptian writing. Agesilaüs accordingly, it was said, dispatched copies to the king,[a] with the request to submit them to the priests for possible interpretation. But about these matters Simmias might perhaps have something to tell us, as at that time he saw a good deal of the priests in Egypt in the pursuit of his philosophical inquiries. At Haliartus the great failure of crops and encroachment of the lake [b] are held to have been no mere accident, but a judgement on us for having allowed the excavation of the tomb."

After a short pause Theocritus replied : " No more do the Lacedaemonians themselves appear to have escaped the wrath of heaven, as is evinced by the portents about which Lysanoridas was consulting me just now ; indeed he is now leaving for Haliartus to close up the tomb and pour libations to Alcmena and Aleüs,[c] in obedience to some oracle—though quite in the dark as to who this Aleüs was— ; and on his return he intends to search out the tomb of Dircê, which is unknown to any Theban who has not served as hipparch. For the retiring hipparch takes his successor and shows him the tomb in private and

his visit to Egypt Eudoxus carried a letter of introduction from Agesilaüs to Nektanebis (*cf.* Diogenes Laert. viii. 87).

[b] These events are not recorded elsewhere. In modern times the Copaic lake reached its greatest height in February or March (*cf.* J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, v, p. 112). This would be at the latest in the opening months of 379, as the Cadmeia was freed in the December of that year.

[c] The people of Haliartus identified Aleüs with Rhadamanthys, whom Alcmena married after Amphitryon's death ; *cf. Life of Lysander*, chap. xxviii. 8 (499 D).

(578) νύκτωρ, καί τινας[1] ἐπ' αὐτῷ δράσαντες ἀπύρους[2] ἱερουργίας, ὧν τὰ σημεῖα συγχέουσι καὶ ἀφανίζουσιν, ὑπὸ σκότος ἀπέρχονται χωρισθέντες. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ[3] μέν, ὦ Φειδόλαε, σπουδάζειν οὕτω περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἐπαινῶ, τὸν δὲ τοῦ τάφου τόπον οὐκ εὐκόλως[4] ἐξευρήσειν αὐτοὺς νομίζω· φεύγουσι γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἱππαρχηκότων νομίμως, μᾶλ-
C λον δὲ πάντες πλὴν Γοργίδου καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειαν ἐκπυνθάνεσθαι, δεδιότες τοὺς ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄρχοντες ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν σφραγῖδα παραλαμβάνουσιν οὐκ[5] εἰδότες οὐδὲν οὔτε περὶ τῶν δρωμένων οὔτε τοῦ τάφου."[6]

6. Ταῦτα τοῦ Θεοκρίτου λέγοντος ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐξῄει μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰσελθόντες ἠσπαζόμεθα τὸν Σιμμίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης καθεζόμενον οὐ κατατετευχότα τῆς δεήσεως, οἶμαι, μάλα σύννουν καὶ διαλελυπημένον· ἀποβλέψας δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντας
D ἡμᾶς, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπεν, "ἀγρίων καὶ βαρβάρων ἠθῶν· εἶτα οὐχ ὑπέρευ Θαλῆς ὁ παλαιός, ἀπὸ ξένης ἐλθὼν διὰ χρόνου, τῶν φίλων ἐρωτώντων ὅ τι καινότατον ἱστορήκοι, 'τύραννον,' ἔφη, 'γέροντα'; καὶ γὰρ ᾧ μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ συμβέβηκεν ἀδικεῖσθαι, τὸ βάρος αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σκληρότητα

[1] τινας Ald.[2] : τινες.
[2] ἀπύρους Leonicus : ἀπείρους.
[3] τὸ nos (τὸ μνῆμα Bern. ; τοῦτο Pohlenz) : τ followed by a lacuna of a single letter.
[4] ἐπαινῶ τὸ οὕτω σπουδάζειν περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν (we read σπουδάζειν οὕτω περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἐπαινῶ), τὸν δὲ τοῦ τάφου

at night; and upon performing certain rites there in which no fire is used, they rub out and destroy all trace of them and return their separate ways in the darkness. Now I commend our opponents' zeal, Pheidolaüs, for the performance of the rites, but they will not, I think, find it easy to discover the place of the tomb, as most of those who have legally held the office of hipparch are in exile, or rather all of them except Gorgidas and Platon [a]—and from these they would not even attempt to secure the information, so greatly do they fear them—whereas the present magistrates on the Cadmeia take over the spear and the seal in utter ignorance of both the ritual and the tomb."

6. While Theocritus spoke Leontiades and his friends left. We entered and greeted Simmias, who was sitting up on his couch, very downcast and distressed, doubtless because his petition had failed. Looking up at all of us, he exclaimed: "Good God! What cruel and barbarous natures! Was that not a most excellent answer of Thales of old, when asked by his friends on his return from a long absence abroad for the greatest curiosity he had discovered: 'a tyrant in old age'? [b] For even if a man happens to have endured no personal injury, yet his disgust at the offensive and brutal society of such men is in

[a] Gorgidas was boeotarch in 379 and founded the Sacred Band; Platon is otherwise unknown.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 147 B, *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, 321 E (ed. Sternbach) and Philodemus, *On Death*, xxxviii. 29-31.

τόπον οὐκ εὐκόλως Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 140-114 letters followed by καλῶς.

[5] οὐκ Wilamowitz: οὔτε.

[6] περὶ τῶν δρωμένων οὔτε περὶ τοῦ τάφου Wilamowitz (we omit the second περί), to fill a lacuna of 26-20 letters.

(578) τῆς ὁμιλίας δυσχεραίνων ἐχθρός ἐστι τῶν ἀνόμων καὶ ἀνυπευθύνων δυναστειῶν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως θεῷ μελήσει· τὸν δὲ ξένον ἴστε τὸν ἀφιγμένον, ὦ Καφισία, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅστις ἐστίν;"

"Οὐκ οἶδα," ἔφην ἐγώ, "τίνα λέγεις."

"Καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "Λεοντιάδης φησὶν[1] ἄνθρωπον ὦφθαι παρὰ τὸ Λύσιδος μνημεῖον ἐκ νυκτῶν
E ἀνιστάμενον, ἀκολουθίας πλήθει καὶ κατασκευῇ σοβαρόν, αὐτόθι κατηυλισμένον ἐπὶ στιβάδων· φαίνεσθαι γὰρ ἄγνου καὶ μυρίκης χαμεύνας ἔτι δ' ἐμπύρων λείψανα καὶ χοὰς γάλακτος· ἕωθεν δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν ἀπαντώντων εἰ τοὺς Πολύμνιος παῖδας ἐνδημοῦντας εὑρήσει."

"Καὶ τίς ἄν," εἶπον, "ὁ ξένος εἴη; περιττῷ γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν λέγεις τινὶ καὶ οὐκ ἰδιώτῃ προσέοικεν."

7. "Οὐ γὰρ οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Φειδόλαος· "ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μέν, ὅταν ἥκῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δεξόμεθα· νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀρτίως ἠποροῦμεν, ὦ Σιμμία, γραμμάτων, εἴ τι γινώσκεις πλεῖον, ἐξάγγειλον ἡμῖν·
F λέγονται γὰρ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς[2] τὰ γράμματα συμβαλεῖν τοῦ πίνακος ἃ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Ἀλκμήνης τάφον ἀνασκευασάμενος."

Καὶ ὁ Σιμμίας εὐθὺς ἀναμνησθείς, "οὐκ οἶδα," ἔφη, "τὸν πίνακα τοῦτον, ὦ Φειδόλαε, γράμματα δὲ πολλὰ παρὰ Ἀγησιλάου κομίζων Ἀγητορίδας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἧκεν εἰς Μέμφιν ὡς Χόνουφιν τὸν

itself enough to make him an enemy to lawless and irresponsible domination. But these matters Heaven will perhaps attend to. Does your family, Caphisias, know who the stranger is that has come to see them ?"

"I do not know whom you mean," I replied.

"Yet Leontiades," said he, "asserts that a man making an imposing figure with a numerous and splendid retinue has been seen breaking camp before dawn at the tomb of Lysis, where he had lodged on rude beds, couches of chaste tree and tamarisk being found there—and traces of burnt offerings and libations of milk as well— ; and that this morning he had asked passers-by whether he should find the sons of Polymnis in town."

"Who indeed could the stranger be ?" I said. "From your description he seems to be of some consequence and not a private person."

7. "He does indeed," said Pheidolaüs ; "and we shall make him welcome when he comes. But at present, Simmias, to return to the inscription we were wondering about just now, give us what further information you may have ; for it is said that the priests in Egypt were able to read the inscription which was written on the tablet and which Agesilaüs took from us at Haliartus when he dismantled Alcmena's tomb."

Simmias at once recollected : "Of your tablet, Pheidolaüs, I know nothing. But Agetoridas [a] the Spartan came to Memphis with a long document from Agesilaüs for the spokesman of the god, Chonuphis,[b]

[a] Otherwise unknown.

[b] Chonuphis of Memphis taught Eudoxus : *cf. Mor.* 354 E and Clement, *Strom.* i. 15. 69. 1.

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[1] φησὶν added by Amyot and Wyttenbach.

[2] ἱερεῖς Turnebus : ἱερέες.

(578) προφήτην, ᾧ πολλὰ τότε[1] συμφιλοσοφοῦντες διετρίβομεν ἐγὼ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἑλλοπίων ὁ Πεπαρήθιος. ἧκε δὲ πέμψαντος βασιλέως καὶ κελεύσαντος τὸν Χόνουφιν εἴ τι συμβάλλοι τῶν γεγραμμένων ἑρμηνεύσαντα ταχέως ἀποστεῖλαι· πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναλεξάμενος βιβλίων τῶν παλαιῶν
579 παντοδαποὺς χαρακτῆρας ἀντέγραψε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔφρασεν ὡς Μούσαις ἀγῶνα συντελεῖσθαι κελεύει[2] τὰ γράμματα, τοὺς δὲ τύπους εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ Πρωτεῖ βασιλεύοντι γραμματικῆς, ἣν[3] Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος[4] ἐκμαθεῖν, ὑφηγεῖσθαι μέντοι καὶ παραινεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τὸν θεὸν ἄγειν σχολὴν καὶ εἰρήνην διὰ φιλοσοφίας ἀγωνιζομένους ἀεί, Μούσαις καὶ λόγῳ διακρινομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ὅπλα καταθέντας. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τότε λέγειν καλῶς ἡγούμεθα τὸν Χόνουφιν, καὶ μᾶλλον ὁπηνίκα κομιζομένοις ἡμῖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου περὶ Καρίαν Δηλίων τινὲς
B ἀπήντησαν δεόμενοι Πλάτωνος ὡς γεωμετρικοῦ λῦσαι χρησμὸν αὐτοῖς ἄτοπον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προβεβλημένον. ἦν δ' ὁ[5] χρησμὸς Δηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι παῦλαν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἔσεσθαι διπλασιάσασι[6] τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμόν. οὔτε

[1] ᾧ πολλὰ τότε Schwartz (παρ' ᾧπερ τότε van Herwerden; παρ' ᾧ τότε Bern.) to fill a lacuna of 9-8 letters followed by ποτὲ.
[2] συντελεῖσθαι κελεύει] κελεύει συντελεῖσθαι B.
[3] ἣν added by Cobet.
[4] Ἀμφιτρύωνος Stephanus : ἀμφιτρύονος.
[5] δ' ὁ van Herwerden : δὲ.
[6] διπλασιάσασι B : διπλασίασι E.

with whom Plato, Ellopion [a] of Peparethos and I had many philosophical discussions in those days. He brought orders from the king that Chonuphis should translate the writing, if he could make anything of it, and send the translation to him at once. Chonuphis shut himself up for three days, conning scripts of all kinds in the ancient books, and then wrote his answer to the king, of which he also informed us. The document, he said, ordered the celebration of a contest in honour of the Muses; the characters had the forms of the script current in the time of King Proteus, which Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, had learned; and the god was using the inscription to instruct and urge the Greeks to live in the enjoyment of leisure and peace by always taking philosophy as their field of contention, laying their arms aside and settling their disputes about right and wrong by an appeal to the Muses and discussion. As for ourselves, we felt at the time that Chonuphis was right; we felt so yet more when on our return from Egypt a party of Delians met us in Caria and requested Plato, as a geometer, to solve a problem set them by the god in a strange oracle. The oracle was to this effect: the present troubles of the Delians and the rest of the Greeks would be at an end when they had doubled the altar at Delos.[b] As

[a] Otherwise unknown.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 386 E. For the "Delian problem," that of constructing a cube with twice the volume of a given cube, *cf.* Theon of Smyrna, p. 2 (ed. Hiller). *Cf.* also *Mor.* 718 E-F; E. Hiller, *Eratosthenis Carminum Rel.* pp. 122-137; M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. d. Math.*³, vol. i, pp. 211, 226-234; Sir T. Heath, *A Hist. of Greek Math.* vol. i, pp. 244-270; I. Thomas, *Selections Illustrating the Hist. of Greek Math.* vol. i, pp. 256-308 (in the L.C.L.).

(579) δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκεῖνοι συμβάλλειν δυνάμενοι καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βωμοῦ κατασκευὴν γελοῖα πάσχοντες (ἑκάστης γὰρ τῶν τεσσάρων πλευρῶν διπλασιαζομένης ἔλαθον τῇ αὐξήσει τόπον στερεὸν ὀκταπλάσιον ἀπεργασάμενοι δι' ἀπειρίαν ἀναλογίας ᾗ
C τὸ[1] μήκει διπλάσιον παρέχεται) Πλάτωνα τῆς ἀπορίας ἐπεκαλοῦντο βοηθόν. ὁ δέ, τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου μνησθείς, προσπαίζειν ἔφη τὸν θεὸν Ἕλλησιν ὀλιγωροῦσι παιδείας, οἷον ἐφυβρίζοντα τὴν ἀμαθίαν ἡμῶν καὶ κελεύοντα γεωμετρίας ἅπτεσθαι μὴ παρέργως· οὐ γάρ τοι[2] φαύλης οὐδ' ἀμβλὺ διανοίας ὁρώσης, ἄκρως δὲ τὰς γραμμὰς ἠσκημένης, ἔργον εἶναι καὶ[3] δυοῖν μέσων[4] ἀνάλογον λῆψιν, ᾗ μόνῃ διπλασιάζεται σχῆμα κυβικοῦ σώματος ἐκ πάσης ὁμοίως αὐξόμενον διαστάσεως. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Εὔδοξον αὐτοῖς τὸν Κνίδιον ἢ τὸν Κυζικηνὸν Ἑλίκωνα[5] συντελέσειν· μὴ τοῦτο δ' οἴεσθαι[6] χρῆναι
D ποθεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ προστάσσειν Ἕλλησι πᾶσι, πολέμου καὶ κακῶν μεθεμένους, Μούσαις ὁμιλεῖν καὶ διὰ λόγων καὶ μαθημάτων τὰ πάθη καταπραΰνοντας, ἀβλαβῶς καὶ ὠφελίμως ἀλλήλοις συμφέρεσθαι."

8. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Σιμμίου λέγοντος ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Πόλυμνις[7] ἐπεισῆλθε καὶ καθίσας παρὰ τὸν Σιμμίαν, "Ἐπαμεινώνδας," ἔφη, "καὶ σὲ καὶ

[1] ᾗ τὸ nos (ἦν τὸ Hartman) : ᾗ τῷ.
[2] τοι] τι E.
[3] καὶ] Wyttenbach deletes ; τὴν Holwerda.
[4] μέσων Leonicus : μέσον.
[5] Ἑλίκωνα Bern. : ἑλικῶνα.
[6] δ' οἴεσθαι Reiske : δεῖσθαι.
[7] Πόλυμνις Kontos and Hatzidakis : πολύμνις and so *passim* (πολυμμίας 585 D ; *cf.* ὦ πολύμμι E and B[1] (?) in 585 B, and E in 583 B, *infra*).

they not only were unable to penetrate its meaning, but failed absurdly in constructing the altar (for upon doubling all four sides they discovered to their surprise that in their ignorance of the progression from which the linear double [a] is obtained they had produced by this increase a solid eight times as large), they called on Plato for help in their difficulty. Plato, recalling the Egyptian, replied that the god was rallying the Greeks for their neglect of education, deriding, as it were, our ignorance and bidding us engage in no perfunctory study of geometry ; for no ordinary or near-sighted intelligence, but one well versed in the subject, was required to find *two* mean proportionals, that being the only way in which a body cubical in shape can be doubled with a similar increment in all dimensions. This would be done for them by Eudoxus of Cnidus or Helicon [b] of Cyzicus ; they were not, however, to suppose that it was this the god desired, but rather that he was ordering the entire Greek nation to give up war and its miseries and cultivate the Muses, and by calming their passions through the practice of discussion and study of mathematics, so to live with one another that their intercourse should be not injurious, but profitable."

8. While Simmias was speaking my father Polymnis entered. Sitting down beside Simmias he said : "Epameinondas entreats you and the whole com-

[a] The progression is $a : x :: x : y :: y : 2a$, where a is the volume of the given cube, $2a$ that of its double ; x then is the cube root of $2a$, and the three ratios are each equal to the ratio $1 : \sqrt[3]{2}$ The square root of 2 was called "double in power" of 1 ; and a similar expression was doubtless used for the cube root of 2. The "linear" double of 1 is 2.

[b] Helicon is mentioned in the *Life of Dion*, chap. xix. 6 (966 A).

(579) τούτους παρακαλεῖ πάντας, εἰ μή τις ἀσχολία μείζων, ἐνταῦθα περιμεῖναι, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν γνωρίσαι τὸν ξένον, ἄνδρα γενναῖον μὲν αὐτὸν ὄντα,[1] μετὰ δὲ[2] γενναίας καὶ καλῆς ἀφιγμένον τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀποστειλάντων[3] ἐξ Ἰταλίας τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν. ἀφῖκται δὲ Λύσιδι τῷ γέροντι χοὰς χέασθαι περὶ E τὸν τάφον ἔκ τινων ἐνυπνίων ὥς φησι καὶ φασμάτων ἐναργῶν, συχνὸν δὲ κομίζων χρυσίον οἴεται δεῖν Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ τὰς Λύσιδος γηροτροφίας ἀποτίνειν καὶ προθυμότατός ἐστιν οὐ δεομένων οὐδὲ βουλομένων ἡμῶν τῇ πενίᾳ βοηθεῖν."

Καὶ ὁ Σιμμίας ἡσθεὶς πάνυ,[4] "θαυμαστόν γε λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἄξιον· ἀλλὰ τίς[5] αἰτία δι' ἣν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἥκει πρὸς ἡμᾶς;"

F "Ἐκεῖνον," ἔφη, "νυκτερεύσαντα περὶ τὸν τάφον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸν Λύσιδος ἦγεν Ἐπαμεινώνδας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσμηνὸν[6] ἀπολουσόμενον, εἶτ' ἀφίξονται δεῦρο πρὸς ἡμᾶς· πρὶν δ' ἐντυχεῖν ἡμῖν ἐνηυλίσατο τῷ τάφῳ διανοούμενος ἀνελέσθαι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ σώματος καὶ κομίζειν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μή τι νύκτωρ ὑπεναντιωθείη δαιμόνιον." ὁ μὲν οὖν πατὴρ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐσιώπησεν.

9. Ὁ δὲ Γαλαξίδωρος, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἔργον ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν ἄνδρα καθαρεύοντα τύφου καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντες ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν τούτων ἁλίσκονται δι' ἀπειρίαν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν, οἱ δέ, ὡς θεοφιλεῖς καὶ περιττοί τινες εἶναι δοκοῖεν, ἐπιθειάζουσι τὰς πράξεις, ὀνείρατα

[1] ὄντα Reiske to fill a lacuna of 9-5 letters.

pany, unless you have some pressing business, to await him here, as he wishes to acquaint you with the stranger, a man of generous spirit who has been sent on a generous and noble errand by the Pythagoreans in Italy. He comes to offer libations at the grave of the aged Lysis, in consequence, he says, of certain vivid dreams and apparitions; and he brings with him a large sum of gold, thinking it proper to repay Epameinondas for the support of Lysis in his old age. This he is very intent on doing, although we neither ask nor desire him to relieve our poverty."

Simmias exclaimed, in great delight, "An admirable man, and worthy of philosophy! But why does he not join us directly?"

"As he had, I believe, spent the night at Lysis' grave," my father replied, "Epameinondas was first taking him to the Hismenus to wash himself clean; they will then join us here. His motive in encamping at the tomb before meeting us was to take up the remains and remove them to Italy, unless some sign from heaven should appear in the night to forbid it." With this my father fell silent.

9. "Good God!" exclaimed Galaxidorus. "How hard it is to find a man untainted with humbug and superstition! Some, through no desire of their own, succumb to these disorders from ignorance or weakness, whereas others, to be reputed the favourites of heaven and above the common sort, invest their doings with a character of sanctity, hiding what

[2] δὲ added here by Turnebus; after γεννaίας by Xylander.

[3] ἀποστειλάντων Wilamowitz (πεμψάντων van Herwerden) to fill a lacuna of 8-10 letters.

[4] ἡσθεὶς πάνυ,] ἡσθείς, Πάνυ Stephanus.

[5] τίς] τίς ἡ B.

[6] ἰσμηνὸν Basle ed. of 1542: ἰσμηνίαν.

(579) καὶ φάσματα καὶ τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ὄγκον προ-
580 ιστάμενοι τῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἰόντων. ὃ πολιτικοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδη καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὄχλον ἠναγκασμένοις ζῆν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἴσως ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ἐκ χαλινοῦ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀντεπισπάσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι τοὺς πολλούς· φιλοσοφίᾳ[1] δὲ οὐ μόνον ἔοικεν ἀσχήμων ὁ τοιοῦτος εἶναι σχηματισμός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐναντίος, ἤ,[2] πᾶν ἐπαγγειλαμένη λόγῳ τἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ συμφέρον διδάσκειν, εἰς θεοὺς ἐπαναχωρεῖ τῆς τῶν πράξεων ἀρχῆς[3] ὡς τοῦ λόγου καταφρονοῦσα, καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ᾗ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀτιμάσασα πρὸς μαντεύματα τρέπεται καὶ ὀνειράτων ὄψεις,
B ἐν οἷς ὁ φαυλότατος οὐχ ἧττον τῷ κατατυγχάνειν πολλάκις φέρεται τοῦ κρατίστου. διὸ καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ ὑμέτερος, ὦ Σιμμία, δοκεῖ μοι φιλοσοφώτερον χαρακτῆρα παιδείας καὶ λόγου περιβαλέσθαι,[4] τὸ ἀφελὲς τοῦτο καὶ ἄπλαστον ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ μάλιστα φίλον ἀληθείας ἑλόμενος, τὸν δὲ τῦφον, ὥσπερ τινὰ καπνὸν φιλοσοφίας, εἰς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἀποσκεδάσας."

Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος, " τί γάρ," εἶπεν, " ὦ Γαλαξίδωρε; καὶ σὲ Μέλητος πέπεικεν ὅτι Σωκράτης ὑπερεώρα τὰ θεῖα; τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ
C πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κατηγόρησεν."

" Οὐδαμῶς," ἔφη, " τά γε θεῖα· φασμάτων δὲ καὶ μύθων καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀνάπλεω φιλοσοφίαν ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ

[1] φιλοσοφίᾳ Reiske : φιλοσοφίας.
[2] ἢ EB : εἰ margin of Hamburg Aldine.
[3] ἐπαναχωρεῖ τῆς . . . ἀρχῆς] ἐπαναχωρεῖ ταῖς . . . ἀρχαῖς Emperius ; ἐπαναφέρει τὰς . . . ἀρχὰς or ὑπαναχωρεῖ τῆς . . . ἀρχῆς Bern. ; ἐπαναχωρεῖ περὶ τῆς . . . ἀρχῆς Post.

occurs to their intelligence behind a pretence of dreams and apparitions and the like mummery. For men engaged in public affairs and compelled to live at the caprice of a self-willed and licentious mob this may have its use—to treat the superstition of the populace as a bridle,[a] and thereby pull them back to the profitable course and set them right; but for Philosophy such outward seeming appears not only unseemly but in open conflict with her claims. Professing to teach the whole of the good and the profitable by the sole use of reason, she nevertheless withdraws from the government of conduct to take refuge with the gods, as if holding reason in contempt, and scorning demonstration, where her chief excellence is supposed to lie, resorts to divination and the visions seen in dreams, wherein the least of men is often no less rewarded with success than the greatest. For this reason, Simmias, I think your friend Socrates embraced a manner of teaching and speaking that had more of the true philosophic stamp, choosing that simplicity and sincerity of his for its manliness and great affinity to truth; as for humbug, the mere vapour as it were of philosophy, he sent it flying to the sophists."

"What is this, Galaxidorus?" Theocritus broke in. "Has Meletus convinced you too that Socrates had no use for things divine? That was the charge Meletus brought against him before the Athenians."

"Things really divine," he answered, "he by no means ignored; but he took philosophy, left by Pythagoras and his company a prey to phantoms,

[a] *Cf. Life of Numa*, chap. iv. 12 (62 E).

[4] *περιβαλέσθαι* Reiske: *περιβάλλεσθαι*.

(580) δὴ καὶ παρ'[1] Ἐμπεδοκλέους δεξάμενος εὖ μάλα βεβακχευμένην εἴθισεν ὥσπερ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πεπνῦσθαι καὶ λόγῳ νήφοντι μετιέναι[2] τὴν ἀλήθειαν."

10. "Εἶεν," εἶπεν ὁ Θεόκριτος· "τὸ δὲ δαιμόνιον, ὦ βέλτιστε, τὸ Σωκράτους ψεῦδος ἢ τί φαμεν; ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως μέγα τῶν περὶ Πυθαγόρου λεγομένων εἰς μαντικὴν ἔδοξε καὶ θεῖον· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ οἵαν[3] Ὅμηρος Ὀδυσσεῖ πεποίηκε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν 'ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρισταμένην,' τοιαύτην ἔοικε Σωκράτει τοῦ βίου προποδηγὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τινα συνάψαι τὸ δαιμόνιον ὄψιν,
D 'ἥ' μόνη 'οἱ[4] πρόσθεν ἰοῦσα τίθει φάος' ἐν πράγμασιν ἀδήλοις καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσυλλογίστοις φρόνησιν, οἷς[5] αὐτῷ συνεφθέγγετο πολλάκις τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθειάζον ταῖς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείονα καὶ μείζονα Σιμμίου χρὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκπυνθάνεσθαι Σωκράτους ἑταίρων· ἐμοῦ δὲ παρόντος, ὅτε πρὸς Εὐθύφρονα τὸν μάντιν ἧκον,[6] ἔτυχε μέν, ὦ Σιμμία, μέμνησαι γάρ, ἄνω πρὸς τὸ Σύμβολον Σωκράτης καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀνδοκίδου βαδίζων ἅμα τι διερωτῶν καὶ διασείων

[1] καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ δὴ καὶ παρ' our supplement of a lacuna of 39-29 letters.
[2] μετιέναι Dübner : μετεῖναι (*i.e.* μετίναι).
[3] οἵαν Bern. : οἷον.
[4] οἱ Wilamowitz (γ' οἱ ? Bern.) : τοι.
[5] οἷς] ἐν οἷς Wyttenbach ; ὡς ? Post.
[6] ἧκον] ἥκομεν Reiske.

[a] *Cf.* Homer, *Od.* x. 494 f. of Teiresias :

To him alone, though dead, Persephonê
Gave steadfast wit ; the rest are fleeting shades.

fables, and superstition, and by Empedocles in a wild state of exaltation, and trained her to face reality with steadfast understanding,[a] as it were, and to rely on sober reason in the pursuit of truth."

10. "Very well," said Theocritus; "but what, my dear sir, do we call Socrates' sign?[b] An imposture? For my part, nothing reported of Pythagoras' skill in divination has struck me as so great or so divine; for exactly as Homer[c] has represented Athena as 'standing at' Odysseus' 'side in all his labours,' so Heaven seems to have attached to Socrates from his earliest years as his guide in life a vision of this kind, which alone

> Showed him the way, illumining his path[d]

in matters dark and inscrutable to human wisdom, through the frequent concordance of the sign with his own decisions, to which it lent a divine sanction. For further and greater instances you must ask Simmias and Socrates' other friends; but I was myself present (I had come to visit Euthyphron the soothsayer) when Socrates—you recall the incident, Simmias—happened to be making the ascent toward the Symbolon[e] and the house of Andocides,[f] putting some question to Euthyphron the while and sounding

[b] *Daimonion*, here rendered "sign" or "sign from Heaven," is literally "the divine thing" or (pressing the etymology) "the daemonic thing."

[c] *Od.* xiii. 301 (*cf. Il.* x. 279); *cf.* also Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 165 ff.

[d] Homer, *Il.* xx. 95; *cf. Od.* xix. 34.

[e] Otherwise unknown; perhaps it was a city square—D-shaped to judge by its name: *cf.* W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 178.

[f] *Cf.* W. Judeich, *ibid.* p. 353; *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxi, 2 (201 F).

(580) τὸν Εὐθύφρονα μετὰ παιδιᾶς· ἄφνω δὲ ἐπιστὰς
E καὶ σιωπήσας[1] προσέσχεν αὐτῷ[2] συχνὸν χρόνον, εἶτ' ἀναστρέψας ἐπορεύετο τὴν διὰ τῶν κιβωτοποιῶν καὶ τοὺς προκεχωρηκότας ἤδη τῶν ἑταίρων ἀνεκαλεῖτο, φάσκων αὐτῷ[3] γεγονέναι τὸ δαιμόνιον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ συνανέστρεφον, ἐν οἷς κἀγώ, τοῦ Εὐθύφρονος ἐχόμενος, νεανίσκοι δέ τινες τὴν εὐθεῖαν βαδίζοντες, ὡς δὴ τὸ Σωκράτους ἐλέγξοντες δαιμόνιον, ἐπεσπάσαντο Χάριλλον τὸν αὐλητὴν ἥκοντα καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀθήνας μετ' ἐμοῦ[4] πρὸς Κέβητα· πορευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἑρμογλύφων[5] παρὰ τὰ δικαστήρια σύες ἀπαντῶσιν
F ἀθρόοι[6] βορβόρου περίπλεοι[7] καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμεναι διὰ πλῆθος, ἐκτροπῆς δὲ μὴ παρούσης τοὺς μὲν ἀνέτρεψαν ἐμβαλοῦσαι τοὺς δὲ ἀνεμόλυναν. ἧκεν οὖν καὶ ὁ Χάριλλος οἴκαδε τά τε σκέλη καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια βορβόρου μεστός, ὥστ' ἀεὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου μεμνῆσθαι μετὰ γέλωτος ἡμᾶς, ἅμα καὶ[8] θαυμάζοντας εἰ μηδαμοῦ προλείπει τὸν ἄνδρα μηδ' ἀμελεῖ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ."

11. Καὶ ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος, "οἴει γάρ," ἔφη, "Θεόκριτε, τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον ἰδίαν καὶ περιττὴν ἐσχηκέναι δύναμιν, οὐχὶ τῆς κοινῆς μόριόν τι μαντικῆς[9] τὸν ἄνδρα πείρᾳ βεβαιωσάμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀδήλοις καὶ ἀτεκμάρτοις τῷ λογισμῷ ῥοπὴν ἐπάγειν; ὡς γὰρ ὁλκὴ μία καθ' αὑτὴν οὐκ ἄγει

[1] σιωπήσας Wyttenbach : συμπείσας.
[2] αὐτῷ Wyttenbach : οὕτω.
[3] ἀνεκαλεῖτο φάσκων αὐτῷ Amyot, to fill a lacuna of 24-27 letters.
[4] μετ' ἐμοῦ put here by Benseler (after ἥκοντα ?) : after αὐτὸν in the MSS.

him out playfully. Suddenly he stopped short and fell silent, lost for a good time in thought; at last he turned back, taking the way through the street of the cabinetmakers, and called out to the friends who had already gone onward to return, saying that the sign had come to him. Most turned back with him, I with the rest, clinging close to Euthyphron; but certain young fellows went straight ahead, imagining that they would discredit Socrates' sign, and drew along Charillus [a] the flute-player, who had also come to Athens with me to visit Cebes. As they were walking along the street of the statuaries past the law-courts, they were met by a drove of swine, covered with mud and so numerous that they pressed against one another; and as there was nowhere to step aside, the swine ran into some and knocked them down, and befouled the rest. Charillus came home like the others, his legs and clothes covered with mud; so that we always mentioned Socrates' sign with laughter, at the same time marvelling that Heaven never deserted or neglected him."

11. "You suppose, then, Theocritus," replied Galaxidorus, "that Socrates' sign had some peculiar and extraordinary power, and that he did not, upon verifying from experience some rule of ordinary divination, let it turn the scale in matters dark and beyond the reach of reason? For just as a single

[a] Otherwise unknown.

[5] ἑρμογλύφων or ἑρμογλυφείων Reiske (ἑρμογλυφέων Passow, misquoting Reiske): ἑρμογλυφιῶν.

[6] ἀθρόοι] ἀθρόαι Bern.

[7] περίπλεοι] περίπλεαι Bern., from 589 A, *infra*.

[8] ἡμᾶς, ἅμα καὶ Wyttenbach (ἡμᾶς σφόδρα Wilamowitz) to fill a lacuna of 10-7 letters.

[9] μαντικῆς Holwerda: ἀνάγκης.

581 τὸν[1] ζυγόν, ἰσορροποῦντι δὲ βάρει προστιθεμένη κλίνει τὸ σύμπαν ἐφ' ἑαυτήν, οὕτω πταρμὸς ἢ[2] κληδὼν ἤ τι τοιοῦτον σύμβολον οὐχ οἷόν τε, μικρὸν ὂν[3] καὶ κοῦφον, ἐμβριθῆ διάνοιαν ἐπισπάσασθαι πρὸς πρᾶξιν· δυοῖν δ' ἐναντίων λογισμῶν θατέρῳ προσελθὸν[4] ἔλυσε τὴν ἀπορίαν, τῆς ἰσότητος ἀναιρεθείσης, ὥστε κίνησιν γίνεσθαι καὶ ὁρμήν."

Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ πατήρ, "ἀλλὰ μήν," ἔφη, "καὶ αὐτός, ὦ Γαλαξίδωρε, Μεγαρικοῦ τινος ἤκουσα, Τερψίωνος δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον πταρμὸς ἦν, ὅ τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παρ' ἄλλων.
B ἑτέρου μὲν γὰρ πταρόντος ἐκ δεξιᾶς, εἴτ' ὄπισθεν εἴτ' ἔμπροσθεν, ὁρμᾶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς, ἀποτρέπεσθαι· τῶν δ' ἑαυτοῦ[5] πταρμῶν τὸν μὲν ἔτι μέλλοντος βεβαιοῦν, τὸν δὲ ἤδη πράσσοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ κωλύειν, τὴν ὁρμήν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν, εἰ πταρμῷ χρώμενος οὐ τοῦτο τοῖς ἑταίροις ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον εἶναι τὸ κωλῦον ἢ κελεῦον ἔλεγε· τύφου γὰρ αὖ[6] τινος, ὦ φίλε, κενοῦ καὶ κόμπου τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὐκ ἀληθείας καὶ ἁπλότητος οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα μέγαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν πολλῶν γεγονέναι δοκοῦμεν, ὑπὸ φωνῆς ἔξωθεν ἢ πταρμοῦ τινος ὁπηνίκα τύχοι θορυβούμενον ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ἀνατρέπεσθαι καὶ προ-
C ΐεσθαι[7] τὸ δεδογμένον. αἱ δὲ Σωκράτους ὁρμαὶ[8]

[1] τὸν Ald.[2] (*cf. Life of Camillus*, chap. xxix. 2, 143 F): τό.
[2] οὕτως ἐστὶ (οὕτω Bern.) πταρμὸς ἢ Pflugk: οὕτως ἐφαρμόσει.
[3] οὐχ οἷόν τε μικρὸν ὂν added by von Arnim to fill a lacuna of 15 letters (μικρόν ἐστι Bern.).
[4] προσελθὸν Emperius: προσελθών.
[5] δ' ἑαυτοῦ nos: δὲ αὐτοῦ.

drachm does not by itself tip the beam, but when joined to a weight in equilibrium with another inclines the whole mass in the direction of its own pull, so too a sneeze or chance remark or any such omen cannot, being trivial and light, incline a weighty mind to action ; but when it is joined to one of two opposing reasons, it solves the dilemma by destroying the balance, and thus allows a movement and propulsion to arise." [a]

" Just so, Galaxidorus," my father broke in. " I have it from one of the Megarian school, who had it from Terpsion, that Socrates' sign was a sneeze, his own and others' : thus, when another sneezed at his right, whether behind or in front, he proceeded to act, but if at his left, desisted ; while of his own sneezes the one that occurred when he was on the point of acting confirmed him in what he had set out to do, whereas the one occurring after he had already begun checked and prevented his movement. But what astonishes me is that, supposing he relied on sneezes, he did not speak to his friends of being prompted or deterred by these, but by a sign from Heaven ; for here again, my dear friend, we have a form of hollow affectation and boasting, and not the sincerity and simplicity that made him to our feeling truly great and superior to the generality of men—to be upset at odd moments by such external matters as a voice or sneeze, and thus be diverted from his actions and abandon his decisions. Nay, Socrates'

[a] Plutarch's statics may be at fault. If so, he inferred the physical process from the mental : *cf. Mor.* 1045 B-C.

[6] *αὖ*] *ἂν ἦν* Reiske.
[7] *προΐεσθαι* Xylander : *προσίεσθαι*.
[8] *ὁρμαὶ* Sieveking (*αὖ ὁρμαὶ* Xylander) : *ἀφορμαὶ*.

(581) *τόνον ἀμετάστρεπτον*[1] *ἔχουσαι καὶ σφοδρότητα φαίνονται πρὸς ἅπαν, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς ἀφειμέναι κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς· πενίᾳ γὰρ ἐμμεῖναι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἑκουσίως, σὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι τῶν διδόντων ἔχειν δυνάμενον, καὶ φιλοσοφίας μὴ ἐκστῆναι πρὸς τοσαῦτα κωλύματα, καὶ τέλος εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ φυγὴν αὐτῷ σπουδῆς ἑταίρων καὶ παρασκευῆς εὐμηχάνου γενομένης μήτε καμφθῆναι λιπαροῦσι μήτε ὑποχωρῆσαι τῷ θα-*
D *νάτῳ πελάζοντι,*[2] *χρῆσθαι δ' ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ δεινόν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ κληδόνων ἢ πταρμῶν μεταβαλλομένην ὅτε τύχοι γνώμην ἔχοντος ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μείζονος ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀγομένου πρὸς τὸ καλόν.*

" *Ἀκούω δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως φθορὰν προειπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐνίοις τῶν φίλων. καὶ πρότερον ἔτι τούτων Πυριλάμπης ὁ Ἀντιφῶντος, ἁλοὺς ἐν τῇ διώξει περὶ Δήλιον ὑφ' ἡμῶν δορατίῳ τετρωμένος, ὡς ἤκουσε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀφικομένων Ἀθήνηθεν ὅτι Σωκράτης μετὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Λάχητος*[3] *ἐπὶ ῥηγίστης*[4]
E *καταβὰς ἀπονενοστήκοι, πολλὰ μὲν τοῦτον ἀνε-*

[1] *τόνον ἀμετάστρεπτον* Schwartz (*τόνον* Reiske) for *τὸ* followed by a lacuna of 16 letters.

[2] *πελάζοντι* Faehse : *παίζοντι*.

[3] *Λάχητος* Victorius, Turnebus : *μάχητος* E, $\overset{\mu}{\pi}$*άχητος* B.

[4] *ἐπὶ ῥηγίστης* corrupt; *εἰς Ὠρωπὸν* (*ἐπὶ τὴν Ὠρωπίαν* [*Γραϊκὴν*]) ?

movements are observed to have had an indeflectible force and intensity in all he did, which implies that they were launched forth from a correct and powerful judgement and foundation; for of his own free will to have remained poor throughout his life when he could have had money which the donors would have been delighted and thankful to see him accept, and not to have forsaken philosophy despite so many obstacles, and in the end, although his followers had spared no efforts to save his life and had contrived a perfectly feasible means of escape, neither to have yielded to their entreaties nor to have flinched at the approach of death, but to have faced its terrors with reasoning unshaken, are not acts of a man whose views are at the mercy of voices or sneezes, but of one guided by a higher authority and principle to noble conduct.

"I also hear that he foretold to some of his friends the loss of the Athenian forces in Sicily.[a] And still earlier, when Pyrilampes,[b] the son of Antiphon, who had been wounded with a javelin and taken prisoner by us in the pursuit at Delion, was told by the commissioners that came from Athens to negotiate a truce that Socrates had reached the coast at Oropus [c] with Alcibiades and Laches [d] and come home safe, he often invoked the name of Socrates, and often

[a] *Cf. Life of Nicias*, chap. xiii. 9 (532 B); *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xvii. 5 (199 F); [Plato], *Theages*, 129 C-D.

[b] Pyrilampes was Plato's stepfather.

[c] "At Oropus" translates a conjecture. Thucydides (iv. 96. 7) mentions three routes taken by the defeated Athenians: to Delion and the sea, to Oropus, and toward Parnes. The corruption in the Greek text doubtless conceals a reference to one of the former two.

[d] *Cf.* Plato, *Symposium*, 221 A, and *Laches*, 181 E.

(581) καλέσατο, πολλὰ δὲ φίλους τινὰς καὶ λοχίτας οἷς συνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν Πάρνηθα[1] φεύγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱππέων[2] ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου παρακούσαντας ἑτέραν ὁδόν, οὐχ ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἦγε, τρεπομένους ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης. ταῦτα δ' οἶμαι καὶ Σιμμίαν ἀκηκοέναι."

"Πολλάκις," ὁ Σιμμίας ἔφη, "καὶ πολλῶν· διεβοήθη γὰρ οὐκ ἠρέμα τὸ Σωκράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἐκ τούτων δαιμόνιον."

12. "Τί οὖν," ὁ Φειδόλαος εἶπεν, "ὦ Σιμμία; Γαλαξίδωρον ἐάσωμεν παίζοντα καταβάλλειν το-
F σοῦτο μαντείας ἔργον εἰς πταρμοὺς καὶ κληδόνας, οἷς καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἰδιῶται περὶ μικρὰ προσχρῶνται καὶ παίζοντες, ὅταν δὲ κίνδυνοι βαρύτεροι καὶ μείζονες καταλάβωσι πράξεις, ἐκεῖνο γίνεται τὸ Εὐριπίδειον

οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας;"

Καὶ ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος, "Σιμμίου μέν," ἔφη, "Φειδόλαε, περὶ τούτων, εἴ τι Σωκράτους αὐτὸς λέγοντος ἤκουσεν, ἕτοιμος ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ φείδεσθαι[3] μεθ' ὑμῶν· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ λελεγμένα καὶ Πολύμνιος οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀνελεῖν. ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἰατρικῇ σφυγμὸς ἢ φλύκταινα μικρόν, οὐ μικροῦ δὲ σημεῖόν ἐστι, καὶ κυβερνήτῃ πελαγίου[4] φθόγγος ὄρνιθος ἢ δια-
582 δρομὴ κνηκῖδος ἀραιᾶς πνεῦμα σημαίνει καὶ κίνησιν τραχυτέραν θαλάσσης, οὕτω μαντικῇ ψυχῇ πταρμὸς ἢ κληδὼν οὐ μέγα καθ' αὐτό, μεγάλου δέ τινος

[1] Πάρνηθα Stephanus : πάρνητα.
[2] ἱππέων Keil (1841) and Dübner (1841) : ἵππων.
[3] φείδεσθαι] πείθεσθαι Xylander.
[4] πελαγίου Xylander (πελαγίας Bern.) : πελάγους.

those of certain friends and members of his company who had fled with him toward Mount Parnes and been killed by our cavalry, as they had (he said) disregarded Socrates' sign and taken a different way, not following where Socrates led, in their retreat from the battle.[a] Simmias too has heard of this I think."

"Many times," said Simmias, "and from many persons; for these events led to no little talk at Athens about Socrates' sign."

12. "Are we, then, Simmias," said Pheidolaüs, "to let Galaxidorus in sport reduce so mighty a work of divination to sneezes and chance remarks? Even the ignorant multitude rely on these in trivial matters and in playful moods, but when graver dangers and actions of greater moment confront them, the words of Euripides[b] come true:

> None talks such folly when the fray impends."

"I am ready, Pheidolaüs," rejoined Galaxidorus, "to listen to what Simmias has to say about these matters, if he has himself heard Socrates talk of them, and to share your forbearance; but what you and Polymnis have said is not hard to refute. For as in medicine a rapid pulse or a blister, trifling in itself, is a sign of something by no means trifling, and as for a skipper the cry of a marine bird or the passing of a wisp of yellow cloud betokens wind and a rising sea, so for a mind expert in divination a sneeze or random utterance, in itself no great matter, may yet

[a] The story is also found in Cicero, *De Div.* i. 54 (123), and Pseudo-Socrates, *Ep.* 1. 9.

[b] From the *Autolycus*: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 282. 22; quoted also in *Mor.* 803 B.

(582) σημεῖον ἂν εἴη[1] συμπτώματος· ἐπ'[2] οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ τέχνης καταφρονεῖται[3] τὸ μικροῖς μεγάλα καὶ δι' ὀλίγων πολλὰ προμηνύειν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἄπειρος γραμμάτων δυνάμεως, ὁρῶν ὀλίγα πλήθει καὶ φαῦλα τὴν μορφήν, ἀπιστοίη ἄνδρα[4] γραμματικὸν ἐκ τούτων ἀναλέγεσθαι πολέμους μεγάλους οἳ τοῖς πάλαι συνέτυχον, καὶ κτίσεις[5] πόλεων πρά-
B ξεις τε καὶ παθήματα[6] βασιλέων, εἶτα φαίη δαιμόνιόν τι[7] μηνύειν καὶ καταλέγειν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἱστορικῷ[8] τούτων ἕκαστον, ἡδὺς ἄν, ὦ φίλε, γέλως σοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐπέλθοι, οὕτω σκόπει μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν μαντικῶν ἑκάστου τὴν δύναμιν ἀγνοοῦντες ᾗ συμβάλλει πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, εὐήθως ἀγανακτῶμεν εἰ νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τούτων ἀποφαίνεταί[9] τι περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, καὶ ταῦτα φάσκων αὐτὸς οὐ πταρμὸν οὐδὲ φωνήν, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ τῶν πράξεων ὑφηγεῖσθαι. μέτειμι γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς σέ, ὦ Πόλυμνι, θαυμάζοντα Σωκράτους, ἀνδρὸς ἀτυφίᾳ καὶ ἀφελείᾳ μάλιστα δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἐξανθρωπίσαντος, εἰ μὴ πταρμὸν
C μηδὲ κληδόνα τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ τραγικῶς πάνυ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὠνόμαζεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τοὐναντίον ἐθαύμαζον ἀνδρὸς ἄκρου διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ὀνομάτων, ὥσπερ Σωκράτης, εἰ τὸν πταρμὸν ἀλλὰ

[1] μεγάλου δέ τινος σημεῖον ἂν εἴη (μεγάλου δὲ σημεῖον Xylander; σύμβολον δὲ μεγάλου Bern.) our supplement of a lacuna of 45-29 letters.
[2] ἐπ' added by Wilamowitz.
[3] καταφρονεῖται] καταφρονῆσαι Holwerda.
[4] ἀπιστοίη ἄνδρα] ἀπιστοίη μὴ ἄνδρα Stegmann; delete ἄνδρα?
[5] κτίσεις Xylander: κτήσεις.
[6] παθήματα Leonicus: μαθήματα.
[7] φαίη δαιμόνιόν τι Wyttenbach (φαίη φωνὴν ἢ ὅμοιόν τι Bern.): φανῆναι ὀμνύοντι.

be a sign of some great event[a]; for in no art is the prediction of great things from small, or of many things from few, neglected. No; if a man ignorant of the significance of writing, on seeing letters few in number and mean in appearance, should doubt that a literate person[b] could gather from them the story of great wars that happened to men in the past, of foundations of cities, and of acts and sufferings of kings, and should then assert that what revealed and recounted all this to that student of history was something divine, you would, my friend, be moved to hearty laughter at the fellow's simplicity; so here too take heed lest it be simplicity in us, in our ignorance of the significance for the future of the various signs interpreted by the art of divination, to resent the notion that a man of intelligence can draw from them some statement about things hidden from our view—and that too when it is the man himself who says that it is no sneeze or utterance that guides his acts, but something divine. For I shall now deal with you, Polymnis, who are astonished that Socrates, a man who by his freedom from humbug and affectation had more than any other made philosophy human, should have termed his token not a 'sneeze' or 'omen' but in high tragic style 'the sign from Heaven.'[c] I, on the contrary, should have been astonished if a master of dialectic and the use of words, like Socrates, had spoken of receiving intimations not from 'Heaven'

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 410 D.
[b] For a comparison of divination to reading *cf.* Plotinus, *Enn.* iii. 1. 6.
[c] *Cf.* the words of Polymnis, 581 B, *supra.*

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[8] *τῷ ἱστορικῷ*] *τῶν ἱστορικῶν* Wyttenbach.
[9] *ἂν* before *ἀποφαίνεταί* omitted by Pflugk.

(582) μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον[1] αὐτῷ σημαίνειν ἔλεγεν· ὥσπερ εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ βέλους φαίη τετρῶσθαι, μὴ τῷ βέλει ὑπὸ τοῦ βαλόντος, μεμετρῆσθαι δὲ αὖ τὸ βάρος ὑπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ, μὴ τῷ ζυγῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱστάντος. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ὄργανον ᾧ χρῆται πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· ὄργανον δέ τι καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ᾧ χρῆται τὸ σημαῖνον. ἀλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον, εἴ τι Σιμμίας ἔχοι[2] λέγειν, ἀκουστέον, ὡς εἰδότος ἀκριβέστερον."

13. Καὶ ὁ Θεόκριτος, "πρότερόν γ'," ἔφη,
D "τοὺς εἰσιόντας οἵτινές[3] εἰσιν ἀποσκεψαμένοις, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν ξένον[4] ἔοικεν ἡμῖν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁδὶ κομίζειν."

Ἀποβλέψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἑωρῶμεν ἡγούμενον μὲν τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ τῶν[5] συνεστώτων[6] φίλων Ἱσμηνόδωρον[7] καὶ Βακχυλλίδαν[8] καὶ Μέλισσον τὸν αὐλητήν, ἑπόμενον δὲ τὸν ξένον, οὐκ ἀγεννῆ τὸ εἶδος ἀλλὰ πραότητα καὶ φιλοφροσύνην τοῦ ἤθους ὑποφαίνοντα καὶ σεμνῶς ἀμπεχόμενον τὸ σῶμα. καθίσαντος οὖν ἐκείνου μὲν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν Σιμμίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ παρ' ἐμέ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὡς ἕκαστος ἔτυχε, καὶ γενομένης σιωπῆς, ὁ Σιμμίας τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καλέσας, "εἶεν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, τίνα
E χρὴ τὸν ξένον καὶ πῶς καὶ πόθεν προσαγορεύειν; ἀρχὴ γάρ τις ἐντυχίας καὶ γνώσεως αὕτη συνήθης."

Καὶ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "Θεάνωρ," εἶπεν, "ὦ

[1] τὸν πταρμὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον nos (μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀλλὰ τὸν πταρμὸν Leonicus) : μὴ τὸν πταρμὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ δαιμόνιον.
[2] ἔχοι] ἔχει Aldine.
[3] οἵτινές Stephanus : εἴ τινες.
[4] ξένον] ξένον ὃν Bern.
[5] τῶν added by Wyttenbach.

but from the 'Sneeze': it is as if a man should say that the arrow wounded him, and not the archer with the arrow, or that the scales, and not the weigher with the scales, measured the weight. For the act does not belong to the instrument, but to the person to whom the instrument itself belongs, who uses it for the act; and the sign used by the power that signals is an instrument like any other. But, as I said, if Simmias should have anything to say, we must listen to him, as he is better informed."

13. "First," said Theocritus, "we must see who the persons are that are entering the room—but I see it is Epameinondas, who is apparently bringing the stranger to meet us."

We looked toward the door and saw Epameinondas in the lead, with Hismenodorus, Bacchyllidas,[a] and Melissus the fluteplayer among our friends in the plot, while the stranger came last, a man of no ignoble presence, but showing gentleness and kindness in his demeanour and in person magnificently attired. When the stranger had taken his place beside Simmias, my brother beside me, and the rest as they happened to find seats, and all had fallen silent, Simmias called out to my brother: "Well, Epameinondas, what name and title are we to give the stranger, and what is his country? Such inquiries are the usual preliminaries to intercourse and acquaintance."

Epameinondas answered: "His name, Simmias,

[a] Perhaps one of the seven boeotarchs who commanded at Leuctra: *cf.* Pausanias, ix. 13. 7.

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6 *συνεστώτων*] *συνηθεστάτων* Wilamowitz.
7 Ἱσμηνόδωρον nos: *ἰσμηνόδωρον*.
8 Βακχυλλίδαν] *βακχυλίδαν* Aldine.

(582) Σιμμία, ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ἀνδρί, γένος δὲ Κροτωνιάτης τῶν ἐκεῖ φιλοσόφων οὐ καταισχύνων τὸ μέγα Πυθαγόρου κλέος· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἥκει δεῦρο μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔργοις καλοῖς καλὰ δόγματα βεβαιῶν."

Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ ξένος, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "σὺ κωλύεις, ὦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, τῶν ἔργων τὸ κάλλιστον.
F εἰ γὰρ εὖ ποιεῖν φίλους καλόν, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εὖ πάσχειν ὑπὸ φίλων· ἡ γὰρ χάρις, οὐχ ἧττον δεομένη τοῦ λαμβάνοντος ἢ τοῦ διδόντος, ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τελειοῦται πρὸς τὸ καλόν, ὁ δὲ μὴ δεξάμενος ὥσπερ σφαῖραν εὖ φερομένην κατῄσχυνεν ἀτελῆ πεσοῦσαν. ποίου γὰρ οὕτως σκοποῦ βάλλοντα καὶ τυχεῖν ἡδὺ καὶ διαμαρτάνειν ἀνιαρὸν ὡς ἀνδρὸς εὖ παθεῖν ἀξίου διὰ χάριτος ἐφιέμενον; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ὁ τοῦ σκοποῦ μένοντος ἀτυχήσας σφάλλεται δι' αὑτόν, ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ ὁ παραιτούμενος καὶ ὑποφεύγων ἀδικεῖ τὴν χάριν εἰς ὃ[1] ἔσπευκε μὴ περαίνουσαν. σοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς αἰτίας ἤδη διῆλθον ὑφ' ὧν ἔπλευσα δεῦρο,
583 βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τούτοις[2] διελθὼν χρήσασθαι πρὸς σὲ δικασταῖς.

"Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπεσον αἱ κατὰ πόλεις ἑταιρεῖαι[3] τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν στάσει κρατηθέντων, τοῖς δ' ἔτι συνεστῶσιν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ συνεδρεύουσιν ἐν οἰκίᾳ πῦρ οἱ Κυλώνειοι περιένησαν καὶ διέφθειραν ἐν

[1] ὃ] ὃν Post.
[2] τούτοις E[2] (and so Turnebus) : τούτους.
[3] ἑταιρεῖαι E[ac] (and so Bern.) : ἑταιρίαι.

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[a] For the comparison of the ball *cf.* Chrysippus, quoted in Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, ii. 17. 3, and Plutarch, *Comm. in Hesiodum*, 32 (vol. vii, p. 68. 11-16 Bern.).
[b] The head of the anti-Pythagorean faction.

is Theanor ; he is a native of Croton, one of the philosophers of that region, and reflects no dishonour on the great fame of Pythagoras ; indeed, he has come here at present on a long journey from Italy, confirming noble doctrines by noble works."

Here the stranger spoke : " Are not you, Epameinondas, preventing the noblest of those works ? For if it is a noble act to benefit friends, it is no disgrace to be benefited by them ; for the favour, requiring a recipient no less than a giver, needs both to be made perfect in nobility. He who refuses to accept the favour, like the man who refuses to catch a well-directed ball, disgraces it, allowing it to fall to the ground without achieving its end.[a] For what target is so delightful to hit and so painful to miss, as a man deserving kindness at whom we aim a favour ? Yet in the case of the target the man who misses has only himself to blame, as the mark is fixed ; whereas with favours, the man who declines and moves aside is guilty of an offence against the favour, allowing it to fall short of its goal. To you I have already recounted the motives of my voyage hither ; but I desire to recount them to these others as well and let them judge between us.

" After the Pythagorean societies throughout the different cities had been defeated by the revolutionaries and driven out, and after the partisans of Cylon,[b] heaping fuel about the house where the society that still held together at Metapontum [c] was in session, and setting fire to it, had destroyed them

[c] Most ancient authorities agree that Pythagoras died at Metapontum, but put the conflagration at Croton : *cf.* Diogenes Laert. viii. 39 f. with the passages adduced by A. Delatte (*La Vie de Pythagore de Diogène Laërce*, Brussels, 1922, pp. 136 f.).

(583) ταὐτῷ[1] πάντας πλὴν Φιλολάου καὶ Λύσιδος νέων ὄντων ἔτι, ῥώμῃ καὶ κουφότητι διωσαμένων τὸ πῦρ, Φιλόλαος μὲν εἰς Λευκανοὺς φυγὼν ἐκεῖθεν ἀνεσώθη πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φίλους ἤδη πάλιν ἀθροιζομένους καὶ κρατοῦντας τῶν Κυλωνείων, Λῦσις δὲ ὅπου γέγονεν ἠγνοεῖτο πολὺν χρόνον,
B πρίν[2] γε δὴ Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναπλέων εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρεσᾶν[3] βεβαίως Λύσιδι συγγεγονέναι διατρίβοντι περὶ Θήβας. ὥρμησε μὲν ὁ Ἀρεσᾶς[4] πόθῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτὸς ὡς εἶχε πλεῦσαι, κομιδῇ δὲ διὰ γῆρας καὶ ἀσθένειαν ἐλλείπων ἐπέσκηψε μάλιστα μὲν ζῶντα κομίσαι τὸν Λῦσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἢ τὰ λείψανα τεθνηκότος. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ πόλεμοι καὶ στάσεις καὶ τυραννίδες ἐκώλυσαν αὐτῷ ζῶντι συντελέσαι τοὺς φίλους τὸν ἆθλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν τὸ Λύσιδος δαιμόνιον ἤδη τεθνηκότος ἐναργῶς προϋπέφαινε[5] τὴν τελευτήν, καὶ τὰς παρ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Πόλυμνι,
C θεραπείας καὶ διαίτας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἱ σαφῶς εἰδότες ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι πλουσίας ἐν οἴκῳ πένητι γηροκομίας[6] τυχὼν καὶ πατὴρ τῶν σῶν υἱέων ἐπιγραφεὶς οἴχοιτο μακαριστός, ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ νέος καὶ εἷς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, ἐχόντων οὐκ ἔχουσι χρήματα[7] διδόντων, πολλὴν[8] χάριν καὶ

[1] ταὐτῷ Wyttenbach : τούτω.
[2] πρίν Sieveking (*donec* Xylander) : πλήν.
[3] Ἀρεσᾶν nos (from Iamblichus, *De Vit. Pyth.* chap. xxxvi. 266) : ἄρκεσον.
[4] Ἀρεσᾶς nos : ἄρκεσος.
[5] προϋπέφαινε] προὔφαινε Cobet.
[6] γηροκομίας Aldine : γηρωκομίας.
[7] χρήματα Leonicus : γράμματα.
[8] πολλὴν] πολλὴν δὲ Reiske.

[a] Archippus is usually mentioned as escaping with Lysis :

all in the conflagration except Philolaüs and Lysis,[a] who were still young and forced a way through the flames by strength and agility, Philolaüs escaped to Lucania and from there reached in safety our remaining adherents, who had once more begun to assemble and prevail over Cylon's party, but for a long time no one knew what had become of Lysis ; at last Gorgias of Leontini, on his return from Greece to Sicily,[b] brought definite word, and told Aresas [c] of meeting Lysis, who was living in Thebes. Aresas so felt his absence that he proposed with no more ado to make the voyage himself, but from age and infirmity proving quite unequal to the effort, he charged us to bring Lysis back to Italy alive if possible, or his remains if dead. The intervening wars, seditions and usurpations, however, kept his friends from carrying out the task for him during his lifetime. But when the daemon of Lysis—who had died in the interval—clearly revealed to us his death, and reports from men well acquainted with the circumstances told, Polymnis, how he had been cared for by your family and lived with you—that in the poverty of your household he had received rich provision for his age and departed in felicity, enrolled as father of your sons—I was sent, young and uncompanied, by a company numerous and advanced in years, offering money, of which they have provision, to you who have

cf. Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, i. 1^6, p. 419, note. Olympiodorus (*In Plat. Phaedon. Comm.* p. 9. 16-20 Norvin) says that Lysis and Hipparchus were the two that escaped, and that Philolaüs went to Thebes to offer libations at the grave of Lysis, his teacher.

[b] Perhaps on the return from his embassy to Athens in 427.

[c] The head of the Pythagorean societies : *cf.* Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, 266 f.

(583) φιλίαν ἀντιλαμβανόντων. Λῦσις δὲ καὶ κεῖται[1] καλῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ τάφου καλοῦ κρείττων αὐτῷ χάρις ἐκτινομένη φίλοις ὑπὸ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων."

14. Ταῦτα τοῦ ξένου λέγοντος ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐπεδάκρυσε τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ Λύσιδος πολὺν χρόνον,
D ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὑπομειδιῶν ὥσπερ εἴωθε[2] πρὸς ἐμέ, "πῶς," ἔφη, "ποιοῦμεν, ὦ Καφισία; προϊέμεθα τὴν πενίαν τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ σιωπῶμεν;"

"Ἥκιστ'," ἔφην ἐγώ, "τὴν φίλην καὶ 'ἀγαθὴν κουροτρόφον,' ἀλλ' ἄμυνε· σὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος."

"Καὶ μὴν ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὦ πάτερ, ταύτῃ μόνῃ[3] τὴν οἰκίαν ἐδεδίειν ἁλώσιμον ὑπὸ χρημάτων εἶναι, κατὰ τὸ Καφισίου σῶμα, καλῆς μὲν ἐσθῆτος δεόμενον ἵνα τοῖς ἐρασταῖς ἐγκαλλωπίσηται τοσούτοις οὖσιν, ἀφθόνου δὲ καὶ πολλῆς τροφῆς ἵν' ἀντέχῃ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις ἀγῶνας· ὁπηνίκα δὲ οὗτος οὐ προδίδωσιν[4]
E οὐδὲ ὡς βαφὴν ἀνίησι τὴν πάτριον πενίαν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ὢν μειράκιον εὐτελείᾳ καλλωπίζεται καὶ στέργει τὰ παρόντα, τίς ἂν ἡμῖν γένοιτο τῶν χρημάτων διάθεσις καὶ χρῆσις; ἤπου καταχρυσώσομεν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα πορφύρᾳ συμμεμιγμένῃ πρὸς χρυσίον, ὥσπερ Νικίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, διαποικιλοῦμεν; σοὶ δέ, ὦ πάτερ, Μιλησίαν χλανίδα[5] τῇ δὲ μητρὶ παραλουργὸν ὠνησόμεθα χιτώνιον; οὐ γὰρ εἰς γαστέρα δήπου καταχρη-

[1] καὶ κεῖται] κεκήδευται Cobet.
[2] εἴωθε] εἰώθει B.
[3] μόνῃ] μόνον Holwerda, but *cf.* Herodotus, i. 84. 3, iii. 5. 1, *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xvi. 3 (286 A), and possibly *Life of Sulla*, chap. xiv. 1 (460 C) and ᾗ μόνῃ 579 C, *supra*.
[4] Sieveking deletes τὴν πενίαν after προδίδωσι.

none in return for great favour and friendship. Lysis has had from you a fitting burial, and better in his sight than a fitting burial is favour requited to friends by friends and fellows." [a]

14. While the stranger spoke my father wept a long time at the memory of Lysis. My brother said, smiling gently at me, as is his wont: "What are we doing, Caphisias? Are we yielding up our poverty to riches without a word?"

"Let us by no means yield up," said I, "that dear and 'goodly nurse of youth' [b]: fly to her defence; it is for you to speak."

"Well, my dear father," he said, "I had feared that in the defences of our household against money there was but this one vulnerable spot: Caphisias' person, which requires fine dress that he may display himself to advantage to his numerous admirers, and unstinted and abundant food to sustain him in his exercises and his bouts on the wrestling grounds; but now that we see him refusing to surrender his ancestral poverty or let its tempered edge be taken off, but instead, for all his youth, displaying himself in frugality [c] and content with what he has, how could we lay the money out and use it? Are we to gild our arms and like Nicias of Athens [d] decorate our shields with a blend of purple and gold? Are we, father, to buy you a Milesian mantle and our mother a tunic bordered with purple? For surely we shall not expend

[a] Theanor's style is as elaborate as his dress.
[b] Homer, *Od.* ix. 27; *cf.* Plutarch, *Contra Divitias*, Frag. 4 (vol. vii, p. 124. 3-6 Bern.).
[c] For the phrase *cf.* *Mor.* 406 D.
[d] *Cf.* *Life of Nicias*, chap. xxviii. 6 (542 B).

[5] χλανίδα a correction in E: χλαμύδα.

(583) σόμεθα τὴν δωρεὰν εὐωχοῦντες αὑτοὺς πολυτελέστερον, ὥσπερ ξένον ὑποδεδεγμένοι βαρύτερον τὸν πλοῦτον."

"Ἄπαγε," εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ, "ὦ παῖ· μηδέποτε F τοιαύτην ἐπίδοιμι μετακόσμησιν τοῦ βίου.[1]"

"Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀργόν," ἔφη, "καθισόμεθα φρουροῦντες οἴκοι τὸν πλοῦτον· ἄχαρις γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἡ χάρις καὶ ἄτιμος ἡ κτῆσις εἴη."

"Τί μήν;"[2] εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ.

"Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "Ἰάσονι[3] μὲν τῷ Θετταλῶν ταγῷ πέμψαντι δεῦρο πολὺ χρυσίον ἔναγχος πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ δεομένῳ λαβεῖν ἀγροικότερος ἐφάνην ἀποκρινόμενος ἀδίκων χειρῶν αὐτὸν κατάρχειν, ὅτι μοναρχίας ὢν ἐραστὴς ἄνδρα δημότην ἐλευθέρας καὶ αὐτονόμου πόλεως ἐπείρα 584 διὰ χρημάτων· σοῦ δ', ὦ ξένε, τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν (καλὴ γὰρ καὶ φιλόσοφος) δέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ διαφερόντως, ἥκεις δὲ φάρμακα φίλοις μὴ νοσοῦσι κομίζων. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ πολεμεῖσθαι πυθόμενος ἡμᾶς ἔπλευσας[4] ὅπλοις καὶ βέλεσιν ὠφελήσων, εἶτα φιλίαν καὶ εἰρήνην εὗρες, οὐκ ἂν ᾤου δεῖν ἐκεῖνα διδόναι καὶ ἀπολείπειν μὴ δεομένοις, οὕτως σύμμαχος μὲν ἀφῖξαι πρὸς πενίαν ὡς ἐνοχλουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἡ δ' ἐστὶ ῥᾴστη φέρειν ἡμῖν καὶ

[1] ἡμῶν after βίου deleted by Bern.; place before τοῦ?
[2] εἴη. Τί μήν Reiske: ἐπὶ τιμὴν.
[3] Ἰάσονι Kontos and Hatzidakis: ἰάσωνι.
[4] ἡμᾶς, repeated after ἔπλευσας in E, and after βέλεσιν in B, is deleted by Sieveking.

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[a] Jason of Pherae: *cf. Mor.* 193 B; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xi. 9.

[b] A play on the phrase ἄρχειν χειρῶν ἀδίκων, literally "to

the bounty on our belly by treating ourselves to more sumptuous fare, as if we had admitted wealth to our house as a burdensome guest."

"Heaven forbid, my son," said my father; "may I never live to see our way of life so changed!"

"Nor yet," Epameinondas pursued, "shall we sit at home to guard a wealth that remains idle; for then the favour would be no favour and our ownership without honour."

"Of course we shall not," said my father.

"Lately," Epameinondas went on, "when Jason, the prince of Thessaly,[a] sent me a great sum of gold and begged me to accept it, I was openly rude, was I not? when I replied that he was the assailant in a hand-to-hand affair,[b] since to gratify his lust for royal power, he was tempting with money a common citizen of a free and independent state.[c] As for you, sir, I welcome your kind thought and am delighted with it—it was generous and worthy a philosopher—but you come with medicine to friends who are not ill. If you had heard that we were under hostile attack and sailed to our aid with arms and missiles, but found on arrival that all was friendliness and peace, you would not have felt called upon to offer and leave those provisions with men who had no use for them. Just so you have come to help us against Poverty, supposing us molested by her; whereas we find her most companionable and a friendly member

begin unrighteous hands," that is, to strike the first blow in a case of assault and battery. Hands are also the donors and recipients of bribes.

[c] This incident is doubtless here placed too early in Epameinondas' career. Jason was not elected prince until some years after the liberation of Thebes (*cf.* Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 2, pp. 237 f.).

(584) φίλη σύνοικος· οὔκουν δεῖ χρημάτων ὅπλων[1] ἐπ' B αὐτὴν μηδὲν ἀνιῶσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπάγγελλε τοῖς ἐκεῖ γνωρίμοις ὅτι κάλλιστα μὲν αὐτοὶ πλούτῳ χρῶνται καλῶς δὲ πενίᾳ χρωμένους αὐτόθι φίλους ἔχουσι, τὰς δὲ Λύσιδος ἡμῖν τροφὰς καὶ ταφὰς αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ Λῦσις ἀπέδωκε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πενίαν διδάξας μὴ δυσχεραίνειν."

15. Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Θεάνωρ, "ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "τὸ πενίαν δυσχεραίνειν ἀγεννές ἐστι, τὸ δὲ πλοῦτον δεδιέναι καὶ φεύγειν οὐκ ἄτοπον;"

"Ἄτοπον," εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας,[2] "εἰ μὴ λόγῳ τις αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ σχηματιζόμενος ἢ δι' ἀπειροκαλίαν ἢ τῦφόν τινα διωθεῖται."

"Καὶ τίς ἄν," ἔφη, "λόγος ἀπείργοι τὴν ἐκ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων κτῆσιν, ὦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα;[3] μᾶλλον δέ (πραότερον[4] γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ τῷ Θετταλῷ C πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐνδίδου σαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων) εἰπέ μοι πότερον ἡγῇ δόσιν μὲν εἶναί τινα χρημάτων ὀρθήν, λῆψιν δὲ μηδεμίαν, ἢ καὶ τοὺς διδόντας ἁμαρτάνειν πάντως καὶ τοὺς λαμβάνοντας;"

"Οὐδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄλλου τινὸς ἐγὼ καὶ πλούτου χάριν τε καὶ κτῆσιν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν μὲν αἰσχρὰν τὴν δὲ ἀστείαν."

"Ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Θεάνωρ, "ὁ μὲν[5] ὀφείλων διδοὺς ἑκουσίως καὶ προθύμως οὐ καλῶς δίδωσιν;"

Ὡμολόγησεν.

"Ὁ δ' ἅ τις καλῶς δίδωσι δεξάμενος οὐ καλῶς

[1] οὐδὲ deleted by Sieveking before ὅπλων.

[2] ἄτοπον εἶπεν (ὁ added by Pohlenz) Ἐπαμεινώνδας added by Bern. (ἄτοπον Wyttenbach).

of our household; no armament of riches, then, is needed against her who gives us no offence. No; report to your comrades abroad that while they put riches to the best of uses themselves, they here have friends who make good use of poverty; and that Lysis has repaid us himself for the cost of his keeping and burial by teaching us, among other lessons, to feel no disgust at poverty."

15. Theanor rejoined: "Is it vulgar to feel disgust at poverty, and yet not absurd to dread and shun wealth?"

"It is absurd," replied Epameinondas, "if what moves a man to reject it is not reason, but a pose arising from coarseness or a kind of vanity."

"Indeed! And what reason, Epameinondas," he said, "would forbid its acquisition by noble and honest means? Or rather tell me this (for I beg you to show me a milder temper than you did the Thessalian in your answers on this point): do you think it sometimes proper to give money, but never to accept it, or do you think that under all circumstances givers are at fault as well as takers?"

"Not at all," said Epameinondas; "but in wealth as in other things I hold that the conferring and acceptance of a favour are sometimes shameful and sometimes honourable."

"Does not," Theanor went on, "the man who pays his debt willingly and cheerfully, do well in giving?"

Epameinondas agreed.

"And does not he who accepts a gift well given do

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[3] *ὦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα* Wyttenbach; *ὡς ἐπαμινώνδας* E; *ὡς ὁ ἐπαμεινώνδας* B.

[4] *πρᾳότερον* Wyttenbach: *πρότερον*.

[5] *μὲν* Dübner: *ἃ*.

(584) D εἴληφεν; ἢ γένοιτ' ἂν δικαιοτέρα χρημάτων λῆψις τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δικαίως διδόντος;"

"Οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη, "γένοιτο."

"Δυοῖν ἄρα φίλων," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, εἰ θατέρῳ δοτέον, θατέρῳ[1] δήπου ληπτέον· ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μάχαις τὸν εὖ βάλλοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἐκκλιτέον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χάρισι τὸν καλῶς διδόντα τῶν φίλων οὔτε φεύγειν οὔτε ἀπωθεῖσθαι δίκαιον· εἰ γὰρ ἡ πενία μὴ δυσχερές, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν ὁ πλοῦτος οὕτως ἄτιμος καὶ ἀπόβλητος."

"Οὐ γὰρ οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτῳ μὴ λαβόντι[2] τὸ καλῶς διδόμενον τιμιώτερον ὑπάρχει καὶ κάλλιον· οὑτωσὶ δ' ἐπίσκεψαι μεθ' ἡμῶν.

"Εἰσὶ δήπουθεν ἐπιθυμίαι πολλαὶ καὶ πολλῶν, ἔνιαι μὲν ἔμφυτοι λεγόμεναι καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα E βλαστάνουσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἡδονάς, αἱ δὲ ἐπήλυδες, αἳ ἕνεκα[3] κενῶν δοξῶν, ἰσχὺν δὲ καὶ βίαν ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας ἐν τροφῇ μοχθηρᾷ λαβοῦσαι, πολλάκις ἕλκουσι καὶ ταπεινοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐρρωμενέστερον τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἔθει δὲ καὶ μελέτῃ πολὺ μέν τις ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐμφύτων ἀπαρύσαι παθῶν τῷ λόγῳ παρέσχε· τὸ δὲ πᾶν τῆς ἀσκήσεως κράτος, ὦ φίλε, ταῖς ἐπεισοδίοις καὶ περιτταῖς προσαγαγόντας[4] ἐπιθυμίαις ἐκπονεῖν χρὴ καὶ ἀποκόπτειν αὐτὰς ἀνείρξεσι καὶ κατοχαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου κολαζομένας. εἰ γὰρ δίψαν ἐκβιάζεται F καὶ πεῖναν[5] ἡ πρὸς τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν ἀντίβασις τοῦ

[1] θατέρῳ Leonicus : θάτερον.
[2] λαβόντι Wyttenbach : διδόντι.
[3] αἳ ἕνεκα Bern. (αἳ μὲν ἐκ Post) : αἱ ἕνεκεν.
[4] προσαγαγόντας] προσάγοντας Klaffenbach.
[5] πεῖναν B : πεῖν E.

well in receiving? Or how could money be more honestly accepted than by accepting it from one who gives it honestly?"

"In no other way," was the reply.

"Therefore, Epameinondas," he went on, "if of two friends the one ought to give, the other surely ought to accept; in battles one should elude the enemy who casts well, but in the matter of favours it is not right either to evade or to repulse the friend who gives well; for granting poverty no burden, no more is wealth in its turn so valueless and undesirable as all that."

"True," said Epameinondas; "yet there is a case where the rightly offered gift is more valuable and honourable if not accepted. Consider the point with me in the light of the following considerations.

"There are, I take it, many desires, and these have many objects. Some desires, called innate, spring up in the body with the necessary pleasures as objects. Others are adventitious,[a] and seek to gratify mere empty fancies. Yet when a man has had a poor upbringing, long habit makes them strong and violent, and often they drag the soul along and humble it more forcibly than do the necessary desires. Habit and practice, however, have been known to enable reason to abate much of even the innate passions; and one must apply the whole might of a strict course of training, my dear friend, to the intrusive and superfluous desires and wear them down and cut them off by letting reason chasten them with repeated repression and restraint. For if thirst and hunger are overpowered by the resistance of reason

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 989 B-C and Aristoxenus, quoted by Stobaeus, vol. iii, p. 424. 15-18 (ed. Hense).

(584) λογισμοῦ, μακρῷ δήπου ῥᾷόν ἐστι φιλοπλουτίαν κολοῦσαι καὶ φιλοδοξίαν ἀποχαῖς ὧν ἐφίενται καὶ ἀνείρξεσιν εἰς τέλος καταλυθείσας· ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι;"

Ὡμολόγησεν ὁ ξένος.

"Ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "διαφορὰν ὁρᾷς ἀσκήσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὃ ἡ ἄσκησις ἔργου, καὶ καθάπερ ἀθλητικῆς ἔργον μὲν ἂν εἴποις τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἅμιλλαν, ἄσκησιν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτο[1] διὰ τῶν γυμνασίων παρασκευὴν τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῆς ὁμολογεῖς τὸ μὲν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἄσκησιν;"

Ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ξένου, "φέρε τοίνυν πρῶτον," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ[2] τῆς ἐγκρατείας· τὸ τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ παρανόμων ἡδονῶν ἀπέχεσθαι πό-
585 τερον ἄσκησιν ἢ μᾶλλον ἔργον καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἀσκήσεως εἶναι νομίζεις;"[3]

"Ἔργον," εἶπεν,[4] "ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόδειξιν."

"Ἄσκησιν δὲ καὶ μελέτην ἐγκρατείας[5] οὐχ ἧπερ ἔτι νῦν ἐφείλκυσθε πάντες ὑμεῖς, ὅταν γυμναζόμενοι[6] καὶ κινήσαντες ὥσπερ ζῷα τὰς ὀρέξεις ἐπιστῆτε λαμπραῖς τραπέζαις καὶ ποικίλοις ἐδέσμασι πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτα, ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκέταις ὑμῶν εὐωχεῖσθαι παραδόντες, αὐτοὶ τὰ λιτὰ καὶ ἁπλᾶ προσφέρησθε κεκολασμέναις ἤδη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις; ἡ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ἀποχὴ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἄσκησίς ἐστι τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς ἃ κεκώλυται."

[1] τοῦτο] τούτῳ B.
[2] εἶπεν ἐπὶ nos (ἐπὶ Kronenberg): εἰπὲ (εἰπὲ περὶ Warmington).
[3] νομίζεις Basle edition of 1542: νομίζειν.
[4] εἶπεν Reiske: εἶπον.

to food and drink, it is surely far easier to check the appetites for wealth and fame and break their power in the end by abstaining from what they desire and holding them back. Do you not agree ? "

The stranger assented.

" Do you observe," he asked, " a difference between a course of training and the goal such training serves ; and as you would say that in athletics the goal is to compete with one's opponent for the crown, whereas the training is the preparation of the body for that end through exercise, so do you agree that in virtue as well the goal is one thing and the training another ? "

When the stranger had agreed, Epameinondas continued : " First take the case of continence : do you regard abstention from shameful and unlawful pleasures as training or rather as the goal and evidence of training ? "

" The goal and evidence," he replied.

" And do you not consider it as training and practice in continence to achieve it as you have all achieved it to this day ? Exercising till your appetites, like so many animals, have been stirred up, you place yourselves for some time before splendid tables and varied meats ; then, relinquishing to your slaves the enjoyment of the feast, you partake yourselves of plain and simple fare with desires which by that time have been chastened.[a] For abstention from pleasure in what is allowed is a training of the soul to resist what is forbidden."

[a] For this practice of the Pythagoreans *cf.* Diodorus, x. 5. 2, and Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, chap. xxi. 187.

[5] *μετὰ* before *ἐγκρατείας* omitted by Reiske.
[6] *γυμναζόμενοι*] *γυμνασάμενοι* Reiske.

(585) “ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” εἶπεν.

“ Ἔστιν οὖν τις, ὦ φίλε, καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ πρὸς B φιλοπλουτίαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν ἄσκησις, οὐ τὸ μὴ κλέπτειν ἐπιόντα νύκτωρ τὰ τῶν πέλας μηδὲ λωποδυτεῖν, οὐδ’ εἰ μὴ προδίδωσί τις πατρίδα καὶ φίλους δι’ ἀργύριον, οὗτος ἀσκεῖ πρὸς φιλαργυρίαν (καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἴσως ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ φόβος ἀπείργει τὴν πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀδικεῖν), ἀλλὰ ὁ τῶν δικαίων καὶ συγκεχωρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου κερδῶν πολλάκις ἀφιστὰς ἑαυτὸν ἑκουσίως ἀσκεῖ καὶ προσεθίζεται μακρὰν εἶναι παντὸς ἀδίκου καὶ παρανόμου λήμματος. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἡδοναῖς μεγάλαις μέν, ἀτόποις δὲ καὶ βλαβεραῖς, οἷόν τε τὴν διάνοιαν C ἠρεμεῖν μὴ πολλάκις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀπολαύειν καταφρονήσασαν, οὔτε λήμματα μοχθηρὰ καὶ πλεονεξίας μεγάλας εἰς ἐφικτὸν ἡκούσας ὑπερβῆναι ῥᾴδιον ᾧτινι μὴ πόρρωθεν ἐνδέδωκε[1] καὶ κεκόλασται τὸ φιλοκερδές, ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν[2] ἀνέδην[3] εἰς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀνατεθραμμένον σπαργᾷ[4] περὶ τὰς ἀδικίας[5] μάλα μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀπεχόμενον. ἀνδρὶ δὲ μὴ φίλων προϊεμένῳ χάρισι, μὴ βασιλέων δωρεαῖς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχης κλῆρον ἀπειπαμένῳ καὶ θησαυροῦ φανέντος ἐπιπηδῶσαν ἀποστήσαντι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν οὐκ ἐπαν-

[1] ἐνδέδωκε E : ἐνδέδοται B (δέδεται Schwartz : ἐνδέδεται Reiske).

[2] ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν Pohlenz (ἀλλ’ οἷς ἔξεστιν Emperius) : ἄλλαις ἔξεσιν.

"Assuredly," he said.

"For justice too, then, my dear friend, a mode of training exists, whereby we resist the appetite for riches and money. It does not lie in abstention from going about at night to steal our neighbours' goods or strip men of their cloaks; nor yet does the man who refuses to betray country and friends for gold train himself to resist the passion for money (here, actually, it is perhaps the law and fear that keeps his cupidity from crime); it is instead the man who of his own free will repeatedly holds back from profits honourable and conceded by the law, that trains and accustoms himself to keep well aloof from all dishonest and unlawful gain.[a] For neither in the midst of great but unseemly and harmful pleasures can the mind remain unmoved, unless it has often, while free to enjoy it, held pleasure in contempt; nor yet is it easy to forgo sordid profits and lucrative but dishonest gains, when they come within our power, if a man's avarice, instead of being subdued well in advance and chastened, has been bred to profit without stint where profit is legitimate, and so is all agog for fraud and crime, held back just barely and with difficulty from unrightful gain. He, on the other hand, who does not yield himself up to the favours of friends or the bounty of kings, but rejects even the windfalls of fortune, and on discovering hidden treasure, calls off the cupidity that leaps at it, finds that his cupidity does not rise in

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 522 B.

[3] ἀνέδην Reiske: ἀναίδην.
[4] σπαργᾷ Emperius: ὁ γὰρ σπαργᾶ E^c?B (σ inserted by E², replacing a σ superscribed over π by E^c? and now erased).
[5] περὶ τὰς ἀδικίας Stegmann (πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας Bern.; Schwartz deletes): περὶ τῆς ἀδικίας.

(585) ἵσταται πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας οὐδὲ θορυβεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν, D ἀλλὰ εὐκόλως χρῆται πρὸς τὸ καλὸν αὐτῷ μέγα φρονῶν καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ συνειδώς. τούτων ἐγὼ καὶ Καφισίας ἐρασταὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντες, ὦ φίλε Σιμμία, παραιτούμεθα τὸν ξένον ἐὰν ἡμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐγγεγυμνάσθαι[1] τῇ πενίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκείνην."

16. Ταῦτα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διελθόντος, ὅσον[2] ὁ Σιμμίας δὶς ἢ τρὶς ἐπινεύσας τῇ κεφαλῇ, "μέγας," ἔφη, "μέγας ἀνήρ ἐστιν Ἐπαμεινώνδας, τούτου δ' αἴτιος οὑτοσὶ Πόλυμνις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν ἀρίστην τροφὴν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ τοῖς παισὶ παρασκευασάμενος. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων αὐτὸς[3] διαλύεσθαι[4] πρὸς E αὐτούς,[5] ὦ ξένε· τὸν δὲ Λῦσιν ἡμῖν, εἰ θέμις ἀκοῦσαι, πότερον ἄρα κινεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τάφου καὶ μετοικίζεις εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἢ καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα παρ' ἡμῖν ἐάσεις εὐμενέσι καὶ φίλοις, ὅταν ἐκεῖ γενώμεθα, συνοίκοις χρησόμενον;"

Καὶ ὁ Θεάνωρ ἐπιμειδιάσας, "ἔοικεν," ἔφη, Λῦσις, ὦ Σιμμία, φιλοχωρεῖν, οὐδενὸς τῶν καλῶν ἐνδεὴς γεγονὼς δι' Ἐπαμεινώνδαν.[6] ἔστι γάρ τι γινόμενον[7] ἰδίᾳ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ὅσιον, οὗ μὴ τυχόντες οὐ δοκοῦμεν ἀπέχειν τὸ μακαριστὸν καὶ οἰκεῖον τέλος. ὡς οὖν ἔγνωμεν ἐκ τῶν ὀνείρων τὴν Λύσιδος τελευτήν (διαγινώσκομεν

[1] ἐγγεγυμνάσθαι Stephanus (ἐγγυμνάσασθαι Wyttenbach): ἐγγυμνάσθαι E; ἐγγυμνᾶσθαι B.
[2] ὅσον] deleted by Reiske.
[3] αὐτὸς] αὐτοὶ Vulcobius.
[4] διαλύεσθαι] διαλύεσθε Turnebus (but the infinitive is used as an imperative in *Life of Sulla*, chap. xxi. 3, 465 E).
[5] αὐτούς] αὑτούς Reiske.
[6] Ἐπαμεινώνδαν] ἐπαμινώνδα E.

rebellion against him at the prospect of wrongdoing nor throw his thoughts into turmoil; instead, he readily disposes of himself for all good ends, holding his head high and conscious of the presence in his soul of nothing but the noblest thoughts. In our admiration for such men, dear Simmias, Caphisias and I entreat this grace of the stranger—to allow us practice enough in our poverty to achieve that excellence."

16. When my brother had done, Simmias nodded some two or three times in assent, and said: "Epameinondas is a great man, great indeed, and his greatness is due to Polymnis here, who from their early years provided his sons with the best upbringing, schooling them in philosophy. But this dispute, sir, you must settle with them yourself. To return to Lysis: if it is lawful for us to be told, are you going to remove him from his grave and take him to Italy, or will you permit him to remain here with us? He will find us good and friendly neighbours when we join him there."

Theanor smiled at this and said: "It would appear, Simmias, that Lysis is attached to his present abode, since, thanks to Epameinondas, he lacks no honourable provision. For a certain special rite [a] is performed at the burials of Pythagoreans, and without it we do not feel in full possession of the blessed end that is proper to our sect. And so, when we learned from our dreams of Lysis' death (we tell by a certain

[a] The rite is unknown. For the funeral observances of the Pythagoreans *cf.* F. Cumont, "A propos des dernières paroles de Socrate" in *Comptes-Rendus, Ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* (1943), pp. 114 f.

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[7] *γινόμενον* Stegmann: *γενόμενον.*

(585) F δὲ σημείῳ τινὶ φαινομένῳ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἴτε τεθνηκότος εἴτε ζῶντος εἴδωλόν ἐστιν), ἔννοια πολλοῖς ἐπεισῆλθεν ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης ὁ Λῦσις ἄλλως κεκήδευται καὶ κινητέος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ὅπως ἐκεῖ[1] μεταλάχῃ τῶν νομιζομένων. τοιαύτῃ δὲ διανοίᾳ παραγενόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὸν τάφον εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὁδηγηθεὶς ἑσπέρας ἤδη, χοὰς ἐχεόμην ἀνακαλούμενος τὴν Λύσιδος ψυχὴν κατελθεῖν ἀποθεσπίσουσαν ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα πράσσειν. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶδον μὲν οὐδέν, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ φωνῆς ἔδοξα τὰ ἀκίνητα μὴ κινεῖν· ὁσίως γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων κεκηδεῦσθαι τὸ Λύσιδος σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχήν, ἤδη κεκριμένην, ἀφεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄλλην γένεσιν ἄλλῳ δαίμονι συλλαχοῦσαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ συμβαλὼν ἕωθεν Ἐπα-
586 μεινώνδᾳ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀκούσας ᾧ θάψειε Λῦσιν ἐπέγνων ὅτι καλῶς ἄχρι τῶν ἀπορρήτων πεπαιδευμένος ὑπ' ἐκείνου τἀνδρὸς εἴη καὶ χρῷτο ταὐτῷ δαίμονι πρὸς τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ κακὸς ἐγὼ τεκμήρασθαι τῷ πλῷ τὸν κυβερνήτην· μυρίαι[2] μὲν γὰρ ἀτραποὶ βίων, ὀλίγαι δὲ ἃς δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους ἄγουσιν." ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεάνωρ, ταῦτ' εἰπών, τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ προσέβλεψεν, οἷον ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀναθεώμενος[3] αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν καὶ[4] τὸ εἶδος.

17. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἰατρὸς προσελθὼν περι-

[1] ἐκεῖ] οἴκοι Holwerda.
[2] μυρίαι Richards (συχναὶ van Herwerden) : εὐρεῖαι.
[3] ἀναθεώμενος Leonicus : ἀναθέμενος.
[4] καὶ added by Victorius.

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[a] G. Méautis, *Recherches sur le pythagorisme* (Neuchâtel, 1922), pp. 34 f., compares *Mor.* 564 D and 300 C to show that if the apparition blinked its eyes or cast a shadow it was taken to belong to a living person.

token appearing in our sleep whether the apparition is of the dead or of the living) [a] it occurred to many that Lysis had been improperly buried in a foreign land and that we must remove him so that over there [b] he might have the benefit of our customary rites. It was with this in mind that I came here ; and as soon as the people of the country had led me to the grave (it was evening by then) I poured libations, summoning the soul of Lysis to return and reveal what course I should take. As the night advanced I saw no vision, but seemed to hear a voice that said 'touch not the inviolable,' [c] as Lysis' friends had given his body consecrated burial, while his soul, already judged, had been joined by lot to another daemon [d] and released for another birth. Moreover, on meeting Epameinondas this morning and hearing how he had buried Lysis, I recognized that he had been well instructed by that other,[e] even in the secrets, and that he had the same daemon for his life, if I have any skill to judge of the skipper by the navigation. For while the paths of life are numberless, yet those are few on which men are guided by daemons." On saying this Theanor looked at Epameinondas as though in renewed study of his character and appearance.

17. Meanwhile the physician approached Simmias

[b] Probably " in Italy " ; but possibly the meaning is " in the other world."

[c] Literally " not to move (or disturb) what may not be moved (or disturbed)."

[d] For theories about the daemon of the Pythagoreans *cf.* P. C. van der Horst, *Les Vers d'or pythagoriciens* (Leyden, 1932), pp. 49-53.

[e] Literally " that man," an expression of respect among the Pythagoreans. *Cf.* P. Shorey in *Classical Philology*, xii (1917), p. 436.

(586) ἔλυσε τοῦ Σιμμίου τὸν ἐπίδεσμον ὡς θεραπεύσων
B τὸ σῶμα, Φυλλίδας δὲ ἐπεισελθὼν μεθ' Ἱπποσθενείδου καὶ κελεύσας ἐμὲ καὶ Χάρωνα καὶ Θεόκριτον ἐξαναστῆναι προσῆγεν εἴς τινα γωνίαν τοῦ περιστύλου, σφόδρα τεταραγμένος, ὡς διεφαίνετο τῷ προσώπῳ. κἀμοῦ, "μή τι καινότερον, ὦ Φυλλίδα, προσπέπτωκεν;" εἰπόντος, "ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδέν," ἔφη, "καινόν, ὦ Καφισία· καὶ γὰρ προῄδειν καὶ προὔλεγον ὑμῖν τὴν Ἱπποσθενείδου μαλακίαν, δεόμενος μὴ ἀνακοινοῦσθαι μηδὲ παραλαμβάνειν εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν."

Ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν, ὁ Ἱπποσθενείδας, "μὴ λέγε πρὸς θεῶν," ἔφη, "Φυλλίδα, ταῦτα, μηδὲ τὴν προπέτειαν εὐτολμίαν οἰόμενος ἀνατρέψῃς καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἔασον
C ἀσφαλῶς, εἴπερ εἵμαρται, κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας."

Καὶ ὁ Φυλλίδας παροξυνόμενος, "εἰπέ μοι," φησίν, "ὦ Ἱπποσθενείδα, πόσους οἴει μετέχειν τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡμῖν;"

"Ἐγὼ μέν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἢ τριάκοντα γινώσκω."

"Τί οὖν," ἔφη, "τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων, τὰ πᾶσι δόξαντα μόνος ἀνῄρηκας καὶ διακεκώλυκας, ἐκπέμψας ἱππέα πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἤδη καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντας, ἀναστρέφειν κελεύσας καὶ μὴ κατατεῖναι σήμερον, ὅτε τῶν πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον αὐτοῖς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον συμπαρεσκεύασεν;"

Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Φυλλίδου, πάντες μὲν
D διεταράχθημεν, ὁ δὲ Χάρων, τῷ Ἱπποσθενείδᾳ πάνυ σκληρῶς τὴν ὄψιν ἐνερείσας, "ὦ μοχθηρέ," εἶπεν, "ἄνθρωπε, τί δέδρακας ἡμᾶς;"

"Οὐδέν," ἔφη, "δεινόν," ὁ Ἱπποσθενείδας,

and removed the bandage, preparing to dress the wound. But Phyllidas entered with Hippostheneidas, and calling Charon, Theocritus, and myself aside, led us to a corner of the peristyle, in great agitation as his face revealed.[a] When I asked : " Has anything unexpected occurred, Phyllidas ? " he replied : " nothing *I* had not expected, Caphisias ; I knew and forewarned you that Hippostheneidas was a weakling and begged you not to inform him of our plans or include him in the execution."

We were alarmed at these words ; and Hippostheneidas said : " In the name of the gods, Phyllidas, do not say that ; do not, mistaking rashness for courage, bring ruin on ourselves and on our country, but allow the exiles to return (if such is their fate) in safety."

Phyllidas said in exasperation : " Tell me, Hippostheneidas, how many do you think are in the secret of our enterprise ? "

" For my part," he answered, " I know of not less than thirty."

" Then why," he asked, " when the number is so great, have you, acting alone, ruined and thwarted the plans agreed upon by all ? Sending a mounted messenger to the exiles, already on the way, you told them to turn back and not press on to-day—to-day when mere luck has helped to bring about most of the conditions favourable to their return."

At these words of Phyllidas' we were all dismayed, and Charon said, with a cold stare at Hippostheneidas, " Wretch ! What have you done to us ? "

" Nothing terrible," said Hippostheneidas, " if you

[a] The story of Hippostheneidas and Chlidon is also told in the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. viii. 5-9 (281 D—282 A).

(586) " ἐὰν ἀνεὶς τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς φωνῆς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικιώτου καὶ πολιὰς παραπλησίως ἔχοντος λογισμῶν μετάσχῃς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὐψυχίαν φιλοκίνδυνον ἀποδείξασθαι τοῖς πολίταις καὶ θυμὸν ὀλιγωροῦντα τοῦ βίου προῃρήμεθα, Φυλλίδα, πολὺ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μῆκος ἔτι, καὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν μὴ περιμένωμεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη βαδίζωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες· ἀποκτιννύωμέν, ἀποθνῄσκωμεν, ἀφειδῶμεν ἑαυτῶν. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὔτε δρᾶσαι χαλεπὸν
E οὔτε παθεῖν, ἐξελέσθαι δὲ τὰς Θήβας ὅπλων τοσούτων πολεμίων περιεχόντων καὶ τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν φρουρὰν ἀπώσασθαι δυσὶ νεκροῖς ἢ τρισὶν οὐ ῥᾴδιον (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοσοῦτον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς παρεσκεύακε Φυλλίδας ἄκρατον ὥστε τοὺς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους Ἀρχίᾳ[1] μεθυσθῆναι δορυφόρους· ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐκεῖνον ἀνέλωμεν, ἐφεδρεύει τῇ νυκτὶ νήφων Ἡριππίδας[2] καὶ Ἄρκεσος), τί σπεύδομεν κατάγειν φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ προῦπτον ὄλεθρον καὶ τοῦτο μηδὲ ἀγνοούντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν παντάπασι τὴν κάθοδον; διὰ τί γὰρ
F Θεσπιεῦσι μὲν παρήγγελται τρίτην ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ προσέχειν ὅταν οἱ Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγεμόνες καλῶσιν; Ἀμφίθεον δὲ σήμερον, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, μέλλουσιν ἀνακρίναντες, ὅταν Ἀρχίας ἐπανέλθῃ, διαφθερεῖν. οὐ μεγάλα ταῦτα σημεῖα τοῦ μὴ λανθάνειν τὴν πρᾶξιν; οὐ κράτιστον ἐπισχεῖν χρόνον οὐχὶ πολὺν ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐξοσιώσασθαι

[1] Ἀρχίᾳ] the MSS. have ἀρχία, interpreted by all editors except Bern. as a genitive.

will soften the harshness of your voice and listen to the reasons of a man of your own age with white hairs like yourself. If we are resolved to show our countrymen an example of undaunted courage and of a high spirit that holds life cheap, Phyllidas, much of the day still remains ; let us not wait for nightfall, but at once set out against the tyrants, sword in hand ; let us slay and be slain and be prodigal of our lives. But slaying or being slain is not difficult, whereas it is no easy task to capture Thebes when hostile arms beset us in such numbers and to repel the Spartan garrison at the cost of but two or three dead ; for the store of unmixed wine laid in by Phyllidas for his banquets and entertainments is not enough to make the fifteen hundred men in Archias' bodyguard drunk, and even if we succeed in killing Archias, we still have Herippidas and Arcesus,[a] sober men, to face in the morning. Why then this haste to bring friends and kinsmen home to certain destruction, and that too when our foes are not entirely unaware of their coming ? Why have the Thespians had orders these past two days to stand under arms and hold themselves ready for the summons of the Spartan commanders ? They are going to interrogate Amphitheüs to-day, I hear, and on Archias' return [b] put him to death. Is not all this strong evidence that our plot is known ? Is it not best to wait a little, just long enough to propitiate Heaven ? For when they

[a] Herippidas and Arcesus were the Spartan commanders still remaining in Thebes. Lysanoridas, the third, had gone to Haliartus : *cf.* 578 A, *supra.*

[b] Archias had left to escort Lysanoridas on the way to Haliartus : *cf.* 594, *infra.*

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[2] Ἡριππίδας Reiske (Ἑρμιππίδας Hutten) : κριππίδας.

(586) τὰ θεῖα; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μάντεις τῇ Δήμητρι[1] τὸν βοῦν θύοντες πολὺν θόρυβον καὶ κίνδυνον λέγουσι δημόσιον ἀποσημαίνειν τὰ ἔμπυρα. καὶ τὸ σοὶ πλείστης δεόμενον, ὦ Χάρων, εὐλαβείας· ἐχθὲς ἐξ ἀγροῦ μοι συνοδεύων Ὑπατόδωρος ὁ Ἐριάνθους, χρηστὸς μὲν ἄλλως καὶ οἰκεῖος ἀνήρ, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν
587 πρασσομένων[2] συνειδώς, 'ἔστι σοι,' φησίν, 'ὦ Ἱπποσθενείδα, Χάρων ἑταῖρος ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ πάνυ συνήθης· ἐὰν οὖν δοκῇ σοι, φράσον αὐτῷ φυλάττεσθαί τινα κίνδυνον ἐξ ἐνυπνίου μάλα δυσχεροῦς καὶ ἀτόπου. τῆς γὰρ ἄλλης νυκτὸς ᾤμην αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ὠδίνειν ὥσπερ κυοῦσαν,[3] αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγωνιῶντας εὔχεσθαι καὶ κύκλῳ παρεῖναι, τὴν[4] δὲ μυκᾶσθαι καὶ ἀφιέναι φωνάς τινας ἀνάρθρους, τέλος δὲ πῦρ λάμψαι πολὺ καὶ δεινὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔνδοθεν, ὡς τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως φλέγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν καπνῷ μόνῳ περιέχε-
B σθαι, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἄνω μὴ περιπολάζειν.'[5] ἡ μὲν οὖν ὄψις, ὦ Χάρων, ἣν ὁ ἄνθρωπος διεξῆλθε, τοιαύτη τις ἦν· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ παραχρῆμα κατέδεισα καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἀκούσας σήμερον ὡς εἰς[6] τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν οἱ φυγάδες καταίρειν μέλλουσιν, ἀγωνιῶ μὴ μεγάλων κακῶν ἐμπλήσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον τοὺς πολεμίους δράσαντες ἀλλ' ὅσον διαταράξαντες. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν πρὸς ἡμῶν τίθεμαι, τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν, ὥσπερ ἐστί, πρὸς ἐκείνων."

18. Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος καὶ κατασχὼν τὸν Χάρωνα βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τὸν Ἱπποσθενείδαν, "ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε," εἶπεν, "ἀπ' οὐδενὸς

[1] Δήμητρι Bern. : δημήτρα.

sacrificed the ox to Demeter the diviners say that the flesh burnt on the altar portended great tumult and danger to the state. And for you, Charon, here is something that requires the greatest caution. Yesterday I came in from the country with Hypatodorus, son of Erianthes, an excellent person and a kinsman of mine, but quite unaware of what is afoot. 'Charon,' he said, 'is a close friend of yours, Hippostheneidas, but not well known to me; you must put him on his guard, then, if you will, against a danger portended by a most ominous and extraordinary dream. Last night I dreamed that his house was in labour, as with child, and that as he and his friends in their anxiety were offering prayers and gathered around it, it groaned and gave utterance to certain inarticulate sounds; at last a great and terrible fire flared up from within, so that most of the city was in flames, though the Cadmeia was only veiled in smoke, as the fire enveloping it did not rise so high.' Such, Charon, was the vision he recounted. For my part, I was alarmed even at the time, and on hearing to-day that it is at your house the exiles intend to stay, I have become much more apprehensive, for fear that we may involve ourselves in disaster and yet do the enemy no serious injury, but merely give them a fright. For I take the city to stand for ourselves, and the Cadmeia to be on their side, as indeed it is."

18. Theocritus interposed, checking Charon, who desired to say something to Hippostheneidas. "But as for myself, Hippostheneidas," he said, "nothing

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[2] *πρασσομένων* Pflugk : *προεσομένων*.
[3] *κυοῦσαν* (*cf.* note on *Mor.* 552 D) : *κύουσαν*.
[4] *τὴν* B[1ss] : *τὸν*.
[5] *περιπολάζειν*] *ἐπιπολάζειν* Turnebus. [6] *εἰς* B : E omits.

(587) C οὕτως οὐδέποτε θαρρῆσαι πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὦ Ἱπποσθενείδα, παρέστη, καίπερ ἱεροῖς ἀεὶ χρησαμένῳ καλοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν φυγάδων, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως ταύτης· εἴ γε φῶς μὲν πολὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει λέγεις ἐξ οἰκίας φίλης ἀνασχεῖν, καπνῷ δὲ συμμελανθῆναι τὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἰκητήριον, οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε δακρύων καὶ ταραχῆς φέροντι κρεῖττον, ἀσήμους δὲ φωνὰς ἐκφέρεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, ὥστε κἂν τις ἐπιχειρῇ[1] κατηγορεῖν, περιφώνησιν[2] ἀσαφῆ καὶ τυφλὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἡ πρᾶξις λαβοῦσα μόνον, ἅμα καὶ φανήσεται καὶ κρατήσει.[3] δυσιερεῖν δέ γε θύοντας εἰκός· ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον οὐ δημόσιον ἀλλὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἐστίν."

Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου λέγοντος λέγω πρὸς τὸν D Ἱπποσθενείδαν, "τίνα πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξαπέστειλας; εἰ γὰρ οὐ πολὺ προείληφας, διωξόμεθα."

Καὶ ὁ Ἱπποσθενείδας, "οὐκ οἶδ'," εἶπεν, "ὦ Καφισία (δεῖ γὰρ ὑμῖν τἀληθῆ λέγειν) εἰ καταλάβοις ἂν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἵππῳ χρώμενον τῶν ἐν Θήβαις κρατίστῳ· γνώριμος δ' ὑμῖν ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι, τῶν Μέλωνος ἁρματηλατῶν ἐπιστάτης καὶ διὰ Μέλωνα τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συνειδώς."

Κἀγώ, κατιδὼν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "ἆρ' οὐ Χλίδωνα λέγεις," εἶπον, "ὦ Ἱπποσθενείδα,[4] τὸν κέλητι τὰ Ἡράκλεια[5] νικῶντα πέρυσιν;"

"Ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν αὐτόν," ἔφησε.

"Καὶ τίς οὗτος," ἔφην, "ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς ταῖς αὐλείοις θύραις ἐφεστὼς πάλαι καὶ προσβλέπων ἡμῖν;"

[1] κἂν τις ἐπιχειρῇ Pohlenz (κἂν εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη Bern.): κἂν εἴ τις ἐπιχειρῇ. [2] περιφώνησιν Reiske: περὶ φωνῆς, ἵν'.

has ever so encouraged me in our venture as this vision, although my sacrifices have always augured well for the exiles—if as you say a great and brilliant light arose in the city from a friendly house, while the habitation of the enemy was darkened with smoke (which never leads to anything better than tears and confusion), and indistinct sounds got abroad from our side, so that even if an attempt is made to denounce us, our enterprise, attended with but indistinct rumours and blind suspicion, will be revealed only by its triumph. As for their sacrifice, it was of course unfavourable. The official and the victim do not represent the state but the faction in power."

While Theocritus was still speaking I asked Hippostheneidas : "Whom did you send with the message? If you have given him no great start, we will set out in pursuit."

He replied : "I am afraid, Caphisias (I must tell you and the others the truth), that you cannot overtake him, as he has the best mount in Thebes. You all know the man : he is overseer of Melon's charioteers and through Melon has been aware of the plot from the beginning."

And I, who had caught sight of the man, remarked : "It must be Chlidon you mean, Hippostheneidas, who won the horse-race at the games of Heracles last year."

"The very man," he replied.

"And who," I asked, "is this? He has been standing for some time at the outer door looking our way."

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[3] κρατήσει Dübner : κρατήσῃ.
[4] Ἱπποσθενείδα Leonicus : ἀντισθενείδα.
[5] Ἡράκλεια Christ : ἡραῖα.

(587) E Ἐπιστρέψας οὖν ὁ Ἱπποσθενείδας, "Χλίδων," ἔφη, "νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα· φεῦ, μή τι χαλεπώτερον συμβέβηκε;"

Κἀκεῖνος, ὡς εἶδεν ἡμᾶς προσέχοντας αὐτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας ἡσυχῇ προσῆγε. τοῦ δ' Ἱπποσθενείδου νεύσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος εἰς ἅπαντας, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς πράξεως μετέχοντας,[1] "οἶδ'," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀκριβῶς, Ἱπποσθενείδα, καὶ σὲ μήτε κατ' οἶκον εὑρὼν[2] μήτε ἐπ'
F ἀγορᾶς, δεῦρο πρὸς τούτους ἐτεκμαιρόμην ἥκειν καὶ συνέτεινον εὐθὺς ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοῆτε τῶν γεγονότων.

"Ὡς γὰρ ἐκέλευσας τάχει παντὶ χρησάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, εἰσῆλθον οἴκαδε ληψόμενος τὸν ἵππον· αἰτοῦντι δέ μοι τὸν χαλινὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ γυνὴ δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ διέτριβεν[3] ἐν τῷ ταμιείῳ[4] πολὺν χρόνον ὡς[5] ζητοῦσα καὶ σκευωρουμένη[6] τὰ ἔνδον· ἱκανῶς δ' ἀπολαύσασά μου, τέλος ὡμολόγησε κεχρηκέναι τῷ γείτονι τὸν χαλινὸν ἑσπέρας αἰτησαμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς γυναικός. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ ἐμοῦ καὶ κακῶς αὐτὴν λέγοντος τρέπεται πρὸς δυσφημίας[7] ἀποτροπαίους ἐπαρω-
588 μένη κακὰς ὁδούς, κακὰς δ' ἐπανόδους· ἃ νὴ Δία πάντα τρέψειαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην οἱ[8] θεοί. τέλος δὲ μέχρι πληγῶν προαχθεὶς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, εἶτα ὄχλου γειτόνων καὶ γυναικῶν συνδραμόντος αἴσχιστα ποιήσας καὶ παθὼν μόλις ἀφῖγμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,

[1] ὡς . . . μετέχοντας nos (ὡς τοῦ πράγματος μ. Pohlenz), to fill a lacuna of 40-26 letters.
[2] εὑρὼν Leonicus : εὗρον.

Hippostheneidas turned and exclaimed : " Good heavens ! It is Chlidon. Dear me, has anything serious happened ? "

Seeing our eyes on him, Chlidon slowly advanced from the door. When Hippostheneidas had nodded to him and told him to speak out before all of us, as all were in the plot, he said : " I know the gentlemen well, Hippostheneidas. Not finding you either at home or in the market-place, I guessed that you had joined them here and came as fast as I could, so that you might all know everything that has happened.

" On receiving your order to ride at full speed and meet the men on the mountain [a] I went home for my horse. I called for the bridle but my wife didn't have it, and spent a long time in the storeroom, rummaging through the contents as if looking for it. When she had had enough of making a fool of me she at last admitted lending it the evening before to our neighbour at his wife's request. In my exasperation I railed at her ; she then resorted to ominous and appalling language, cursing me with an unlucky journey and an unlucky return ; by Heaven ! may the gods send all of it on her own head. Finally I got so furious I beat her. Then neighbours and women came running up and a crowd collected ; and it was all I could do to get here to you gentlemen, after the shameful way I had acted and been treated, so that

[a] Cithaeron, a mountain ridge on the Attic border.

[3] *διέτριβεν* Xylander : *διέτριβον*.
[4] *ταμιείῳ* Bern. : *ταμείω*.
[5] Wilamowitz deletes *δὲ* after *ὡς*, inserting *δ'* after *ἱκανῶς* ; Post reads *δὴ* for *δέ*, inserting *πρὶν* after *ἔνδον*.
[6] *σκευωρουμένη* Ald.[2] : *σκαιωρουμένη*.
[7] *δυσφημίας* Leonicus : *δυσθυμίας*. [8] *οἱ*] omitted in B.

(588) ὅπως ἄλλον ἐκπέμπητε πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς ἐμοῦ παντάπασιν ἐκστατικῶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντος."

19. Ἡμᾶς δέ τις ἔσχεν ἄτοπος μεταβολὴ τοῦ πάθους. μικρὸν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τῷ κεκωλῦσθαι δυσχεραίνοντες, πάλιν διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τὸ τάχος,[1] ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἀναβολῆς, εἰς ἀγωνίαν ὑπηγόμεθα καὶ φόβον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐγὼ προσ-
B ἀγορεύσας τὸν Ἱπποσθενείδαν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐθάρρυνον ὡς καὶ τῶν θεῶν παρακαλούντων ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Φυλλίδας μὲν ᾤχετο τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἐπιμελησόμενος καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν εὐθὺς ἐνσείσων εἰς τὸν πότον, Χάρων δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ ἀναγκαῖα παρασκευάσων, ὡς δεξόμενος τοὺς φυγάδας,[2] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Θεόκριτος πάλιν πρὸς τὸν Σιμμίαν ἐπανήλθομεν ὅπως τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ καιρὸν λαβόντες ἐντύχοιμεν.

20. Οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἤδη[3] πρόσω ζητήσεως οὐκ ἀγεννοῦς ἀλλ' ἧς ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν οἱ περὶ Γαλαξίδωρον καὶ Φειδόλαον ἥψαντο, διαποροῦντες τίνος οὐσίας[4]
C καὶ δυνάμεως εἴη τὸ Σωκράτους λεγόμενον δαιμόνιον. ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Γαλαξιδώρου λόγον ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Σιμμίας οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν· αὐτὸς δὲ Σωκράτη μὲν ἔφη περὶ τούτων ἐρόμενός ποτε μὴ τυχεῖν ἀποκρίσεως, διὸ μηδ' αὖθις ἐρέσθαι, πολλάκις δ' αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι τοὺς μὲν δι' ὄψεως ἐντυχεῖν θείῳ τινὶ λέγοντας ἀλαζόνας ἡγουμένῳ,[5]

[1] τὸ τάχος] τοῦ τάχους E^{ac}.
[2] τὰ ἀναγκαῖα παρασκευάσων, ὡς δεξόμενος τοὺς φυγάδας Amyot and Wyttenbach, to fill a lacuna of 46-18 letters.
[3] ἦσαν ἤδη E; B puts ἤδη after ἀγεννοῦς.

you might send someone else to meet the men, as I am just now in a thoroughly distracted and wretched state."

19. As for ourselves, our feelings suffered an odd reversal; a little before we had been disappointed at the failure of our plans, while now, with the decision at hand and the need for immediate action upon us (postponement being impossible), we were yielding to anxiety and fear. Nevertheless, I spoke to Hippostheneidas and gave him my hand, encouraging him with the thought that the very gods were calling on us to act.

Thereupon Phyllidas left to prepare his entertainment and lure Archias at once to his cups, and Charon to make the necessary preparations in his house for receiving the exiles. Theocritus and I returned to Simmias for an opportunity to confer with Epameinondas.

20. They were already well along in an inquiry of no trivial scope, the one Galaxidorus and Pheidolaüs had engaged in shortly before, when they raised the problem of the nature and mode of operation of the so-called sign of Socrates.[a] Simmias' reply to Galaxidorus' argument we did not hear; speaking for himself, however, he said that he had once asked Socrates about the matter without receiving an answer and had therefore never asked again; but he had often heard Socrates express the view that men who laid claim to visual communication with Heaven were impostors, while to such as affirmed

[a] *Cf.* K. Reinhardt, *Poseidonios*, pp. 464 ff.

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[4] *τίνος οὐσίας* Turnebus : *τίς οὐσία.*
[5] *ἡγουμένῳ* Stephanus : *ἡγούμενον.*

(588) τοῖς δ' ἀκοῦσαί τινος φωνῆς φάσκουσι[1] προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν καὶ διαπυνθανομένῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς. " ὅθεν ἡμῖν παρίστατο σκοπουμένοις ἰδίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπονοεῖν μήποτε τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον οὐκ D ὄψις ἀλλὰ φωνῆς τινος αἴσθησις ἢ λόγου[2] νόησις εἴη συνάπτοντος ἀτόπῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ καθ' ὕπνον οὐκ ἔστι φωνή, λόγων δέ τινων δόξας καὶ νοήσεις λαμβάνοντες οἴονται φθεγγομένων ἀκούειν.

" 'Αλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄναρ ἡ τοιαύτη σύνεσις γίνεται δι' ἡσυχίαν καὶ γαλήνην τοῦ σώματος ὅταν καθεύδωσι μᾶλλον ἀκούουσιν, ὕπαρ δὲ[3] μόλις ἐπήκοον ἔχουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ πεπνιγμένοι[4] γε θορύβῳ τῶν παθῶν καὶ περιαγωγῇ τῶν χρειῶν εἰσακοῦσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐ δύνανται τοῖς δηλουμένοις. Σωκράτει δὲ ὁ νοῦς καθαρὸς ὢν καὶ ἀπαθής, τῷ E σώματι μικρὰ[5] τῶν ἀναγκαίων χάριν καταμιγνὺς αὑτόν, εὐαφὴς ἦν καὶ λεπτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ προσπεσόντος ὀξέως μεταβαλεῖν· τὸ δὲ προσπῖπτον οὐ φθόγγον ἀλλὰ λόγον ἄν τις εἰκάσειε δαίμονος ἄνευ φωνῆς ἐφαπτόμενον αὐτῷ τῷ δηλουμένῳ τοῦ νοοῦντος.

[1] φάσκουσι Leonicus : φασκούσης.
[2] ἢ λόγου Ald.[2] : ἀλόγου.
[3] μᾶλλον ἀκούουσιν, ὕπαρ δὲ Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 20-15 letters.
[4] πεπνιγμένοι Turnebus (πεπνυμένων οἱ Schwartz ; πεπνυμένην οἱ Post) : πεπνυμένοι.
[5] μὴ before μικρὰ (μικρᾶ E) deleted in Basle edition of 1542.

[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Div.* i. 49 (110) : " Sed vigilantes animi vitae necessitatibus serviunt diiunguntque se a societate divina vinclis corporis inpediti " ; *ibid.* i. 53 f. (121 f.) and 57 (129 f.).

that they had heard a voice he paid close attention and earnestly inquired after the particulars. "It thus occurred to us," Simmias went on to say, "as we examined the question in private among ourselves, to surmise that Socrates' sign was perhaps no vision, but rather the perception of a voice or else the mental apprehension of language that reached him in some strange way. So in sleep, where no sound is uttered, we fancy, as we receive the impression or notion of certain statements, that we hear people speaking.

"But whereas some men actually have this sort of apprehension in dreams, hearing better asleep, when the body is quiet and undisturbed, while when they are awake [a] their soul can hear the higher powers but faintly, and moreover, as they are overwhelmed by the tumult of their passions and the distractions of their wants, they cannot listen or attend to the message; Socrates, on the other hand, had an understanding which, being pure and free from passion, and commingling with the body but little, for necessary ends, was so sensitive and delicate as to respond at once to what reached him. What reached him, one would conjecture, was not spoken language, but the unuttered words of a daemon, making voiceless contact with his intelligence by their sense alone.[b]

[b] Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cclv, p. 288 (ed. Wrobel): "Now the voice that Socrates heard was not, I think, of the sort that is made when air is struck; rather it revealed to his soul, which was, by reason of his great purity, unpolluted and therefore more perceptive, the presence and society of his familiar deity, since only the pure may meet and mingle with the pure. And as in dreams we fancy that we hear voices and the words of spoken language, and yet here there is no voice, but only meaning, doing the duty of voice; so the mind of Socrates, by the token of a vivid sign, could divine in waking moments the presence of the deity."

(588) πληγῇ γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ προσέοικε, τῆς ψυχῆς δι' ὤτων βίᾳ τὸν λόγον εἰσδεχομένης ὅταν ἀλλήλοις ἐντυγχάνωμεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος νοῦς ἄγει τὴν εὐφυᾶ ψυχὴν ἐπιθιγγάνων τῷ νοηθέντι πληγῆς μὴ δεομένην, ἡ δ' ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτῷ χαλῶντι καὶ συντείνοντι
F τὰς ὁρμὰς οὐ βιαίως[1] ὑπὸ παθῶν ἀντιτεινόντων, ἀλλ' εὐστρόφους καὶ μαλακάς, ὥσπερ ἡνίας[2] ἐνδούσας. οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν, ὁρῶντας τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ μικροῖς οἴαξι μεγάλων περιαγωγὰς ὁλκάδων, τοῦτο δὲ τροχῶν κεραμεικῶν δίνησιν ἄκρας[3] παραψαύσει χειρὸς ὁμαλῶς περιφερομένων· ἄψυχα μὲν γάρ, ἀλλ' ὅμως, τροχαλὰ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, ὑπὸ λειότητος ἐνδίδωσι πρὸς τὸ κινοῦν, ῥοπῆς γενομένης. ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπου μυρίαις ὁρμαῖς οἷον ὕσπληξιν ἐντεταμένη μακρῷ πάντων ὀργάνων εὐστροφώτατόν ἐστιν, ἄν τις κατὰ λόγον ἅπτηται,
589 ῥοπὴν λαβοῦσα πρὸς τὸ νοηθὲν κινεῖσθαι. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ εἰς τὸ νοοῦν αἱ τῶν παθῶν καὶ ὁρμῶν κατατείνουσιν ἀρχαί, τούτου δὲ σεισθέντος, ἑλκόμεναι σπῶσι καὶ συντείνουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ᾗ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ νοηθὲν ἡλίκην ἔχει ῥώμην καταμαθεῖν δίδωσιν· ὀστᾶ γὰρ ἀναίσθητα καὶ νεῦρα καὶ σάρκες ὑγρῶν περίπλεαι καὶ βαρὺς ὁ ἐκ τούτων ὄγκος ἡσυχάζων καὶ κείμενος, ἅμα[4] τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν νῷ

[1] *βιαίως*] *βιαίους* Reiske.
[2] *ἡνίας*] *ἡνίαις* Post.
[3] *ἄκρας* van Herwerden : *ἄκρα*.
[4] *ἅμα*] *ἀλλ' ἅμα* Stegmann ; *ἅμα δὲ* Wilamowitz.

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[a] For definitions and descriptions of "speech" or "voice" (*phonê*) as a "blow on the air" *cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 67 B, and Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii. 8 (420 b 29).

[b] *Hyspleges* (rendered "resilient cords") are probably

For speech is like a blow [a]—when we converse with one another, the words are forced through our ears and the soul is compelled to take them in— ; whereas the intelligence of the higher power guides the gifted soul, which requires no blows, by the touch of its thought ; and the soul on its part yields to the slackening and tightening of its movements by the higher intelligence. No constraint is exerted, as no passion pulls the other way, and the movements of the soul respond easily and gently, like reins that give. This should occasion no surprise, when we observe that large merchantmen are brought round by small tillers, and that potters' wheels whirl about evenly at the touch of the finger tip ; for these, though inanimate, nevertheless, being constructed to revolve easily, move so smoothly that they respond to the mover at the slightest pressure. But the soul of man, which is strung with countless inward movements, as with resilient cords,[b] is, when rationally dealt with, by far the most sensitive of all instruments,[c] moving at a slight impulse toward the goal conceived by the understanding. For here it is in the understanding, to which they are made fast and taut, that the passions and inward movements have their origins ; and when that is struck, these are pulled and thereby exercise traction on the man and give him tension. Indeed, it is most of all by this that we are enabled to comprehend the great power of an idea. For insensate bones and thews and flesh saturated with humours, and the inert and prostrate mass they constitute, the instant the soul conceives

here the twisted cords that supplied the motive power in certain ancient automata (*cf.* Hero, *Automata*, ii. 8).

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 163 E.

(589) τι[1] βαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ κινῆσαι τὴν ὁρμήν, ὅλος ἀναστὰς καὶ συνταθεὶς πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν οἷον ἐπτερωμένος φέρεται πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν.

"Οὐδὲ ὁ[2] τῆς κινήσεως καὶ συνεντάσεως καὶ
B παραστάσεως[3] τρόπος χαλεπὸς ἢ παντελῶς ἄπορος συνοφθῆναι καθ' ὃν ἡ ψυχὴ νοήσασα ἐφέλκεται ταῖς ὁρμαῖς τὸν ὄγκον. ἀλλ' εἰ σῶμα μὲν[4] δίχα φωνῆς ἐννοηθεὶς κινεῖ λόγος ἀπραγμόνως οὕτως, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι δυσπίστως[5] ἔχοιμεν[6] ὑπὸ νοῦ κρείσσονος νοῦν καὶ ψυχῆς[7] θειοτέρας ἂν ἄγεσθαι[8] θύραθεν ἐφαπτομένης ᾗ[9] πέφυκεν ἐπαφὴν[10] λόγος ἴσχειν πρὸς λόγον ὥσπερ φῶς[11] ἀνταύγειαν. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὰς μὲν ἀλλήλων νοήσεις οἷον ὑπὸ σκότῳ διὰ φωνῆς ψηλαφῶντες γνωρίζομεν· αἱ δὲ τῶν δαιμόνων φέγγος ἔχουσαι τοῖς δαιμονίοις[12] ἐλλάμπουσιν, οὐ δεόμεναι
C ῥημάτων οὐδὲ ὀνομάτων, οἷς χρώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι συμβόλοις[13] εἴδωλα τῶν νοουμένων καὶ εἰκόνας ὁρῶσιν, αὐτὰ δ' οὐ γινώσκουσι πλὴν οἷς ἔπεστιν ἴδιόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον ὥσπερ εἴρηται φέγγος. καίτοι τὸ περὶ τὴν φωνὴν γινόμενον

[1] νῷ τι Wyttenbach (νῷ Turnebus ; νοήσει Apelt) : νηστεία.

[2] οὐδὲ ὁ] εἰ δ' ὁ Wyttenbach ; ὁ δὲ Emperius.

[3] συνεντάσεως καὶ παραστάσεως] συντάσεως καὶ παρασπάσεως Reiske.

[4] ἀλλ' εἰ σῶμα μὲν nos (ἀλλ' ὅμως σῶμα Wyttenbach ; ἀλλ' ᾗ τὸ σῶμα Emperius ; ἀλλ' οἷον σῶμα Wilamowitz) : ἀλλ' followed by a lacuna, containing an acute accent, of 1-2 letters and σω μάλα E ; ἀλλ' ἐν ὅσω μάλα B.

[5] δυσπίστως] δυσπείστως B.

[6] ἔχοιμεν Wyttenbach (ἔχειν Post) : ἔχει μὲν.

[7] ψυχῆς] ψυχὴν ψυχῆς Reiske.

[8] ἂν ἄγεσθαι Wyttenbach (ἄγεσθαι Emperius) : ἀγαγέσθαι.

[9] ᾗ] ἣν Reiske.

[10] ἐπαφὴν] ἐπαφῇ Wyttenbach.

[11] φῶς] φῶς πρὸς Bern.

a purpose in the understanding and sets its movement going for that end, arise as a whole, tense and co-ordinate in all its parts, and fly as if winged to carry the idea to execution.[a]

"Moreover, it is no hard or hopeless task to understand by what manner of impact, co-ordination, and suggestion the soul receives a thought and thereby with its movements draws after it the corporeal mass.[b] But if the body is moved with so little trouble by a notion that enters the understanding without the help of spoken language, it cannot be hard, I think, to believe that the understanding may be guided by a higher understanding and a diviner soul, that lays hold of it from without by a touch, which is the way in which it is the nature of thought to impinge on thought,[c] just as light produces a reflection. For in very truth our recognition of one another's thoughts through the medium of the spoken word is like groping in the dark; whereas the thoughts of daemons are luminous and shed their light on the daemonic man. Their thoughts have no need of verbs or nouns, which men use as symbols in their intercourse, and thereby behold mere counterfeits and likenesses of what is present in thought, but are unaware of the originals except for those persons who are illuminated, as I have said, by some special and daemonic radiance. Even so the phenomenon of speech serves in a way

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 442 C-E.
[b] *Cf. Life of Coriolanus*, chap. xxxii. 7-8 (229 D-E).
[c] "Thought" (*logos*) can mean notion or the rational soul.

[12] *δαιμονίοις* van Herwerden (*συνεῖναι δυναμένοις* Stegmann; *δυναμένοις ἀνταυγεῖν* Kahle; *δυναμένοις ἰδεῖν* Wilamowitz): *δυναμένοις*.
[13] *συμβόλοις* B[1t]: *συμβούλοις* EB[1ss].

(589) ἔστιν ᾗ παραμυθεῖται τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας· ὁ γὰρ ἀήρ, φθόγγοις ἐνάρθροις τυπωθείς, καὶ γενόμενος δι' ὅλου λόγος καὶ φωνή, πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀκροωμένου περαίνει τὴν νόησιν. ὥστε τί[1] θαυμάζειν ἄξιον εἰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ[2] τὸ νοηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμεινόνων[3] ὁ ἀὴρ τρεπόμενος δι' εὐπάθειαν ἐνσημαίνεται τοῖς θείοις καὶ περιττοῖς ἀνδράσι τὸν τοῦ νοήσαντος λόγον; ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ πληγαὶ τῶν ὑπ-
D ορυττόντων[4] ἀσπίσι χαλκαῖς ἁλίσκονται διὰ τὴν ἀντήχησιν ὅταν ἐκ βάθους ἀναφερόμεναι προσπέσωσι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀδήλως διεκθέουσαι λανθάνουσιν, οὕτως οἱ τῶν δαιμόνων λόγοι διὰ πάντων φερόμενοι μόνοις ἐνηχοῦσι τοῖς ἀθόρυβον τὸ[5] ἦθος καὶ νήνεμον ἔχουσι τὴν ψυχήν, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἱεροὺς καὶ δαιμονίους ἀνθρώπους καλοῦμεν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καταδαρθοῦσιν οἴονται τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώποις ἐπιθειάζειν, εἰ δ' ἐγρηγορότας καὶ καθεστῶτας ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν ὁμοίως κινοῦσι, θαυμαστὸν ἡγοῦνται καὶ ἄπιστον· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις οἴοιτο τὸν μουσικόν, ἀνειμένῃ τῇ λύρᾳ χρώμενον, ὅταν συστῇ τοῖς τόνοις ἢ καθαρμοσθῇ μὴ ἅπτεσθαι μηδὲ χρῆσθαι.
E τὸ γὰρ αἴτιον οὐ συνορῶσι, τὴν ἐν αὑτοῖς[6] ἀναρμοστίαν καὶ ταραχήν, ἧς ἀπήλλακτο[7] Σωκράτης ὁ ἑταῖρος ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ δοθεὶς ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ χρησμὸς ἀπεθέσπισεν· ἐᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι ἂν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἴῃ πράττειν, καὶ

[1] τί added by us (Castiglioni adds μὴ after εἰ, Amyot οὐκ before ἄξιον).
[2] κατ' αὐτὸ von Arnim (κατὰ Wilamowitz) : κατὰ τοῦτο.
[3] ἀμεινόνων Turnebus (δαιμόνων Wyttenbach) : ἀμει followed by a lacuna of 5-4 letters.
[4] ὑπορυττόντων van Herwerden : a lacuna of 8-10 letters followed by ὄντων.

to allay the doubts of the incredulous. For on receiving the impression of articulate sounds, the air is fully changed to language and speech and conveys the thought to the soul of the hearer. Need we then feel surprised that the air, with its ready susceptibility, should also be transformed by the mere ideas of higher beings and thereby indicate to divine and exceptional men the meaning of him who conceived the idea? For just as the sound of sappers' blows is detected by bronze shields,[a] which re-echo it as it rises from the depths of the earth and strikes them, whereas through everything else it slips unnoticed; so the messages of daemons pass through all other men, but find an echo in those only whose character is untroubled and soul unruffled, the very men in fact we call holy and daemonic. In popular belief, on the other hand, it is only in sleep that men receive inspiration from on high; and the notion that they are so influenced when awake and in full possession of their faculties is accounted strange and incredible. This is like supposing that a musician uses his lyre when the strings are slack, but does not touch or play it when it has been adjusted to a scale and attuned. This belief arises from ignorance of the cause of this insensibility: the inner lack of attunement and the confusion in the men themselves. From this my friend Socrates was free, as is shown by the oracle delivered to his father when Socrates was yet a boy. It bade him let the child do whatever came into his

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, iv. 200. 2-3; Aeneas Tacticus, chap. xxxvii. 6-7.

[5] *τὸ* added by Hubert.
[6] *αὑτοῖς* Bern.: *αὐτοῖς*.
[7] *ἀπήλλακτο* Reiske: *ἀπήλλακται*.

(589) μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδὲ παράγειν ἀλλ' ἐφιέναι τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ παιδός, εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Διὶ Ἀγοραίῳ καὶ Μούσαις, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν περὶ
F Σωκράτους, ὡς κρείττονα δήπουθεν ἔχοντος ἐν αὑτῷ μυρίων διδασκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν ἡγεμόνα πρὸς τὸν βίον.

21. "Ἡμῖν μέν, ὦ Φειδόλαε, καὶ ζῶντος Σωκράτους καὶ τεθνηκότος οὕτως ἐννοεῖν περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου παρίσταται, τῶν κληδόνας ἢ πταρμοὺς ἤ τι τοιοῦτον παραγόντων[1] ἄλλο καταφρονοῦσιν· ἃ δὲ Τιμάρχου τοῦ Χαιρωνέως ἠκούσαμεν ὑπὲρ τούτου διεξιόντος, οὐκ οἶδα μὴ[2] μύθοις ὁμοιότερα καὶ πλάσμασιν ἢ[3] λόγοις ὄντα[4] σιωπᾶν ἄμεινον."

"Μηδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ Θεόκριτος, "ἀλλὰ δίελθε αὐτά· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ λίαν ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅπῃ ψαύει τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ μυθῶδες. πρότερον
590 δὲ τίς ἦν οὗτος ὁ Τίμαρχος φράσον· οὐ γὰρ ἔγνων τὸν ἄνθρωπον."

"Εἰκότως γε," εἶπεν ὁ Σιμμίας, "ὦ Θεόκριτε· νέος γὰρ ὢν κομιδῇ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον[5] καὶ Σωκράτους[6] δεηθεὶς ταφῆναι παρὰ Λαμπροκλέα τὸν Σωκράτους υἱόν, ὀλίγαις[7] πρότερον ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ

[1] *παραγόντων* added by Wilamowitz (*εἰρηκότων* by Bern. here; after *ἄλλο* by Leonicus; *παρεισαγόντων* ? Post).
[2] *μὴ*] *εἰ μὴ* van Herwerden.
[3] *ὁμοιότερα καὶ πλάσμασιν ἢ* (*ὁμοιότερα ἢ* van Herwerden) our supplement of a lacuna of 24-22 letters.
[4] *λόγοις ὄντα* van Herwerden : *λογίσονται*.
[5] *κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον* added by Drexler,

mind, and not do violence to his impulses or divert them, but allow them free play, taking no further trouble about him than to pray to Zeus Agoraeus[a] and the Muses, surely implying by this that he had a better guide of life in himself than a thousand teachers and attendants.

21. "Such was the notion, Pheidolaüs, that we for our part held about Socrates' sign while he was alive and still hold now he is dead; we have scant use for those who account for it by chance remarks overheard or sneezes or the like. The story I had about it from Timarchus of Chaeroneia, as it more resembles a myth or fiction than an argument,[b] I had better perhaps leave untold."

"Do no such thing," said Theocritus, "but let us have it; for myths, too, despite the loose manner in which they do so, have a way of reaching the truth. But first tell us who this Timarchus was, as I do not recognize the name."

"And little wonder, Theocritus," said Simmias, "for he died very young, after asking Socrates' leave to be buried beside Lamprocles,[c] Socrates' son, his friend and agefellow, who had died a few days

[a] That is, "Zeus of the Market-Place": *cf. Mor.* 789 D, 792 F. For Socrates' conversations in the market-place *cf.* Plato, *Apology*, 17 C.

[b] For the contrast of "myth" and "argument" *cf. Mor.* 561 B and note.

[c] Lamprocles, the eldest of Socrates' children, was presumably alive at the time of his father's death (*cf.* Zeller, *Die Phil. der Griechen*, ii. 1^4, pp. 54, note 2, and 56, note). This unhistorical detail may have been added to warn the reader that Timarchus, like his story, is a fable.

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[6] *καὶ Σωκράτους*] *καὶ* followed by a lacuna of 3 letters and *κράτους* E; *καὶ τοῦ σωκράτους* B.

[7] *ὀλίγαις* Basle edition of 1542: *αἷς*.

(590) τεθνηκότα, φίλον καὶ ἡλικιώτην γενόμενον. οὗτος οὖν ποθῶν γνῶναι τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον ἣν ἔχει δύναμιν, ἅτε δὴ νέος οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ἄρτι γεγευμένος φιλοσοφίας, ἐμοὶ καὶ Κέβητι κοινωσάμενος μόνοις εἰς Τροφωνίου κατῆλθε δράσας τὰ νομιζόμενα περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον. ἐμμείνας δὲ δύο
B νύκτας κάτω καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν, τῶν πολλῶν ἀπεγνωκότων αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὀδυρομένων, πρωὶ μάλα φαιδρὸς ἀνῆλθε· προσκυνήσας δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὡς πρῶτον διέφυγε[1] τὸν ὄχλον, διηγεῖτο ἡμῖν θαυμάσια πολλὰ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.

22. "Ἔφη δὲ καταβὰς εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον περιτυχεῖν σκότῳ πολλῷ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐπευξάμενος κεῖσθαι πολὺν χρόνον οὐ μάλα συμφρονῶν ἐναργῶς εἴτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἴτε ὀνειροπολεῖ[2]· πλὴν δόξαι γε τῆς κεφαλῆς ἅμα ψόφῳ προσπεσόντι πληγείσης τὰς ῥαφὰς διαστάσας μεθιέναι τὴν ψυχήν. ὡς δ' ἀναχωροῦσα κατεμίγνυτο πρὸς ἀέρα διαυγῆ καὶ καθαρὸν ἀσμένη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀναπνεῦσαι τότε
C δοκεῖν διὰ χρόνου συχνοῦ, τεινομένην[3] τέως, καὶ πλείονα γίνεσθαι τῆς πρότερον ὥσπερ ἱστίον ἐκπεταννυμένην,[4] ἔπειτα κατακούειν ἀμαυρῶς ῥοίζου τινὸς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς περιελαυνομένου φωνὴν ἡδεῖαν

[1] διέφυγε Bern. : διέφευγε.
[2] ὀνειροπολεῖ Stegmann : ὠνειροπόλει.
[3] τεινομένην] στεινομένην Emperius ; διατεινομένην Post ; συστελλομένην ?
[4] ἐκπεταννυμένην nos (ἐκπεταννυμένον Basle ed. of 1542) : ἐκτεταννυμένην E[c] (-ννυμ- is in an erasure) ; ἐκτεταννυμένον B.

[a] Those who wished to consult the oracle of Trophonius,

before. Timarchus, then, in his desire to learn the nature of Socrates' sign, acted like the high-spirited young initiate in philosophy he was: consulting no one but Cebes and me, he descended into the crypt of Trophonius, first performing the rites that are customary at the oracle.[a] He remained underground two nights and a day, and most people had already given up hope, and his family were lamenting him for dead, when he came up in the morning with a radiant countenance.[b] He did obeisance to the god, and as soon as he had escaped the crowd, began to tell us of many wonders seen and heard.

22. "He said that on descending into the oracular crypt his first experience was of profound darkness; next, after a prayer, he lay a long time not clearly aware whether he was awake or dreaming. It did seem to him, however, that at the same moment he heard a crash and was struck on the head, and that the sutures parted and released his soul. As it withdrew and mingled joyfully with air that was translucent and pure, it felt in the first place that now, after long being cramped, it had again found relief, and was growing larger than before, spreading out like a sail; and next that it faintly caught the whir of something revolving overhead with a pleasant sound.[c]

at Lebadeia in Boeotia, descended into a cave and waited there for the divine message to be revealed in a dream: *cf.* Pausanias, ix. 39. 5-14.

[b] And so belying the proverb εἰς Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται "he has consulted Trophonius' oracle," used of persons with a gloomy countenance (*cf.* Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 72. 1 and note).

[c] This is the music of the spheres. Aristotle (*De Caelo*, ii. 9) argues that the sound would be excruciatingly loud. For a smooth motion producing a smooth sound *cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 67 B.

(590) ἰέντος. ἀναβλέψας δὲ τὴν μὲν γῆν οὐδαμοῦ καθορᾶν, νήσους δὲ λαμπομένας μαλακῷ πυρὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων[1] ἐξαμειβούσας ἄλλην ἄλλοτε χρόαν ὥσπερ βαφὴν ἀεὶ[2] τῷ φωτὶ ποικιλλομένῳ κατὰ τὰς μεταβολάς. φαίνεσθαι δὲ πλήθει μὲν ἀναρίθμους, μεγέθει δὲ ὑπερφυεῖς, οὐκ ἴσας δὲ πάσας ἀλλ' ὁμοίως κυκλοτερεῖς· οἴεσθαι δὲ ταύταις τὸν αἰθέρα κύκλῳ φερομέναις ὑπορροιζεῖν λιγυρῶς[3]· εἶναι γὰρ D ὁμολογουμένην τῇ τῆς κινήσεως λειότητι τὴν πραότητα τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης ἐκ πασῶν συνηρμοσμένης. διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν θάλασσαν ἢ λίμνην ὑποκεχύσθαι τοῖς χρώμασι διαλάμπουσαν διὰ τῆς γλαυκότητος ἐπιμιγνυμένοις· καὶ τῶν νήσων ὀλίγας μὲν ἐκπλεῖν[4] κατὰ πόρον καὶ διακομίζεσθαι πέραν τοῦ ῥεύματος, ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς τούτῳ συνεφέλκεσθαι,[5] τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ αὐτῆς ὁμαλῶς καὶ λείως κύκλῳ[6] σχεδὸν ὑποφερομένης. εἶναι δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης πῇ μὲν πολὺ βάθος κατὰ νότον μάλιστα, πῇ[7] δὲ ἀραιὰ τενάγη καὶ βράχεα, πολλαχῇ δὲ[8] ὑπερχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπολείπειν[9] αὖθις οὐ μεγάλας ἐκβολὰς λαμβά-

[1] κατ' ἀλλήλων] καταλλήλως δ' von Arnim.
[2] ἀεὶ Wilamowitz (προσάγειν Reiske; ἅμα Wyttenbach; ἐπάγειν von Arnim): ἄγειν.
[3] λιγυρῶς Wilamowitz, to fill a lacuna of 6-9 letters.
[4] ἐκπλεῖν] διεκπλεῖν von Arnim.
[5] τούτῳ συνεφέλκεσθαι von Arnim, to fill a lacuna of 10 letters followed by ἐφέλκεσθαι.
[6] τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ αὐτῆς (ὁμαλῶς καὶ λείως our addition) κύκλῳ von Arnim: τῇ followed by a lacuna of 43-25 letters.

When he lifted his eyes the earth was nowhere to be seen; but he saw islands illuminated by one another with soft fire, taking on now one colour, now another, like a dye, as the light kept varying with their mutations. They appeared countless in number and huge in size, and though not all equal, yet all alike round; and he fancied that their circular movement made a musical whirring in the aether, for the gentleness of the sound resulting from the harmony of all the separate sounds corresponded to the evenness of their motion. In their midst lay spread a sea or lake,[a] through whose blue transparency the colours passed in their migrations; and of the islands a few sailed out in a channel and crossed the current,[b] while many others [c] were carried along with it, the sea itself drifting around, as it were, smoothly and evenly in a circle. In places it was very deep, mainly toward the south, but elsewhere there were faint shoals and shallows [d]; and in many parts it overflowed and again receded, never extending

[a] The sea and its circular movement represent the celestial sphere and its apparent diurnal motion. Von Arnim, "Plut. über Dämonen u. Mantik," in *Verh. d. kon. Ak. v. Wet.*, Afd. Lett. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel xxii, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 34, takes the sea to represent the Milky Way.

[b] The current is the celestial equator (the part of the celestial sphere which has the most rapid apparent motion); the islands that cross it are the planets; the channel is the zodiac.

[c] The fixed stars.

[d] The shoals and shallows may represent nebulae and the Milky Way. The great deep in the south was suggested by the starless space around the invisible pole in Greek globes.

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[7] πῇ added by Bern.
[8] βραχέα π. δὲ E : βράχεα π. δὲ καὶ B.
[9] ἀπολείπειν Bern. : ἀπολιπεῖν.

(590) E νουσαν· καὶ τῆς[1] χρόας τὸ μὲν ἄκρατον καὶ πελάγιον, τὸ δὲ οὐ καθαρὸν ἀλλὰ συγκεχυμένον καὶ λιμνῶδες. τῶν δὲ ῥοθίων[2] τὰς νήσους ἅμα περιγινομένας[3] ἐπανάγειν· οὐ μὴν[4] εἰς ταὐτὸ τῇ ἀρχῇ συνάπτειν τὸ πέρας οὐδὲ ποιεῖν κύκλον, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ παραλλάσσειν τὰς ἐπιβολάς, ἕλικα ποιούσας μίαν ἐν τῷ περιστρέφεσθαι. τούτων δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέσον μάλιστα τοῦ περιέχοντος καὶ μέγιστον ἐγκεκλίσθαι F τὴν θάλασσαν ὀλίγῳ τῶν ὀκτὼ μερῶν τοῦ παντὸς ἔλαττον, ὡς αὐτῷ[5] κατεφαίνετο· δύο δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχειν ἀναστομώσεις, πυρὸς ἐμβάλλοντας[6] ἐναντίους ποταμοὺς δεχομένας, ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνακοπτομένην κοχλάζειν[7] καὶ ἀπολευκαίνεσθαι τὴν γλαυκότητα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁρᾶν τερπόμενος τῇ θέᾳ·

[1] τῆς Bern. : τὰς.
[2] τῶν δὲ ῥοθίων] τὸν δὲ ῥόμβον von Arnim.
[3] περιγινομένας Sieveking (περαιουμένας Wyttenbach ; πέραν ἱκομένας (καὶ ?) Post) : περαινομένας.
[4] οὐ μὴν von Arnim : οὐδὲν.
[5] αὐτῷ Leonicus : αὐτὸ.
[6] ἐμβάλλοντας Bern. (ἐμβαλόντας Wyttenbach) : ἐμβαλόντος.
[7] κοχλάζειν Bern. (καχλάζειν Reiske) : κολάζειν.

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[a] The overflow and recession may represent the various distances separating the stars from the surface of the sphere : *cf.* Aëtius, ii. 15. 1-2, and Geminus, chap. i. 23 with Manitius' note. Or they may have been suggested by the Pythagorean theory of the breathing universe (*cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, iv. 6, 213 b 22-24). Von Arnim (*op. cit.* pp. 34 f.) takes them to represent the variations in breadth of the Milky Way.

[b] The clouded colour belongs to the region below the moon.

[c] The " surge " may be the belt bounded by the tropics, so called from its rapid motion, or the tropics themselves, as being the shores of the planetary sea mentioned in the following sentence.

very far.[a] Some of it was of the pure hue of the high seas, while elsewhere the colour was not unmixed, but turbid and like that of a pool.[b] As they crested the surge [c] the islands [d] came back, without, however, returning to their point of departure or completing a circle; but with each new circuit they advanced slightly beyond the old, describing a single spiral in their revolution.[e] The sea containing these was inclined at an angle of somewhat less than eight parts of the whole [f] toward the midmost and largest portion of the surrounding envelope,[g] as he made out; and it had two openings receiving rivers of fire emptying into it across from one another, so that it was forced far back, boiling, and its blue colour was turned to white.[h] All this he viewed with enjoyment of the

[d] The planets.

[e] The spiral (for which *cf. Life of Phocion*, chap. ii. 6, 742 D, and Plato, *Timaeus*, 39 A) represents the apparent paths of the planets, which result from their own motion combined with the apparent diurnal motion of the sphere.

[f] The sea is the zodiac. " Eight parts " of the whole are eight sixtieths of a meridian (for the division into sixtieths *cf.* Strabo, ii. 5. 7, pp. 113 f.; Manilius, i. 561-593; Geminus, chap. v. 46; Achilles, *Isag.* chap. xxvi; and Hyginus, *Astron.* i. 6). This is 48°, only slightly in excess of the figures given by the astronomers for the distance between the tropics (*cf.* Sir T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 131, note 4).

[g] The celestial equator, which " surrounds " the ecliptic: *cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 36 C, with Cornford's discussion. A certain mystery (appropriate in a myth) results from counting *both* the arcs intercepted by the ecliptic and the equator on the solstitial colure in reckoning the inclination. The words " as he made out " hint that the error is Timarchus' own. We have found no ancient measure corresponding to 3°.

[h] The reference is doubtless to the Milky Way; the openings are at the intersections of the zodiac and the galactic circle.

(590) κάτω δ' ἀπιδόντι φαίνεσθαι χάσμα μέγα στρογγύλον οἷον ἐκτετμημένης σφαίρας, φοβερὸν δὲ δεινῶς καὶ βαθύ, πολλοῦ σκότους πλῆρες οὐχ ἡσυχάζοντος ἀλλ' ἐκταραττομένου καὶ ἀνακλύζοντος πολλάκις· ὅθεν ἀκούεσθαι μυρίας μὲν ὠρυγὰς καὶ στεναγμοὺς ζῴων, μυρίων δὲ κλαυθμὸν βρεφῶν καὶ μεμιγμένους ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὀδυρμούς, ψόφους δὲ παντοδαποὺς καὶ θορύβους ἐκ
591 βάθους πόρρωθεν ἀμυδροὺς ἀναπεμπομένους, οἷς οὐ μετρίως αὐτὸς ἐκπεπλῆχθαι.

"Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος εἰπεῖν τινα πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρώμενον· 'ὦ Τίμαρχε, τί ποθεῖς πυθέσθαι;'

"Φράσαι δ' αὐτὸν[1] ὅτι 'πάντα· τί γὰρ οὐ θαυμάσιον;'

"'Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν,' φάναι, 'τῶν ἄνω μέτεστι μικρόν· ἄλλων γὰρ θεῶν ἐκεῖνα· τὴν δὲ Φερσεφόνης μοῖραν, ἣν ἡμεῖς διέπομεν, τῶν τεττάρων μίαν οὖσαν ὡς ἡ Στὺξ ὁρίζει, βουλομένῳ σοι σκοπεῖν πάρεστιν.'

"Ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τίς ἡ Στύξ ἐστιν, 'ὁδὸς εἰς Ἅιδου,' φάναι, 'καὶ πρόεισιν ἐξ[2] ἐναντίας αὕτη[3] σχίζουσα τῇ κορυφῇ τὸ φῶς· ἀνατείνουσα δ', ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἐκ τοῦ Ἅιδου κάτωθεν, ᾗ ψαύει περι-

[1] δ' αὐτὸν] δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν B.
[2] ἐξ added by Wyttenbach (ἡμῖν ἐξ von Arnim).
[3] αὕτη nos (αὐτῇ Reiske) : αὐτή.

[a] F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris, 1942), p. 136, note 3, points out that *ektarattomenou* ("agitated") contains a common etymology of *Tartaros*. In *Mor*. 940 F it is said that if an inhabitant of the moon should hear Homer's description of Hades and Tartarus (*Il*. xx. 65, viii. 16) he would take them to be in the region of the earth. *Cf*. also *Mor*. 948 E.

[b] The abyss is Hades or the earth (*cf*. 591 A, *infra*),

spectacle. But looking down he saw a great abyss, round, as though a sphere had been cut away; most terrible and deep it was, and filled with a mass of darkness that did not remain at rest, but was agitated [a] and often welled up. From it could be heard innumerable roars and groans of animals, the wailing of innumerable babes, the mingled lamentations of men and women, and noise and uproar of every kind, coming faintly from far down in the depths, all of which startled him not a little.[b]

"After an interval someone he did not see addressed him: 'Timarchus, what would you have me explain?'

"'Everything,' he answered; 'for what is here that is not marvellous?'

"'Nay,' the voice replied, 'in the higher regions we others [c] have but little part, as they belong to gods; but you may, if you wish, inquire into the portion of Persephonê, administered by ourselves; it is one of the four,[d] and marked off by the course of the Styx.'

"'What is the Styx?' he asked. 'It is the path to Hades,' came the answer; 'it passes across from you here, cleaving the light with its vertex; it extends upward, as you see, from Hades below, and

which is a place of punishment and opposed to the world of eternal light. Cumont (*op. cit.* p. 56) takes the "sphère coupée" to be the lower hemisphere of the universe.

[c] The speaker is presumably a daemon: *cf.* 591 c, *infra.*

[d] The first lies outside the surface of the celestial sphere; the second between that and the path of the sun; the third between the paths of the sun and of the moon; and the fourth, "the portion of Persephonê," below the path of the moon, that is, of the earth's shadow, which is dissipated beyond the moon. The earth is "Hades" (*cf. Mor.* 942 F; the etymology is "unseen"), and its shadow is the "Styx."

(591) B φερομένη καὶ[1] τοῦ φωτὸς ἀφορίζει τὴν ἐσχάτην μερίδα τῶν ὅλων. τέσσαρες δέ εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ πάντων,[2] ζωῆς μὲν ἡ πρώτη, κινήσεως δὲ ἡ δευτέρα, γενέσεως δὲ ἡ τρίτη, φθορᾶς δὲ ἡ τελευταία· συνδεῖ δὲ τῇ μὲν δευτέρᾳ τὴν πρώτην Μονὰς κατὰ τὸ ἀόρατον, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῇ τρίτῃ Νοῦς καθ' ἥλιον, τὴν δὲ τρίτην πρὸς τετάρτην Φύσις κατὰ σελήνην. τῶν δὲ συνδέσμων ἑκάστου Μοῖρα κλειδοῦχος Ἀνάγκης θυγάτηρ κάθηται, τοῦ μὲν πρώτου Ἄτροπος, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου Κλωθώ, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς σελήνην Λάχεσις, περὶ ἣν ἡ καμπὴ τῆς C γενέσεως. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι νῆσοι θεοὺς ἔχουσι· σελήνη δέ, δαιμόνων ἐπιχθονίων οὖσα, φεύγει τὴν Στύγα μικρὸν ὑπερφέρουσα, λαμβάνεται δὲ ἅπαξ ἐν μέτροις δευτέροις ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτά. καὶ τῆς Στυγὸς ἐπιφερομένης αἱ ψυχαὶ βοῶσι δειμαίνουσαι· πολλὰς γὰρ ὁ Ἅιδης ἀφαρπάζει περιολισθανούσας,[3] ἄλλας δ' ἀνακομίζεται κάτωθεν ἡ σελήνη προσνηχομένας, αἷς εἰς καιρὸν ἡ τῆς γενέσεως τελευτὴ συνέπεσεν,[4] πλὴν ὅσαι μιαραὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι· ταύτας δ', ἀστράπτουσα καὶ μυκωμένη φοβερόν, οὐκ ἐᾷ πελάζειν, ἀλλὰ θρηνοῦσαι

[1] καὶ] Wyttenbach deletes.
[2] πάντων Leonicus : πάσης.
[3] περιολισθανούσας] περιολισθαινούσας B.
[4] συνέπεσε Bern. : ἐνέπεσε (ἐνέπεσεν E[ac]).

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[a] *Cf.* Stobaeus, vol. i, pp. 198. 10-12, 448. 12-16 Wachsmuth.

[b] The surface of the celestial sphere.

[c] In *Mor.* 943 A earth provides man's body, the moon his soul, and the sun his intellect.

[d] *Cf. Mor.* 568 E, 745 B, 945 C. The ultimate source is Plato, *Phaedo*, 72 B.

where in its revolution it also touches the world of light, it bounds the last region of all.[a] Four principles there are of all things: the first is of life, the second of motion, the third of birth, and the last of decay; the first is linked to the second by Unity at the invisible,[b] the second to the third by Mind at the sun, and the third to the fourth by Nature at the moon.[c] A Fate, daughter of Necessity, holds the keys and presides over each link: over the first Atropos, over the second Clotho, and over the link at the moon Lachesis. The turning point of birth [d] is at the moon. For while the rest of the islands belong to gods, the moon belongs to terrestrial daemons and avoids the Styx by passing slightly above it; it is caught, however, once in a hundred and seventy-seven secondary measures.[e] As the Styx draws near the souls cry out [f] in terror, for many slip off [g] and are carried away by Hades; others, whose cessation of birth [h] falls out at the proper moment, swim up from below [i] and are rescued by the Moon, the foul and unclean excepted.[j] These the Moon, with lightning and a terrible roar, forbids to approach, and bewailing their

[e] A primary measure is a " day " in Geminus' first sense (chap. vi. 1, p. 68. 13 f. Manitius), the time from sunrise to sunset; a secondary measure is " day " in Geminus' second sense (chap. vi. 1, p. 68. 15 f. Manitius), the time between two successive risings of the sun (*cf.* also Priscianus Lydus, *Solut. ad Chosroem*, p. 65. 22-26 Bywater). One hundred and seventy-seven days of this latter kind make six lunar months. For lunar eclipses at intervals of six lunar months *cf. Mor.* 933 D-E, 942 E-F and R. Flacelière in *Revue des Études Anciennes*, vol. liii (1951), pp. 203-221.

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 944 B.

[g] *Cf. Mor.* 943 D.

[h] The " cessation of birth " is the release from the cycle of birth and death.

[i] *Cf. Mor.* 944 B.

[j] *Cf. Mor.* 942 F.

(591) τὸν ἑαυτῶν πότμον ἀποσφαλλόμεναι φέρονται κάτω πάλιν ἐπ' ἄλλην γένεσιν, ὡς ὁρᾷς.'

D "'Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὁρῶ,' τὸν Τίμαρχον εἰπεῖν, 'ἢ πολλοὺς ἀστέρας περὶ τὸ χάσμα παλλομένους, ἑτέρους δὲ καταδυομένους εἰς αὐτό, τοὺς δὲ ᾄττοντας[1] αὖ κάτωθεν.'

"'Αὐτοὺς ἄρα,' φάναι, 'τοὺς δαίμονας ὁρῶν ἀγνοεῖς. ἔχει γὰρ ὧδε· ψυχὴ πᾶσα νοῦ μετέσχεν, ἄλογος δὲ καὶ ἄνους οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν αὐτῆς σαρκὶ μιχθῇ καὶ πάθεσιν, ἀλλοιούμενον τρέπεται καθ' ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀλγηδόνας εἰς τὸ ἄλογον. μίγνυται δ' οὐ πᾶσα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν[2] ὅλαι κατέδυσαν εἰς σῶμα, καὶ δι' ὅλων ἀναταραχθεῖσαι τὸ σύμπαν ὑπὸ παθῶν διαφέρονται κατὰ τὸν βίον· E αἱ δὲ πῇ μὲν ἀνεκράθησαν, πῇ δὲ ἔλιπον ἔξω τὸ καθαρώτατον, οὐκ ἐπισπώμενον ἀλλ' οἷον ἀκρόπλουν ἐπιψαῦον ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθάπερ ἐν βυθῷ δεδυκότος ἄρτημα κορυφαῖον, ὀρθουμένης περὶ αὐτὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνέχον ὅσον ὑπακούει καὶ οὐ κρατεῖται τοῖς πάθεσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑποβρύχιον ἐν τῷ σώματι φερόμενον ψυχὴ λέγεται· τὸ δὲ φθορᾶς λειφθὲν οἱ πολλοὶ νοῦν καλοῦντες ἐντὸς εἶναι νομίζουσιν αὑτῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσόπτροις τὰ φαινόμενα κατ' ἀνταύγειαν· οἱ δὲ ὀρθῶς ὑπονοοῦντες ὡς ἐκτὸς ὄντα δαίμονα προσαγορεύουσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀποσβέννυσθαι δοκοῦντας ἀστέρας, ὦ Τίμαρχε,' F φάναι, 'τὰς εἰς σῶμα καταδυομένας ὅλας ψυχὰς

[1] ᾄττοντας Reiske : ἀπόντας.
[2] μὲν added by Leonicus.

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 943 D. [b] *Cf. Mor.* 943 A.

lot they fall away and are borne downward again to another birth, as you see.' [a]

"'But I see nothing,' said Timarchus; 'only many stars trembling about the abyss, others sinking into it, and others again shooting up from below.'

"'Then without knowing it,' the being replied, 'you see the daemons themselves. I will explain: every soul partakes of understanding; none is irrational or unintelligent. But the portion of the soul that mingles with flesh and passions suffers alteration and becomes in the pleasures and pains it undergoes irrational.[b] Not every soul mingles to the same extent: some sink entirely into the body, and becoming disordered throughout, are during their life wholly distracted by passions; others mingle in part, but leave outside what is purest in them. This is not dragged in with the rest, but is like a buoy attached to the top, floating on the surface in contact with the man's head, while he is as it were submerged in the depths; and it supports as much of the soul, which is held upright about it, as is obedient and not overpowered by the passions. Now the part carried submerged [c] in the body is called the soul, whereas the part left free from corruption is called by the multitude the understanding, who take it to be within themselves, as they take reflected objects to be in the mirrors that reflect them; but those who conceive the matter rightly call it a daemon,[d] as being external. Thus, Timarchus,' the voice pursued, 'in the stars that are apparently extinguished, you must understand that you see the souls that sink entirely into the body; in the stars

[c] For "submerged" *cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248 A.
[d] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 90 A.

(591) ὁρᾶν νόμιζε, τοὺς δὲ οἷον ἀναλάμποντας πάλιν καὶ ἀναφαινομένους κάτωθεν, ἀχλύν τινα καὶ ζόφον ὥσπερ πηλὸν ἀποσειομένους, τὰς ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπαναπλεούσας μετὰ τὸν θάνατον· οἱ δὲ ἄνω διαφερόμενοι[1] δαίμονές εἰσι τῶν νοῦν ἔχειν λεγομένων ἀνθρώπων. πειράθητι δὲ κατιδεῖν ἑκάστου τὸν σύνδεσμον ᾗ τῇ ψυχῇ συμπέφυκε.'

" Ταῦτα ἀκούσας αὐτὸς ἀκριβέστερον προσέχειν καὶ θεᾶσθαι τῶν ἀστέρων ἀποσαλεύοντας τοὺς μὲν
592 ἧττον τοὺς δὲ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ τοὺς τὰ δίκτυα διασημαίνοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ φελλοὺς ὁρῶμεν ἐπιφερομένους· ἐνίους δὲ τοῖς κλωθομένοις ἀτράκτοις ὁμοίως ἕλικα τεταραγμένην[2] καὶ ἀνώμαλον ἕλκοντας, οὐ δυναμένους καταστῆσαι τὴν κίνησιν ἐπ' εὐθείας. λέγειν δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοὺς μὲν εὐθεῖαν καὶ τεταγμένην κίνησιν ἔχοντας εὐηνίοις ψυχαῖς χρῆσθαι διὰ τροφὴν καὶ παίδευσιν ἀστείαν, οὐκ ἄγαν[3] σκληρὸν καὶ ἄγριον παρεχομέναις τὸ ἄλογον· τοὺς δὲ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πολλάκις ἀνωμάλως καὶ
B τεταραγμένως ἐγκλίνοντας, οἷον ἐκ δεσμοῦ σπαραττομένους, δυσπειθέσι καὶ ἀναγώγοις[4] δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν ζυγομαχεῖν ἤθεσι, πῇ μὲν κρατοῦντας καὶ περιάγοντας ἐπὶ δεξιάν,[5] πῇ δὲ καμπτομένους ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ συνεφελκομένους τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν, εἶτα πάλιν ἀντιτείνοντας καὶ βιαζομένους. τὸν μὲν γὰρ σύνδεσμον, οἷα χαλινὸν τῷ ἀλόγῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμβεβλημένον, ὅταν ἀντισπάσῃ, τὴν λεγο-

[1] *ἄνω διαφερόμενοι*] *ἄνω κάτω διαφερόμενοι* von Arnim ; *ἄνω φερόμενοι* Pohlenz.
[2] *ἕλικα τεταραγμένην* von Arnim : *ἐγκατατεταραγμένην.*
[3] *οὐκ ἄγαν* Turnebus : *οὐ κατὰ γαῖαν.*
[4] *ἀναγώγοις* Turnebus : *ἀναλώτοις.*
[5] *ἐπὶ δεξιάν*] *ἐπὶ δεξιά* or *ἐπιδέξια* von Arnim.

that are lighted again, as it were, and reappear from below, you must understand that you see the souls that float back from the body after death, shaking off a sort of dimness and darkness as one might shake off mud; while the stars that move about on high are the daemons of men said to "possess understanding."[a] See whether you can make out in each the manner of its linkage and union with the soul.'

"Hearing this, he attended more carefully and saw that the stars bobbed about, some more, some less, like the corks we observe riding on the sea to mark nets; a few described a confused and uneven spiral, like spindles as they twist the thread, and were unable to reduce their movement to a straight and steady course. The voice explained that the daemons whose motion was straight and ordered had souls which good nurture and training had made submissive to the rein,[b] and whose irrational part was not unduly hard-mouthed and restive; whereas those which were constantly deviating in all directions from a straight course in an uneven and confused motion, as though jerked about on a tether, were contending with a character refractory and unruly from lack of training, at one moment prevailing over it and wheeling to the right, at another yielding to their passions and dragged along by their errors, only to resist them later and oppose them with force. For, exerting a contrary pull on the tie, which is like a bridle inserted into the irrational part of the soul, the daemon

[a] The common expression *noun echein*, meaning "to be sensible," is here taken in its literal sense, "to possess understanding." All souls, strictly speaking, possess understanding, but the daemon is explaining a popular expression (*cf.* 591 E, *supra*).

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 943 D and 445 B-D.

(592) μένην μεταμέλειαν ἐπάγειν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὅσαι παράνομοι καὶ ἀκρατεῖς, αἰσχύνην, ἀλγηδόνα καὶ πληγὴν οὖσαν ἐνθένδε[1] τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπι-
C στομιζομένης, μέχρι ἂν οὕτως κολαζομένη πειθήνιος γένηται καὶ συνήθης, ὥσπερ θρέμμα πρᾶον, ἄνευ πληγῆς καὶ ἀλγηδόνος ὑπὸ συμβόλων ὀξέως καὶ σημείων αἰσθανομένη τοῦ δαίμονος. ' αὗται μὲν οὖν ὀψέ ποτε καὶ βραδέως ἄγονται καὶ καθίστανται πρὸς τὸ δέον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐηνίων ἐκείνων καὶ[2] κατηκόων εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ γενέσεως τοῦ οἰκείου δαίμονος καὶ τὸ μαντικόν ἐστι καὶ θεοκλυτούμενον γένος· ὧν τὴν Ἑρμοδώρου[3] τοῦ Κλαζομενίου ψυχὴν ἀκήκοας δήπουθεν ὡς ἀπολείπουσα παντάπασι τὸ σῶμα νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν
D ἐπλανᾶτο πολὺν τόπον, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπανῄει πολλοῖς τῶν μακρὰν λεγομένων καὶ πραττομένων ἐντυχοῦσα καὶ παραγενομένη, μέχρι οὗ τὸ σῶμα, τῆς γυναικὸς προδούσης, λαβόντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ ψυχῆς ἔρημον οἴκοι κατέπρησαν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀληθές ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξέβαινεν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος, ὑπείκουσα δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ χαλῶσα τῷ δαίμονι τὸν σύνδεσμον ἐδίδου περιδρομὴν καὶ περιφοίτησιν, ὥστε πολλὰ συνορῶντα καὶ κατακούοντα τῶν ἐκτὸς εἰσαγγέλλειν. οἱ δὲ ἀφανίσαντες τὸ σῶμα κοιμωμένου μέχρι νῦν
E δίκην ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ τίνουσι. ταῦτα δὲ εἴσῃ,'

[1] ἐνθένδε] ἐνδόθεν (sic) van Herwerden.
[2] καὶ added by Turnebus.

applies what is called remorse to the errors, and shame for all lawless and wilful pleasures—remorse and shame being really the painful blow inflicted from this source upon the soul as it is curbed by its controlling and ruling part—until from such chastening the soul, like a docile animal, becomes obedient and accustomed to the reins, needing no painful blows, but rendered keenly responsive to its daemon by signals and signs. 'These souls indeed,' the voice pursued, 'are brought to their duty and made firm in it late and gradually ; but from those other souls, which from their very beginning and birth are docile to the rein and obedient to their daemon,[a] comes the race of diviners and of men inspired. Among such souls you have doubtless heard of that of Hermodorus [b] of Clazomenae—how night and day it used to leave his body entirely and travel far and wide, returning after it had met with and witnessed many things said and done in remote places, until his wife betrayed him and his enemies found his body at home untenanted by his soul and burnt it. The story as thus told is indeed not true : his soul did not leave his body, but gave its daemon free play by always yielding to it and slackening the tie, permitting it to move about and roam at will, so that the daemon could see and hear much that passed in the world outside and return with the report. The men who destroyed his body as he slept are still atoning for the deed in Tartarus. Of these matters,' the voice

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 445 B.

[b] The story is elsewhere told of Hermotimus of Clazomenae : *cf.* J. H. Waszink's note on Tertullian, *De Anima*, chap. xliv (Amsterdam, 1947), pp. 475 f.

[3] Ἑρμοδώρου] Ἑρμοτίμου ? Xylander.

(592) φάναι, ' σαφέστερον, ὦ νεανία, τρίτῳ μηνί· νῦν δ' ἄπιθι.'

" Παυσαμένης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν[1] ὁ Τίμαρχος ἔφη θεάσασθαι περιστρέφοντα[2] τίς ὁ φθεγγόμενος εἴη· σφόδρα δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὖθις ἀλγήσας, καθάπερ βίᾳ συμπιεσθεῖσαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι γινώσκειν οὐδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν· εἶτα μέντοι μετὰ μικρὸν ἀνενεγκὼν ὁρᾶν αὑτὸν ἐν Τροφωνίου[3] παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον, οὗπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεκλίθη, κείμενον.

23. " Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τιμάρχου μῦθος οὗτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλθὼν Ἀθήναζε τρίτῳ μηνὶ κατὰ τὴν γενομένην F φωνὴν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Σωκράτει θαυμάζοντες ἀπηγγέλλομεν, ἐμέμψατο Σωκράτης ἡμᾶς ὅτι μὴ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Τιμάρχου διήλθομεν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἂν ἡδέως ἐκείνου πυθέσθαι καὶ προσανακρῖναι σαφέστερον.

" Ἀπέχεις, ὦ Θεόκριτε, μετὰ τοῦ λόγου τὸν μῦθον. ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ καὶ τὸν ξένον ἡμῖν παρακλητέον ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν· οἰκεία γὰρ πάνυ καὶ προσήκουσα θείοις ἀνδράσι."

" Τί δ'," εἶπεν, " Ἐπαμεινώνδας οὐ συμβάλλεται γνώμην, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγόμενος ἡμῖν;"

Καὶ ὁ πατὴρ μειδιάσας, " τοιοῦτον," ἔφη, " τὸ ἦθος, ὦ ξένε, τὸ τούτου, σιωπηλὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους εὐλαβές, ἄπληστον δὲ τοῦ μανθάνειν καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι· διὸ καὶ Σπίνθαρος ὁ Ταραντῖνος οὐκ ὀλίγον αὐτῷ συνδιατρίψας ἐνταῦθα χρόνον ἀεὶ δήπου

[1] αὑτὸν Sieveking : αὐτὸν.
[2] περιστρέφοντα] περιστρέφων Schwartz ; περιστραφέντα E. Harrison.

said, 'you will have better knowledge, young man, in the third month from now; for the present, depart.'

"When the voice ceased Timarchus desired to turn (he said) and see who the speaker was. But once more he felt a sharp pain in his head, as though it had been violently compressed, and he lost all recognition and awareness of what was going on about him; but he presently recovered and saw that he was lying in the crypt of Trophonius near the entrance, at the very spot where he had first laid himself down.

23. "Such then is the myth of Timarchus. When he had come to Athens and died in the third month, as the voice had foretold,[a] we were amazed and told Socrates the story, who censured us for recounting it when Timarchus was no longer alive, as he would have been glad to hear it from Timarchus himself and question him about it more closely.

"My statement is now complete, Theocritus, and you have the myth along with the argument. But consider whether we should not also invite the stranger to join in the inquiry, for it is one most fitting and appropriate to inspired men."

"Why does not Epameinondas make his contribution?" asked the stranger. "He draws upon the same doctrines as I."

"That is his way, sir," said my father with a smile: "to be silent and chary of speech, but insatiable of learning and listening. On this account Spintharus[b] of Tarentum, who was long associated with him here,

[a] The visionary often hears a prediction of his own death: *cf. Mor.* 566 D and note.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 39 B.

[3] Τροφωνίου Stephanus: τροφωνείου.

(592) λέγει μηδενί πῃ[1] τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐντε-
593 τυχηκέναι μήτε πλείονα γινώσκοντι μήτε ἐλάσσονα φθεγγομένῳ. σὺ οὖν ἃ φρονεῖς αὐτὸς δίελθε περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων."

24. "Ἐγὼ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "τὸν μὲν Τιμάρχου λόγον ὥσπερ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀνακεῖσθαί φημι τῷ θεῷ[2] χρῆναι· θαυμάζω δ' εἰ τοῖς ὑπὸ Σιμμίου λεγομένοις αὐτοῦ ʹδυσπιστήσουσί τινες, κύκνους μὲν[3] ἱεροὺς καὶ δράκοντας καὶ κύνας καὶ ἵππους ὀνομάζοντες, ἀνθρώπους δὲ θείους εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἀπιστοῦντες, καὶ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν οὐ φίλορνιν ἀλλὰ φιλάνθρωπον ἡγούμενοι. καθάπερ οὖν ἀνὴρ φίλιππος οὐ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ὑπὸ
B ταὐτὸ[4] γένος, ἀλλ' ἀεί τινα ἄριστον ἐξαιρῶν[5] καὶ ἀποκρίνων καθ' αὑτὸν ἀσκεῖ καὶ τρέφει καὶ ἀγαπᾷ διαφερόντως, καὶ[6] ἡμῶν οἱ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τοὺς βελτίστους οἷον ἐξ ἀγέλης χαράξαντες ἰδίας τινὸς καὶ περιττῆς παιδαγωγίας ἀξιοῦσιν, οὐχ ὑφ' ἡνίας οὐδὲ ῥυτήρων, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ διὰ συμβόλων εὐθύνοντες ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγελαῖοι παντάπασιν ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ κύνες τῶν θηρατικῶν σημείων οὐδὲ ἵπποι[7] τῶν ἱππικῶν συνιᾶσιν,[8] ἀλλ' οἱ μεμαθηκότες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ σιγμοῦ τοῦ τυχόντος ἢ
C ποππυσμοῦ τὸ προσταττόμενον αἰσθανόμενοι ῥᾳδίως εἰς ὃ δεῖ[9] καθίστανται. φαίνεται δὲ γινώσκων καὶ

[1] πῃ] που B ; πω ? Post.
[2] φημι τῷ θεῷ] τῶ θεῶ φημὶ B.
[3] γὰρ omitted by Reiske after μέν.
[4] ὑπὸ ταὐτὸ Bern. (ὑπὸ τὸ Wilamowitz) : ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ.
[5] ἐξαιρῶν Dübner : ἐξαίρων.
[6] καὶ] οὕτω καὶ an early conjecture.
[7] οἱ πολλοὶ deleted by Wilamowitz before ἵπποι (place it after ἱππικῶν ?).

keeps saying, as you know, that nowhere in his generation has he met a man of greater knowledge and fewer words. You must accordingly present your views about what has been said yourself."

24. "I say, therefore," he said, "that the story of Timarchus, as sacred and not to be profaned, should be dedicated to the god.[a] As for Simmias' own statement, I should be surprised if any should find it hard to accept, and when they call swans, serpents, dogs, and horses sacred, refuse to believe that men are divine and dear to God, and that too holding him no lover of birds, but of men.[b] As, then, a man that loves horses does not devote the same care to all members of the species, but always singles out and sets apart some one horse that is best, training and rearing it by itself and cherishing it above the rest, so too our betters take the best of us, as from a herd, and setting a mark on us, honour us with a peculiar and exceptional schooling, guiding us not by rein or bridle, but by language expressed in symbols quite unknown to the generality and common herd of men. So too it is not the generality of hounds that understand the hunter's signals, or of horses the horseman's; it is only such as have been taught that readily take their orders from a mere casual whistle or clucking of the tongue and do what is required. Homer too,

[a] G. M. Lattanzi, *Il "De genio Socratis" di Plutarco*, p. 64, note 2, quotes Pausanias, ix. 39. 14: "Those who have made the descent into the cave of Trophonius must write what they have seen or heard on a tablet and set it up as a dedication."

[b] *Cf. Life of Numa*, chap. iv. 4 (62 A-B), and [Plato], *Minos*, 319 A.

[8] συνιᾶσιν Stegmann: συνίασιν.
[9] δεῖ B: δὴ E.

(593) Ὅμηρος ἣν λέγομεν διαφορὰν ἡμεῖς· τῶν γὰρ μάντεων οἰωνοπόλους τινὰς καλεῖ καὶ ἱερεῖς, ἑτέρους δὲ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν διαλεγομένων συνιέντας καὶ συμφρονοῦντας[1] ἀποσημαίνειν οἴεται τὸ μέλλον, ἐν οἷς λέγει

τῶν δ' Ἕλενος, Πριάμοιο φίλος παῖς, ξύνθετο θυμῷ
βουλήν, ἥ ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐφήνδανε μητιόωσι

καί

ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼν ὄπ' ἄκουσα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.[2]

ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν διάνοιαν οἱ μὲν ἐκτὸς αἰσθάνονται καὶ γινώσκουσι πυρσοῖς τισι καὶ κηρύγμασι καὶ ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων,
D τοῖς δὲ πιστοῖς καὶ συνήθεσιν αὐτοὶ φράζουσιν, οὕτω τὸ θεῖον ὀλίγοις ἐντυγχάνει δι' αὑτοῦ καὶ σπανίως, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς σημεῖα δίδωσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ λεγομένη μαντικὴ συνέστηκε. θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ[3] οὖν ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων κοσμοῦσι βίον, οὓς ἂν ἄκρως μακαρίους τε καὶ θείους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπεργάσασθαι βουληθῶσιν· αἱ δὲ ἀπηλλαγμέναι γενέσεως ψυχαὶ καὶ σχολάζουσαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ σώματος, οἷον ἐλεύθεραι πάμπαν ἀφειμέναι,[4] δαίμονές εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελεῖς καθ' Ἡσίοδον. ὡς γὰρ ἀθλητὰς καταλύσαντας ἄσκησιν ὑπὸ γήρως οὐ τελέως ἀπολείπει τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλοσώματον, ἀλλὰ ἑτέρους

[1] συμφρονοῦντας Leonicus : σωφρονοῦντας.
[2] αἰειγενετάων Homer : γενετάων.
[3] μὲν γὰρ] μὲν Pohlenz.
[4] ἀφειμέναι Bern. : ἀφιέμεναι.

it is evident, knew the distinction [a] of which we others speak, as he calls some diviners ' consulters of birds ' [b] and ' priests,' [c] but thinks that others indicate the future from an understanding and awareness of the actual conversation of the gods. These are his words :

> That counsel Helenus in his heart perceived,
> The son of Priam, which the gods had reached
> In their deliberation [d]

and

> Such speech of the immortal gods I heard. [e]

For as outsiders perceive and recognize the intention of kings and generals from beacons and the proclamations of heralds and the blare of trumpets, whereas to confidants and intimates it is imparted by the kings and generals themselves, so heaven consorts directly with but few, and rarely, but to the great majority gives signs, from which arises the art called divination. The gods, then, order the life of but few among men, such as they wish to make supremely blessed and in very truth divine ; whereas souls delivered from birth and henceforth at rest from the body—set quite free, as it were, to range at will—are, as Hesiod [f] says, daemons that watch over man. For as athletes who from old age have given up training do not entirely lose their ardour and their love of bodily prowess, but look on with pleasure as

[a] That is, the Stoic distinction between " artificial " divination, which interprets omens, and so-called " artless " or " untaught " divination, which is found in dreams and inspiration. *Cf.* Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Vita et Poesi Homeri*, ii. 212, and Cicero, *De Div.* i. 6 (11) with Pease's note.

[b] *Cf Il.* i. 69, vi. 76.

[c] *Cf. Il.* i. 62, xxiv. 221.

[d] *Il.* vii. 44 f.

[e] *Il.* vii. 53.

[f] *Works and Days*, 122 ff. ; quoted also in *Mor.* 361 B, 431 E.

(593) E ἀσκοῦντας ὁρῶντες ἥδονται καὶ παρακαλοῦσι καὶ συμπαραθέουσιν, οὕτως οἱ πεπαυμένοι τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀγώνων δι' ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς γενόμενοι δαίμονες οὐ παντελῶς ἀτιμάζουσι τὰ ἐνταῦθα πράγματα καὶ λόγους καὶ σπουδάς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ γυμναζομένοις τέλος εὐμενεῖς ὄντες καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐγκελεύονται καὶ συνεξορμῶσιν ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἤδη τῆς ἐλπίδος ἁμιλλωμένους καὶ ψαύοντας ὁρῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ οἷς F ἔτυχε συμφέρεται τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν νηχομένων ἐν θαλάττῃ τοὺς μὲν πελαγίους ἔτι καὶ πρόσω τῆς γῆς φερομένους οἱ ἐπὶ γῆς ἑστῶτες σιωπῇ θεῶνται μόνον, τοὺς δ' ἐγγὺς ἤδη παραθέοντες καὶ παρεμβαίνοντες ἅμα καὶ χειρὶ καὶ φωνῇ βοηθοῦντες ἀνασῴζουσιν, οὗτος,[1] ὦ φίλοι, καὶ[2] τοῦ δαιμονίου τρόπος[3]· ἐᾷ γὰρ[4] ἡμᾶς, βαπτιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ σώματα πολλὰ καθάπερ ὀχήματα μεταλαμβάνοντας, αὐτοὺς ἐξαμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ μακροθυμεῖν, δι' οἰκείας πειρωμένους ἀρετῆς σῴζεσθαι καὶ τυγχάνειν λιμένος· ἥτις δ' ἂν ἤδη διὰ μυρίων γενέσεων ἠγωνισμένη μακροὺς ἀγῶνας εὖ καὶ προθύμως ψυχή, τῆς περιόδου συμπεραινο-
594 μένης, κινδυνεύουσα καὶ φιλοτιμουμένη περὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν ἱδρῶτι πολλῷ τοῖς ἄνω προσφέρηται,[5] ταύτῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον οὐ νεμεσᾷ δαίμονα βοηθεῖν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' ἀφίησι τῷ προθυμουμένῳ· προθυμεῖται δ'

[1] οὗτος Reiske : οὕτως.
[2] φίλοι, καὶ Wilamowitz, to fill a lacuna of 9-7 letters.
[3] τρόπος nos : ὁ τρόπος. For the passage Post doubtfully suggests the following : οὗτος ὠφελείας τῆς δαιμονίας (or περὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον) ὁ τρόπος.

others train, and call out encouragement and run along beside them, so those who are done with the contests of life, and who, from prowess of soul, have become daemons, do not hold what is done and said and striven after in this world in utter contempt, but are propitious to contenders for the same goal, join in their ardour, and encourage and help them to the attainment of virtue when they see them keeping up the struggle and all but reaching their heart's desire. For daemons do not assist all indifferently, but as when men swim at sea, those standing on the shore merely view in silence the swimmers who are still far out and distant from land, whereas they help with hand and voice alike such as have come near, and running along and wading in beside them bring them safely in, such too, my friends, is the way of daemons: as long as we are head over ears in the welter of worldly affairs and are changing body after body, like conveyances, they allow us to fight our way out and persevere unaided, as we endeavour by our own prowess to come through safe and reach a haven; but when in the course of countless births a soul has stoutly and resolutely sustained a long series of struggles, and as her cycle draws to a close, she approaches the upper world, bathed in sweat, in imminent peril and straining every nerve to reach the shore,[a] God holds it no sin for her daemon to go to the rescue, but lets whoever will lend aid. One

[a] The word *ekbasis*, translated "shore," but literally "egress," was suggested by Homer, *Od.* v. 410.

[4] *ἐᾷ γὰρ* Bern. (*ἐᾷ μὲν γὰρ* Amyot) to fill a lacuna of 6-13 letters.

[5] *τοῖς ἄνω προσφέρηται* Maas (*πρὸς τἄνω φέρηται* Bern.): *ἄνω προσφέρηται.*

(594) ἄλλος ἄλλην ἀνασῴζειν ἐγκελευόμενος, ἡ δὲ συνακούει διὰ τὸ πλησιάζειν καὶ σῴζεται, μὴ πειθομένη δέ, ἀπολιπόντος τοῦ δαίμονος, οὐκ εὐτυχῶς ἀπαλλάσσει."

25. Τούτων εἰρημένων ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἀποβλέψας εἰς ἐμέ, "σοὶ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Καφισία, σχεδὸν ὥρα βαδίζειν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἤδη καὶ μὴ
B ἀπολείπειν τοὺς συνήθεις· ἡμεῖς δὲ Θεάνορος ἐπιμελησόμεθα διαλύσαντες ὅταν δοκῇ τὴν συνουσίαν."

Κἀγώ, "ταῦτα," ἔφην, "πράττομεν[1]· ἀλλὰ μικρὸν οἶμαί τι μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ Γαλαξιδώρου βούλεταί σοι διαλεχθῆναι Θεόκριτος οὑτοσί."[2]

"Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ," εἶπε, "διαλεγέσθω," καὶ προῆγεν ἀναστὰς εἰς τὸ ἐπικάμπιον[3] τῆς στοᾶς. καὶ ἡμεῖς περισχόντες αὐτὸν ἐπεχειροῦμεν παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἔφη πάνυ σαφῶς εἰδέναι τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων καὶ συντετάχθαι μετὰ Γοργίδου τοὺς φίλους[4] πρὸς τὸν καιρόν, ἀποκτενεῖν δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκριτον οὐδένα μὴ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης γενομένης, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ
C πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἁρμόζειν τὸ Θηβαίων εἶναί τινας ἀναιτίους καὶ καθαροὺς τῶν πεπραγμένων, οἳ[5] μᾶλλον ἕξουσιν ἀνυπόπτως πρὸς[6] τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου παραινοῦντες. ἐδόκει ταῦτα ἡμῖν. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν αὖθις ὡς τοὺς περὶ Σιμμίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καταβάντες εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐνετυγχάνομεν τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ διαλαμβάνων ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐν τῷ συμπαλαίειν τὰ μὲν ἐπυνθάνετο τὰ δὲ ἔφραζε

[1] πράττομεν] πράττωμεν Ald.², Wyttenbach.
[2] Θεόκριτος οὑτοσί Stegmann (οὑτοσὶ Θεόκριτος Döhner): οὑτοσὶ ὁ θεόκριτος. [3] ἐπικάμπιον L. Dindorf: ἐπικάμπειον.
[4] τοὺς φίλους] τοῖς φίλοις Reiske.
[5] οἳ added by Wyttenbach. [6] πρὸς added by Reiske.

daemon is eager to deliver by his exhortations one soul, another another, and the soul on her part, having drawn close, can hear, and thus is saved ; but if she pays no heed, she is forsaken by her daemon and comes to no happy end."

25. When Theanor had done, Epameinondas looked at me and said : "Caphisias, it is time, I believe, for you to go to the gymnasium and not disappoint your companions ; when we decide to break up this gathering, we will look after Theanor ourselves."

"That I shall do," I replied ; "but I think Theocritus here would like a few words with you, in the presence of Galaxidorus and myself."

"He shall have them ; and good luck attend !" he said, rising and leading us to the angle in the colonnade. We gathered about and endeavoured to prevail upon him to join in the attack. He was perfectly well informed, he replied, of the day appointed for the exiles' return ; indeed Gorgidas and he had organized their friends for the occasion.[a] But he would never put a countryman to death without trial unless driven to it by extreme necessity. Apart from this it was to the interest of democratic government at Thebes that there should be some men not chargeable with the guilt of what was done : these would enjoy the greater confidence of the people, as their counsels would be less suspected of bias. With this we agreed ; and he returned to Simmias and the company while I went down to the gymnasium and joined my friends. Shifting partners as we wrestled, we exchanged information and made arrangements

[a] Epameinondas and Gorgidas appear on the scene with their band of followers after the assassinations : *cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xii. 2 (284 B) and 598 C, *infra*.

(594) καὶ συνετάττετο πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν. ἑωρῶμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον ἀληλιμμένους
D ἀπιόντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ὁ γὰρ Φυλλίδας, δεδιὼς μὴ τὸν Ἀμφίθεον προανέλωσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Λυσανορίδου προπομπῆς τὸν Ἀρχίαν δεξάμενος καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑπάνδρου[1] γυναικὸς ἧς ἐπιθυμῶν ἐτύγχανεν εἰς ἐλπίδας ἐμβαλὼν ὡς ἀφιξομένης εἰς τὸν πότον,[2] ἔπεισε πρὸς ῥαθυμίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν τραπέσθαι μετὰ τῶν εἰωθότων αὐτῷ συνακολασταίνειν.

26. Ὀψὲ δὲ ἦν[3] ἤδη τό τε ψῦχος ἐπέτεινε, πνεύματος γενομένου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν τάχιον εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἡμεῖς μὲν τοὺς[4] περὶ Δαμοκλείδαν καὶ Πελοπίδαν καὶ Θεόπομπον ἐντυχόντες ἀνελαμβάνομεν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλους· ἐσχί-
E σθησαν γὰρ εὐθὺς ὑπερβάλλοντες[5] τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ χειμὼν τὰ πρόσωπα συγκεκαλυμμένοις ἀδεῶς διελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν· ἐνίοις δὲ ἐπήστραψε δεξιὸν ἄνευ βροντῆς εἰσιοῦσι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐδόκει καλὸν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ δόξαν, ὡς λαμπρῶν, ἀκινδύνων δέ, τῶν πράξεων ἐσομένων.

27. Ὡς οὖν ἅπαντες ἔνδον ἦμεν, πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντες, ἤδη τοῦ Θεοκρίτου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τινὶ σφαγιαζομένου, πολὺς ἦν τῆς θύρας ἀραγμός,[6] καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἧκέ τις ἀγγέλλων ὑπηρέτας τοῦ Ἀρχίου δύο κόπτειν τὴν αὔλειον

[1] ὑπάνδρου Bern. from the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ix. 4 (282 B) (ἐν ἀξιώματι Pohlenz ; γαμετῆς Post ; Wilamowitz and Sykutris suppose that the husband's name has dropped out) to fill a lacuna of 6 letters in E ; there is no lacuna in B.
[2] πότον Salmasius : τόπον.
[3] ἦν added by Kronenberg.

for the execution of the plot. We also saw Archias and Philippus, freshly anointed, going off to dinner; for when Archias had returned after escorting Lysanoridas, Phyllidas immediately took him into his house, fearing that Amphitheüs might be put to death before we could prevent it; and leading Archias to hope that the married woman he desired would come to the banquet, he prevailed on him to dismiss his cares and relax with the usual companions of his debauches.[a]

26. It was now late and growing colder, as a wind had arisen; and most of the townspeople had on this account withdrawn into their houses earlier than usual, when our group met and picked up Damocleidas, Pelopidas, and Theopompus, and other groups picked up the rest (for they had separated as far back as the crossing of Cithaeron); and the bad weather allowed them to muffle up their faces and pass through the city without fear. Some, as they entered the gates, saw a flash of lightning on the right, not followed by thunder; and the sign was taken to portend safety and glory—our acts would be brilliant and yet unattended with danger.[b]

27. Now when we were all in the house, to the number of forty-eight,[c] and Theocritus was taking sacrificial omens off in a room by himself, there came a loud pounding at the door. It was shortly after announced that two officers of Archias, dispatched

[a] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ix. 4 (282 B).
[b] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4. 3 ff.
[c] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ix. 3 (282 A).

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4 τοὺς] τοῖς E[1ss]B[1t].
5 ὑπερβάλλοντες] ὑπερβαλόντες van Herwerden.
6 ἀραγμός Stephanus: ἀρραγμός.

(594) F ἀπεσταλμένους σπουδῇ πρὸς Χάρωνα καὶ κελεύειν ἀνοίγειν καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν βράδιον ὑπακουόντων. θορυβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Χάρων ἐκείνοις μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνοιγνύναι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαντήσας ἔχων στέφανον ὡς τεθυκὼς καὶ πίνων ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὅ τι βούλοιντο.

Λέγει δ' ἅτερος, "Ἀρχίας καὶ Φίλιππος ἔπεμψαν ἡμᾶς κελεύοντες ὡς τάχιστά σε ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτούς."

Ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Χάρωνος τίς ἡ σπουδὴ τῆς τηνικαῦτα μεταπέμψεως αὐτοῦ καὶ μή τι καινότερον, "οὐδὲν ἴσμεν," ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἔφη, "πλέον· ἀλλὰ τί λέγωμεν αὐτοῖς;"

"Ὅτι νὴ Δία," εἶπεν[1] ὁ Χάρων, "θεὶς[2] τὸν στέφανον ἤδη καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ἱμάτιον ἕπομαι· μεθ' ὑμῶν γὰρ τηνικαῦτα βαδίζων διαταράξω τινὰς ὡς ἀγόμενος."

595 "Οὕτως," ἔφη,[3] "ποίει· καὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοῖς ὑπὸ πόλιν φρουροῖς κομίσαι τι πρόσταγμα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων."

Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ᾤχοντο, τοῦ δὲ Χάρωνος εἰσελθόντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ταῦτα φράσαντος ἔκπληξις ἅπαντας ἔσχεν οἰομένους μεμηνῦσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἱπποσθενείδαν ὑπενόουν οἱ πλεῖστοι κωλῦσαι μὲν ἐπιχειρήσαντα τὴν κάθοδον διὰ τοῦ Χλίδωνος, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέτυχε καὶ συνῆπτε τῷ καιρῷ τὸ δεινόν, ἐξενηνοχέναι πιθανὸν ὄντα τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπὸ δέους· οὐ γὰρ ἀφίκετο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,

on urgent business to Charon, were knocking at the outer door and ordering it to be opened, and showed impatience at the delay in answering.[a] Charon, in great alarm, gave orders to open it at once, and going to meet them in person, with a chaplet on his head, as if he was in the midst of drinking after a sacrifice, asked the officers what they wanted.

The one replied : " Archias and Philippus have sent us with orders for you to report to them at once."

When Charon asked to what urgency this summons at such an hour was due and whether anything serious had happened, the messenger answered : " That is all we know. What shall we tell them ? "

" Why, tell them," said Charon, " that I am laying my chaplet aside this moment and putting on my cloak and following after ; for if I accompany you at this hour some people will take alarm, supposing me under arrest."

" Do so," the man answered ; " it so happens that we have an order from the authorities to convey to the guards at the foot of the citadel."

With that they left. When Charon rejoined us with the news we were all struck with consternation, imagining ourselves betrayed ; and most of us suspected that Hipposthenidas, after using Chlidon in his attempt to prevent the exiles' return, when this failed and the crisis was upon us, had in his fear denounced the plot (being a man who would be credited) ; for he had not come to the house with the rest and

[a] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ix. 8 (282 c).

[1] εἶπεν Aldine : εἰπεῖν.
[2] Post puts the inverted commas before ἕπομαι.
[3] ἔφη] ἔφησαν B.

(595) ἀλλ' ὅλως[1] ἐδόκει πονηρὸς γεγονέναι καὶ παλίμβολος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τόν γε Χάρωνα πάντες ᾠόμεθα B χρῆναι βαδίζειν καὶ ὑπακούειν τοῖς ἄρχουσι καλούμενον. ὁ δὲ κελεύσας τὸν υἱὸν ἐλθεῖν, κάλλιστον ὄντα Θηβαίων, ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε, παῖδα καὶ φιλοπονώτατον περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια, πεντεκαιδεκέτη μὲν σχεδόν, πολὺ δὲ ῥώμῃ καὶ μεγέθει διαφέροντα τῶν ὁμηλίκων, "οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ μόνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγαπητός, ὥσπερ ἴστε· τοῦτον ὑμῖν παραδίδωμι πρὸς θεῶν ἅπασι πρὸς δαιμόνων ἐπισκήπτων· εἰ φανείην ἐγὼ πονηρὸς περὶ ὑμᾶς, ἀποκτείνατε, μὴ φείσησθε ἡμῶν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς[2] ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς τὸ συμπεσὸν[3] ἀντιτάξασθε· C μὴ πρόησθε τὰ σώματα διαφθεῖραι τοῖς ἐχθίστοις[4] ἀνάνδρως καὶ ἀκλεῶς, ἀλλ' ἀμύνασθε, τὰς ψυχὰς ἀηττήτους τῇ πατρίδι φυλάττοντες."[5]

Ταῦτα τοῦ Χάρωνος λέγοντος τὸ μὲν φρόνημα καὶ τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν ἐθαυμάζομεν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑποψίαν ἠγανακτοῦμεν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐκελεύομεν τὸν παῖδα.

"Τὸ δ' ὅλον," εἶπεν ὁ Πελοπίδας, "οὐδ' εὖ βεβουλεῦσθαι δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὦ Χάρων, μὴ μεταστησάμενος εἰς οἰκίαν ἑτέραν τὸν υἱόν· τί γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῖ κινδυνεύειν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενον; καὶ νῦν ἐκπεμπτέος, ἵν' ἡμῖν, ἐάν τι πάσχωμεν, εὐγενὴς ὑποτρέφηται τιμωρὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους."

D "Οὐκ ἔστιν," εἶπεν ὁ Χάρων, "ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ παραμενεῖ καὶ κινδυνεύσει μεθ' ὑμῶν[6]· οὐδὲ γὰρ

[1] ὅλως corrected from ὅλος in EB.
[2] ὡς Kronenberg : ὦ.
[3] συμπεσὸν Reiske : συμπόσιον.
[4] ἐχθίστοις Wyttenbach : αἰσχίστοις.

had on all counts, it was felt, shown himself base and treacherous. Still, we all felt that Charon should go in obedience to the summons he had received from the magistrates. He gave orders for his son to enter, the most handsome boy in Thebes, Archedamus, and most diligent in athletic exercise; he was, I should say, about fifteen years old, but far stronger and taller than others of his age. "Gentlemen," he said, "this is my only child, and very dear to me, as you know; I place him in your hands, adjuring all of you in the name of gods and daemons: if it should appear that I have played you false, kill him, show us no mercy. For the rest, face what has befallen like the brave men you are; do not surrender your bodies to unmanly and inglorious destruction by your bitterest foes, but fight back, keeping your souls unconquered [a] for your country's sake."

As Charon said this we were filled with admiration for his high heart and noble mind, but indignant at the thought of suspicion, and told him to take the boy away.

"In any case, Charon," said Pelopidas, "I think you were ill-advised in not removing your son to another house; for why should he be exposed to danger by being shut up with us here? Even now he should be sent away, so that, if anything happens to us, he may grow up in our place to be our noble avenger upon the tyrants."

"That may not be," replied Charon; "here he shall stay and meet the danger with you; for him

[a] The Stoics defined *eupsychia* (valour) as a science that keeps the soul unconquered (*Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 264, p. 64. 38 f., 269, p. 66. 19 von Arnim).

[5] φυλάττοντες] διαφυλάττοντες? [6] ὑμῶν $E^{c}B$: ἡμῶν E^{ac}.

(595) τούτῳ καλὸν ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ἀλλὰ τόλμα παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὦ παῖ, γενόμενος ἄθλων ἀναγκαίων καὶ κινδύνευε μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀρετῆς· πολλὴ δ' ἐλπὶς ἔτι λείπεται, καί πού τις ἐφορᾷ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ἀγωνιζομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων."

28. Δάκρυα πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῶν, ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε, πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτὸς[1] δὲ ἄδακρυς καὶ ἄτεγκτος ἐγχειρίσας Πελοπίδᾳ τὸν υἱὸν ἐχώρει διὰ θυρῶν δεξιούμενος ἕκαστον ἡμῶν καὶ παραθαρρύνων. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἂν ἠγάσω τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν φαιδρότητα καὶ τὸ ἀδεὲς[2]
E πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ὥσπερ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, μήτε ὠχριάσαντος μήτε ἐκπλαγέντος, ἀλλ' ἕλκοντος τὸ ξίφος τοῦ Πελοπίδου καὶ καταμανθάνοντος.

Ἐν τούτῳ Κηφισόδωρος ὁ Διογείτονος,[3] εἷς τῶν φίλων, παρῆν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ξίφος ἔχων καὶ θώρακα σιδηροῦν ὑπενδεδυμένος καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν Χάρωνος ὑπ' Ἀρχίου μετάπεμψιν ᾐτιᾶτο· τὴν μέλλησιν ἡμῶν καὶ παρώξυνεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας βαδίζειν· φθήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐμπεσόντας αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή, βέλτιον εἶναι προελθόντας ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους[4] ἀσυντάκτους καὶ σποράδας ἢ μέ-
F νειν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ καθείρξαντας αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ σμῆνος ἐξαιρεθησομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐνῆγε δὲ καὶ ὁ μάντις Θεόκριτος, ὡς τῶν ἱερῶν σωτηρίων καὶ καλῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐχεγγύων αὐτῷ γεγονότων.

[1] αὐτὸς Reiske : οὗτος.
[2] ἀδεὲς Basle edition of 1542, Ald.[2] : ἀδαὲς.
[3] Κηφισόδωρος ὁ Διογείτονος Wilamowitz and Sykutris : κηφισοδώρω (κηφισοδόρω B) διότονος.
[4] ἀλλήλους] Xylander deletes ; ἄλλους or αὐτούς Wyttenbach.

too it would be no honour to fall into the hands of the enemy. But, my son, be brave in this first trial before your age of the real business of fighting, and encounter peril at the side of many brave countrymen, with freedom and virtue as the prize ; much hope yet remains, and doubtless some god is watching over us as we struggle for the right."

28. Tears came to the eyes of many of us, Archedamus, at his words ; but he was dry-eyed himself and unmoved as he put his son into the charge of Pelopidas and passed through the door, taking every one of us by the hand and speaking words of encouragement. Even more admirable would you have found the boy's own radiance and fearlessness in face of danger ; like Neoptolemus,[a] he neither blenched nor was dismayed, but drew Pelopidas' sword and studied it with care.

Meanwhile Cephisodorus, son of Diogeiton, one of our party, arrived, armed with a sword and wearing an iron corslet under his cloak. When he heard that Charon had been summoned by Archias, he blamed our delay and spurred us on to proceed to the houses at once ; we should thus be upon them before they could attack, and failing that, it was better to get out into the open and engage with an enemy unorganized and scattered like ourselves than to remain where we were, confining ourselves in a small room for them to collect like a swarm of bees. Theocritus the diviner also urged us to act, as his sacrifice promised deliverance and triumph and assured our safety.

[a] The son of Achilles : *cf.* Homer, *Od.* xi. 528-530 :
"Him never have I seen
Blench from his ruddy hue, or from his cheek
Brush off the coward tears."

(595) 29. Ὁπλιζομένων δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ συντασσομένων αὖθις[1] ἀφικνεῖται Χάρων ἱλαρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ μειδιῶν, καὶ προσβλέπων εἰς ἡμᾶς θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς δεινοῦ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἀλλὰ τῆς πράξεως ὁδῷ βαδιζούσης. "ὁ γὰρ Ἀρχίας," ἔφη, "καὶ ὁ Φίλ-
596 ιππος, ὡς ἤκουσαν ἥκειν ἐμὲ κεκλημένον, ἤδη βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ὄντες καὶ συνεκλελυμένοι τοῖς σώμασι τὰς ψυχάς, μόλις διαναστάντες ἔξω προῆλθον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχίου 'φυγάδας, ὦ Χάρων, ἀκούομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει κρύπτεσθαι παρεισελθόντας,' οὐ μετρίως ἐγὼ διαταραχθείς, 'ποῦ δ',' εἶπον, 'εἶναι λέγονται καὶ τίνες;' 'ἀγνοοῦμεν,' ὁ Ἀρχίας εἶπε, 'καί σε τούτου χάριν ἐλθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν, εἰ δή τι τυγχάνοις σαφέστερον ἀκηκοώς.'

"Κἀγώ, μικρὸν ὥσπερ ἐκ πληγῆς[2] ἀναφέρων τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐλογιζόμην λόγον εἶναι τὴν μήνυσιν
B οὐ βέβαιον οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδότων ἐξενηνέχθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ ἂν[3] ἀγνοεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτούς, εἴ τις εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ἐμήνυεν, ἄλλως δὲ ὑποψίαν ἢ λόγον ἄσημον ἐν τῇ πόλει περιφερόμενον ἥκειν εἰς ἐκείνους. εἶπον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι 'ζῶντος μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδου πολλάκις ἐπίσταμαι φήμας τοιαύτας ῥυείσας διακενῆς καὶ λόγους ψευδεῖς ἐνοχλήσαντας ἡμῖν, νυνὶ δέ,' ἔφην, 'οὐδὲν ἀκήκοα τοιοῦτον, ὦ Ἀρχία· σκέψομαι δὲ τὸν λόγον, εἰ κελεύεις, κἂν πύθωμαί τι φροντίδος ἄξιον, ὑμᾶς οὐ λήσεται.'[4]

[1] αὖθις Turnebus: αὐτοῖς.
[2] ἐκ πληγῆς Turnebus: ἐκπλαγείς.

29. We were arming and preparing for combat when Charon returned with a cheerful and smiling face, and looking us straight in the eye told us to be of good courage; there was nothing to fear, and our plans were working smoothly.[a] "When Archias and Philippus," he said, "heard that I had answered the summons, they were already heavy with drink and their minds, like their bodies, had lost their vigour; it was all they could do to get up and come out to the door. 'We hear, Charon,' said Archias, 'that exiles have slipped into the city and are lying concealed.' At this I felt no ordinary alarm and asked: 'Where are they reported to be, and who are they?' 'We do not know,' he replied; 'that is why we sent for you, to see if you had heard any more definite news.'

"Recovering my wits somewhat as from a blow, I reflected that the report was mere hearsay; that our plot had not been denounced by anyone privy to it (for if someone knowing the true state of affairs had betrayed us, they would not be ignorant of the house); and that a mere suspicion or vague report circulating in the city had reached them. And so I replied: 'When Androcleidas[b] was alive I understand that spates of such idle rumours and false reports often gave us trouble, but at present,' I said, 'I have heard nothing of the sort, Archias; I shall however investigate the story, if you so direct, and if I hear of anything alarming it will be brought to your attention.'

[a] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. x. 1-5 (282 F—283 A).

[b] A Theban exile assassinated at Athens at Leontiades' command: *cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. vi. 3 (280 E).

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[3] *ἂν* added by Wyttenbach.

[4] *ὑμᾶς οὐ λήσεται* Wilamowitz: *οὐ λήσεται ὑμᾶς*.

(596) " 'Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,' ὁ Φυλλίδας εἶπε· 'μηδέν, ὦ Χάρων, ἀδιερεύνητον μηδὲ ἄπυστον ὑπὲρ τούτων C ἀπολίπῃς· τί γὰρ κωλύει μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν ἀλλὰ πάντα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν; καλὸν γὰρ[1] ἡ πρόνοια καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλές.' ἅμα δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ὑπολαβὼν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ πίνοντες τυγχάνουσιν.

" 'Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέλλωμεν, ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "προσευξάμενοι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξίωμεν." ταῦτα τοῦ Χάρωνος εἰπόντος, εὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ παρεκαλοῦμεν ἀλλήλους.

30. Ὥρα μὲν οὖν ἦν καθ' ἣν ἄνθρωποι[2] μάλιστα περὶ δεῖπνόν εἰσι, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα μᾶλλον ἐπιτεῖνον ἤδη νιφετὸν ὑπεκίνει ψεκάδι λεπτῇ μεμιγμένον, ὥστε πολλὴν ἐρημίαν εἶναι διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν διεξιοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην καὶ τὸν Ὑπάτην[3] ταχθέντες ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων οἰκοῦντας[4] ἐν ἱματίοις ἐξῄεσαν ἔχοντες οὐδὲν ἕτερον τῶν D ὅπλων ἢ μάχαιραν ἕκαστος (ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦν καὶ Πελοπίδας καὶ Δαμοκλείδας καὶ Κηφισόδωρος), Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν μέλλοντες, ἡμιθωράκια ἐνδεδυμένοι καὶ στεφάνους δασεῖς ἔχοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐλάτης οἱ δὲ πεύκης, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ χιτώνια τῶν γυναικείων[5] ἀμπεχόμενοι, μεθύοντας ἀπομιμούμενοι κώμῳ χρωμένους μετὰ γυναικῶν.

Ἡ[6] δὲ χείρων,[7] ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε, τύχη καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων μαλακίας καὶ ἀγνοίας ταῖς ἡμετέραις

[1] γὰρ EB[1mg]: δὲ B.
[2] ἄνθρωποι] ἅνθρωποι Sieveking.
[3] Ὑπάτην Xylander (*cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xi. 1, 283 c): ὑπάττην.

" 'By all means do so, Charon,' said Phyllidas; 'omit no search or inquiry in this matter; for what is to keep us from making light of nothing, but being everywhere cautious and vigilant? Forethought and circumspection are an excellent thing.' With this he took Archias in hand and led him back to the dining hall where they are now carousing.

"Then let us not delay, gentlemen," he said; "but address our prayers to the gods and go forth." When Charon had thus spoken we began praying to the gods and cheering one another on.

30. It was the hour when people are mostly at dinner; and the wind, growing stronger, had begun to bring on a fall of snow mixed with a thin drizzle, so that we found very few people abroad as we passed through the streets. The party appointed to attack Leontiades and Hypates, who lived near one another, went out in their mantles, taking none of their weapons but a knife each; among them were Pelopidas, Damocleidas, and Cephisodorus. Charon and Melon and their party, who were to set upon Archias, went out wearing the front plates of their corslets and crowned with bushy chaplets, some of silver fir and some of pine; a few were dressed in women's clothing. Thus the party represented a band of tipsy revellers in the company of women.[a]

Our worse fortune, Archedamus, which would have made all the indolence and blindness of the enemy

[a] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xi. 1-2 (283 C-D).

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[4] οἰκοῦντας Xylander (*cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xi. 1, 283 C): οἰκοῦντες.

[5] γυναικείων van Herwerden: γυναικῶν.

[6] ἡ Leonicus: ὁ E; ὃ B.

[7] χείρων] χεῖρον B.

(596) ἐπανισοῦσα τόλμαις καὶ παρασκευαῖς καὶ καθάπερ δρᾶμα τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡμῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διαποικίλλουσα
E κινδυνώδεσιν ἐπεισοδίοις εἰς αὐτὸ συνέδραμε τὸ ἔργον, ὀξὺν ἐπιφέρουσα καὶ δεινὸν ἀνελπίστου περιπετείας ἀγῶνα. τοῦ γὰρ Χάρωνος ὡς ἐνέπεσε τοῖς[1] περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον ἀναχωρήσαντος οἴκαδε καὶ διασκευάζοντος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἧκεν ἐνθένδε παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴ παρ' Ἀρχίου τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς Ἀρχίαν ἐκεῖνον, ὄντα φίλον αὐτῷ καὶ ξένον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξαγγέλλουσα τὴν
F κάθοδον καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν φυγάδων καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν εἰς ἣν παρεληλύθεισαν καὶ τοὺς συμπράττοντας αὐτοῖς. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῇ μέθῃ κατακεκλασμένος[2] ὁ Ἀρχίας κἂν[3] τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνεπτοημένος ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τοῦ δὲ γραμματοφόρου φήσαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν[4] σπουδαίων αὐτῷ γεγράφθαι, "τὰ σπουδαῖα τοίνυν εἰς αὔριον," ἔφη. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπέθηκεν ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, αἰτήσας δὲ ποτήριον ἐκέλευσεν ἐγχεῖν καὶ τὸν Φυλλίδαν ἐξέπεμπε συνεχῶς ἐπὶ θύρας σκεψόμενον εἰ τὰ γύναια πρόσεισι.

31. Τοιαύτης δὲ τὸν πότον ἐλπίδος διαπαιδαγωγησάσης προσμίξαντες ἡμεῖς καὶ διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν εὐθὺς ὠσάμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα μικρὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔστημεν ἐφορῶντες τῶν κατακειμένων ἕκα-
597 στον. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν στεφάνων καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ὄψις παραλογιζομένη τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἡμῶν σιγὴν

[1] ἐνέπεσε τοῖς] ἀνέπεισε τοὺς Reiske : ἐνέτυχε τοῖς Emperius ; ἐνεγέλασε τοῖς ? Post.

a match for all our daring and preparation, and which had from the outset been enlivening the course of our enterprise, like the action of a play, with perilous incidents, now joined issue with us in the very moment of execution, involving us in a sudden and terrible ordeal that threatened unlooked-for disaster to our hopes. When Charon, on returning home from his encounter with Archias and Philippus, was disposing us for the attack, a letter came from Archias the hierophant here at Athens to the Archias at Thebes, his friend it appears and host, revealing the exiles' return, their plot, the house they had entered, and their confederates.[a] Archias, now quite overcome with wine and all agog, too, with his expectation of the women, took the letter in his hand, but when the messenger said that it concerned important business, remarked, " If business is important it can wait till tomorrow," [b] and slipped it under his cushion. Calling for a beaker he ordered it filled and every moment kept sending Phyllidas to the street to see if the women were coming.

31. These were the hopes that had beguiled them over the wine when we came up and, forcing a way at once through the servants to the banqueting hall, stood for a moment at the door, looking over each of the company reclining there. The sight of our chaplets and dress deceived them about our presence in

[a] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. x. 6-10 (283 B-C); Nepos, *Pelopidas*, chap. iii; *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 404.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 619 D-E.

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[2] *κατακεκλασμένος*] *κατακεκλυσμένος* Cobet.
[3] *κἀν*] *καὶ* Turnebus; *κἄτι*? Post.
[4] *τῶν*] *τινων* van Herwerden (*cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. x. 8, 283 c): Cobet deletes.

(597) *ἐποίησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρῶτος ὁ Μέλων ὥρμησε διὰ μέσου τὴν χεῖρα τῇ λαβῇ τοῦ ξίφους ἐπιβεβληκώς, Καβίριχος*[1] *ὁ κυαμευτὸς*[2] *ἄρχων, τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτὸν παραπορευόμενον ἀντισπάσας, ἀνεβόησεν, "οὐ Μέλων οὗτος, ὦ Φυλλίδα;" τούτου μὲν οὖν ἐξέκρουσε τὴν ἐπιβολὴν*[3] *ἅμα τὸ ξίφος ἀνέλκων, διανιστάμενον δὲ χαλεπῶς τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐπιδραμὼν οὐκ ἀνῆκε παίων ἕως ἀπέκτεινε.*

Τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον ἔτρωσε μὲν Χάρων παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον, ἀμυνόμενον δὲ τοῖς παρακειμένοις ἐκπώ-
B *μασιν ὁ Λυσίθεος ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης χαμαὶ καταβαλὼν ἀνεῖλε.*

Τὸν δὲ Καβίριχον ἡμεῖς κατεπραΰνομεν ἀξιοῦντες μὴ τοῖς τυράννοις βοηθεῖν ἀλλὰ τὴν πατρίδα συνελευθεροῦν, ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καθωσιωμένον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς· ὡς δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν οἶνον οὐκ ἦν εὐπαρακόμιστος τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μετέωρος καὶ τεταραγμένος ἀνίστατο καὶ τὸ δόρυ προεβάλλετο κατ' αἰχμὴν ὅπερ ἐξ ἔθους ἀεὶ φοροῦσιν οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἄρχοντες, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκ μέσου διαλαβὼν τὸ δόρυ καὶ μετεωρίσας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐβόων ἀφεῖναι καὶ σῴζειν ἑαυτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, πεπλήξεσθαι· Θεόπομπος[4] *δὲ παραστὰς ἐκδεξιῶν*[5]
C *καὶ τῷ ξίφει πατάξας αὐτόν, "ἐνταῦθα," ἔφη, "κεῖσο μετὰ τούτων οὓς ἐκολάκευες· μὴ γὰρ ἐν ἐλευθέραις στεφανώσαιο ταῖς Θήβαις μηδὲ θύσειας*

[1] *Καβίριχος*] *Καβείριχος* Cobet.
[2] *κυαμευτὸς* W. Dindorf : *κυάμιστος*.
[3] *ἐπιβολὴν* Reiske : *ἐπιβουλήν*.

the city and kept them quiet [a]; but when Melon, the first to make a move, set out through their midst, his hand on his sword hilt, Cabirichus, the magistrate appointed by lot, caught his arm as he passed and shouted: "Isn't this Melon, Phyllidas?" Melon, however, disengaged himself, drawing his sword as he did so, and rushing at Archias, who was having trouble getting to his feet, did not slacken his blows until he had killed him.

Philippus was wounded by Charon near the neck, and as he defended himself with the goblets set before him, Lysitheüs threw him from his couch to the ground and dispatched him.

We endeavoured to quiet Cabirichus, adjuring him not to lend aid to the tyrants but help us set his country free, as his person was sacred and consecrated to the gods in that country's behalf. But as he was not easily to be won over to the wiser course by an appeal to reason, the wine also having its effect, but was getting to his feet, excited and confused, and couching the spear our magistrates are accustomed to keep always with them, I seized it in the middle and raising it above my head shouted to him to let go and save himself, as he would otherwise be cut down; but Theopompus came up at his right and struck him with his sword, saying: "Lie there with these you toadied to: may you never wear the chaplet when Thebes is free and never sacrifice again

[a] In the *Life of Pelopidas* (chap. xi. 3, 283 D) the appearance of the supposed women is greeted with shouts and applause.

[4] Θεόπομπος Amyot, Ald.[2]: θέοπος.
[5] So EB; for the accent *cf.* Herodian, vol. i, p. 509. 22 (ed. Lentz).

(597) ἔτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφ' ὧν κατηράσω πολλὰ τῇ πατρίδι, πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων εὐχόμενος." πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ Καβιρίχου τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν δόρυ Θεόκριτος παρὼν ἀνήρπασεν ἐκ τοῦ φόνου, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων ὀλίγους τολμήσαντας ἀμύνασθαι διεφθείραμεν ἡμεῖς, τοὺς δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα κατεκλείσαμεν οὐ βουλόμενοι διαπεσόντας ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ
D πεπραγμένα πρὶν εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑτέρων[1] εἰ καλῶς κεχώρηκεν.

32. Ἐπράχθη δὲ κἀκεῖνα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ἔκοψαν οἱ περὶ Πελοπίδαν τοῦ Λεοντιάδου τὴν αὔλειον ἡσυχῇ προσελθόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὑπακούσαντα τῶν οἰκετῶν ἔφασαν ἥκειν Ἀθήνηθεν γράμματα τῷ Λεοντιάδῃ παρὰ Καλλιστράτου κομίζοντες. ὡς δὲ ἀπαγγείλας καὶ κελευσθεὶς ἀνοῖξαι τὸν μοχλὸν ἀφεῖλε καὶ μικρὸν ἐνέδωκε τὴν θύραν, ἐμπεσόντες ἀθρόοι καὶ ἀνατρέψαντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἵεντο δρόμῳ διὰ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξενεχθεὶς
E τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ καὶ[2] σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ὥρμησε πρὸς ἄμυναν, ἄδικος μὲν ἀνὴρ καὶ τυραννικός, εὔρωστος δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα ῥωμαλέος· οὐ μὴν ἔγνω γε τὸν λύχνον καταβαλεῖν καὶ διὰ σκότους συμμῖξαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐν φωτὶ καθορώμενος ὑπὸ τούτων ἅμα τῆς θύρας ἀνοιγομένης παίει τὸν Κηφισόδωρον εἰς τὸν λαγόνα καὶ δευτέρῳ τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ συμπεσών, μέγα βοῶν ἀνεκαλεῖτο τοὺς θεράποντας. ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σαμίδαν[3] ἀνεῖργον, οὐ παρακινδυνεύοντας εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν

[1] ἑτέρων] ἑταίρων Leonicus.
[2] καὶ] van Herwerden deletes.

to the gods before whom you have invoked so many curses on your country in your many prayers for her enemies." When Cabirichus had fallen, Theocritus (who was standing near) caught up the sacred spear from the blood, while we dispatched the few servants who had ventured to fight back and locked up the rest, who made no resistance, in the banqueting hall, as we did not wish them to slip away and report what had been done until we knew whether the other party had been successful.

32. That action too was carried out as I will describe. Pelopidas' party quietly went up to Leontiades' outer door and knocked, telling the slave who answered that they came from Athens with a letter for Leontiades from Callistratus.[a] The slave took the message and was ordered to open. When he had removed the bolt and partly opened the door, they all burst in together, bowled the fellow over, and dashed through the courtyard to the bedchamber. Leontiades guessed the truth at once, and drawing his dagger, prepared to defend himself; he was, it is true, an unjust and tyrannical man, yet firm of soul and stout of arm. He did not, however, determine to dash the lamp to the ground and close with his assailants in the dark, but was visible to them in the lamplight as he struck Cephisodorus in the side the instant the door opened and engaging with Pelopidas, who came next, called loudly for the servants. But these were held back by Samidas and the men with him, and did not risk coming to blows with opponents who were the most illustrious citizens

[a] Doubtless the well-known Athenian statesman. That he was no friend of Thebes can be gathered from *Mor.* 810 F.

[3] Σαμίδαν Reiske: σαμείδαν (σάμείδαν E).

(597) πολιτῶν καὶ κατ' ἀλκὴν διαφέρουσιν. ἀγὼν δὲ ἦν F τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ πρὸς τὸν Λεοντιάδην καὶ διαξιφισμὸς ἐν ταῖς θύραις τοῦ θαλάμου στεναῖς οὔσαις καὶ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου πεπτωκότος ἐν μέσαις αὐταῖς[1] καὶ θνῄσκοντος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους προσβοηθεῖν. τέλος δ' ὁ ἡμέτερος λαβὼν μὲν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐ μέγα τραῦμα, δοὺς δὲ πολλὰ καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Λεοντιάδην ἐπέσφαξε θερμῷ τῷ Κηφισοδώρῳ· καὶ γὰρ εἶδε πίπτοντα τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσπασάμενος ἅμα ἵλεως ἐξέπνευσε. γενόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑπάτην[2] τρέπονται καὶ τῶν θυρῶν ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθεισῶν φεύγοντα τὸν Ὑπάτην[2] ὑπὲρ τέγους τινὸς ἐς τοὺς γείτονας ἀποσφάττουσιν.

598 33. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠπείγοντο καὶ συμβάλλουσιν ἡμῖν ἔξωθεν παρὰ τὴν πολύστυλον. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ συλλαλήσαντες ἐχωροῦμεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ἐκκαλέσας δὲ τὸν[3] ἐπὶ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ὁ Φυλλίδας, "Ἀρχίας," ἔφη, "καὶ Φίλιππος κελεύουσί σε ταχέως ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀμφίθεον." ὁ δέ, ὁρῶν καὶ τῆς ὥρας τὴν ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ καθεστηκότα λαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Φυλλίδαν, ἀλλὰ θερμὸν ὄντα τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ μετέωρον, ὑπιδόμενος[4] τὸ πλάσμα,[5] "πότε," ἔλεγεν, "ὦ Φυλλίδα, B τηνικαῦτα μετεπέμψαντο δεσμώτην οἱ πολέμαρχοι; πότε δὲ διὰ σοῦ; τί δὲ κομίζεις παράσημον;" "ἰδού," ἔφη ὁ Φυλλίδας, "τὸ παράσημον"[6]· ἅμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ξυστὸν ἱππικὸν ἔχων διῆκε τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ κατέβαλε πονηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ᾧ καὶ μεθ'

of Thebes and excellent fighters. Pelopidas struggled and fenced with Leontiades in the doorway of the chamber; as the passage was narrow and Cephisodorus had fallen between the folding doors and lay there dying, the rest were kept from coming to his aid. Finally our champion, after receiving a slight wound in the head and dealing out many, struck Leontiades to the ground and killed him over the body of Cephisodorus, still warm with life, who saw his enemy fall, gave Pelopidas his hand, and when he had saluted the rest, serenely breathed his last. This done they turned their attention to Hypates, and gaining admittance by a similar stratagem, killed him as he fled over a roof-top to the neighbouring house.

33. From there they made haste to join us and met us outside the Porch of Many Columns. After exchanging greetings and talk we proceeded to the prison. Phyllidas called the gaoler out and said: "Archias and Philippus order you to bring Amphitheüs to them at once." The man, observing the unusual hour and that Phyllidas was not talking to him coolly, but was flushed with the combat and in a ferment, saw through the trick and asked: "When have the polemarchs ever sent for a prisoner at such an hour? And when through you? What token of authority do you bring?" "This is my authority," said Phyllidas, and, as he said it, ran him through the body with a cavalry lance he held, striking down a

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[1] *μέσαις αὐταῖς* Holwerda: *μέσοις αὐτοῖς*.

[2] *Ὑπάτην* Xylander: *ἱππάτην* E; *ὑπάττην* corrected from *ἱππάτην* B.

[3] *δὲ τὸν* Turnebus, to fill a lacuna of 8-7 letters.

[4] *ὑπιδόμενος* Bern.: *ὑπειδόμενος*.

[5] *πλάσμα* B: *πάλαισμα* E.

[6] *ἰδού* through *παράσημον* added by Pohlenz.

(598) ἡμέραν ἐπενέβησαν καὶ προσέπτυσαν οὐκ ὀλίγαι γυναῖκες.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς θύρας τῆς εἱρκτῆς κατασχίσαντες ἐκαλοῦμεν ὀνομαστὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Ἀμφίθεον, εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς ὃν ἕκαστος ἐπιτηδείως εἶχεν· οἱ δέ, τὴν φωνὴν γνωρίζοντες, ἀνεπήδων[1] ἐκ τῶν χαμευνῶν[2] ἄσμενοι, τὰς ἁλύσεις ἐφέλκοντες, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ δεδεμένοι τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντες ἐβόων δεόμενοι μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι. λυομένων
C δὲ τούτων ἤδη πολλοὶ προσεφέροντο τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκούντων, αἰσθανόμενοι τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ χαίροντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὡς ἑκάστη περὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἤκουσεν, οὐκ ἐμμένουσαι τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ἤθεσιν,[3] ἐξέτρεχον πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ διεπυνθάνοντο παρὰ τῶν ἀπαντώντων, αἱ δὲ ἀνευροῦσαι πατέρας ἢ ἄνδρας αὑτῶν ἠκολούθουν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐκώλυε· ῥοπὴ γὰρ ἦν μεγάλη πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλεος καὶ δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις σωφρόνων γυναικῶν.

34. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, πυθόμενος τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐγὼ καὶ τὸν Γοργίδαν
D ἤδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων συναθροίζεσθαι περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἐπορευόμην πρὸς αὐτούς. ἧκον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ συνέρρεον ἀεὶ πλείονες. ὡς δὲ ἀπήγγειλα καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτοῖς τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ παρεκάλουν βοηθεῖν ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἅμα πάντες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκήρυττον τοὺς πολίτας. τοῖς δὲ τότε ὄχλοις τῶν συνισταμένων ὅπλα παρεῖχον αἵ τε στοαί,[4]

[1] ἀνεπήδων Wyttenbach : ἀπεπήδων.
[2] χαμευνῶν Stephanus : χαμεύνων.
[3] ἤθεσιν] ἔθεσιν Wyttenbach.

vile fellow, on whom not a few women trod and spat the next day.

We then split down the gaol door and first called out the name of Amphitheüs and then those of the rest with whom we were severally connected. Recognizing our voices they leapt joyfully from their pallets, dragging their chains; and those whose feet were confined in the stocks stretched out their arms and cried out, begging not to be left behind. While these were released, not a few of the people who lived near by were already joining us, getting wind of what was afoot and elated with it. The women, as one after another heard news of someone close to her, ran out into the streets to meet one another, unmindful of our Boeotian manners, and made inquiries of the passers-by. Those who had found a father or husband followed along, no one stopping them; for all who met them were mightily swayed by their own pity and the tears and entreaties of decent women.

34. This was the situation when I heard that Epameinondas and Gorgidas were already assembling with their friends at the temple of Athena and went to find them. Many brave citizens had gathered there and more and more kept arriving.[a] When I had given them a full account of what had passed, urging them to go to the market place and reinforce us, all of them at once set to summoning the citizenry to rally to the cause of liberty. The crowds that then formed found weapons in the colonnades, which were

[a] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xii. 1-4 (284 A-C) for the remaining scenes of the night.

[4] αἵ τε στοαί Turnebus (from *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xii. 1, 284 A): αἵ θ' ἑστίαι.

(598) πλήρεις οὖσαι παντοδαπῶν λαφύρων, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκούντων ἐργαστήρια μαχαιροποιῶν. ἧκε δὲ καὶ Ἱπποσθενείδας μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκετῶν τοὺς ἐπιδεδημηκότας κατὰ τύχην πρὸς τὰ Ἡρά-
E κλεια σαλπιγκτὰς[1] παραλαμβάνων. εὐθέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐσήμαινον οἱ δὲ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους, πανταχόθεν ἐκταράττοντες τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ὡς πάντων ἀφεστώτων. οἱ μὲν οὖν λακωνίζοντες[2] ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἐπὶ[3] τὴν Καδμείαν ἔφευγον ἐπισπασάμενοι καὶ τοὺς κρείττους[4] λεγομένους, εἰωθότας δὲ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν κάτω[5] νυκτερεύειν. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, τούτων μὲν ἀτάκτως καὶ τεθορυβημένως ἐπιχεομένων, ἡμᾶς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφορῶντες, οὐδενὸς μέρους ἡσυχάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ψόφων καὶ θορύβων ἀναφερο-
F μένων, καταβαίνειν μὲν οὐ διενοοῦντο, καίπερ περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους[6] τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ἐκπεπληγμένοι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ἄλλως προυφασίζοντο Λυσανορίδαν περιμένειν,[7] παρέσεσθαι γὰρ ἔφη[8] τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης. διὸ καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὕστερον, ὡς πυνθανόμεθα, χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐζημίωσαν[9] τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ γέροντες, Ἡριππίδαν[10] δὲ καὶ Ἄρκεσον[11] ἀπέκτειναν εὐθὺς ἐν Κορίνθῳ λαβόντες. τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν ὑπόσπονδον παραδόντες ἡμῖν ἀπήλλαττον μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

[1] σαλπιγκτὰς] σαλπικτὰς B.

[2] οὖν λακωνίζοντες Reiske : καὶ καπνίζοντες.

[3] ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἐπὶ (ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Bern.) our supplement of a lacuna of 21-19 letters.

[4] κρείττους] ἐκκρίτους Wilamowitz ; κριτοὺς ?

[5] κάτω Turnebus : καὶ τῶ.

[6] πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους Wilamowitz (from *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xii. 4, 284 B ; *cf.* also 586 E, *supra*, and Diodorus, xv. 25. 3) : πεντακισχιλίους.

full of trophies of all kinds, and in the workshops of the cutlers who dwelt near by. Hippostheneidas too appeared with his friends and servants, bringing the trumpeters who happened to be in town for the festival of Heracles. They at once set to blowing their trumpets, some in the market place, others elsewhere, from all sides filling our opponents with alarm as if the whole city had risen. The partisans of Sparta fled from the town to the Cadmeia, drawing along with them the so-called "Incomparables," a body of men whose custom it was to bivouac nightly at the foot of the citadel. The garrison on the height, with this disordered and terrified rout pouring in, and with us visible to them down in the market place, no quarter remaining quiet, but noises and the sounds of tumult being borne up to them from all sides, were in no mood to descend into the town, although fifteen hundred strong, but were terror-struck and took refuge in the pretext that they were waiting for Lysanoridas, who had promised to return that day.[a] For this reason he was later sentenced by the Spartan Elders to a large fine; Herippidas and Arcesus were put to death by them the moment they were apprehended in Corinth.[b] They surrendered the Cadmeia to us under a truce and set about withdrawing with their forces.

[a] Lysanoridas had gone to Haliartus: *cf.* 578 A, *supra.*
[b] *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xiii. 3 (284 D).

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[7] *περιμένειν* Reiske: *παραμένειν.*
[8] *παρέσεσθαι γὰρ ἔφη* Post: *γὰρ* followed by a lacuna of 16 letters and *ἠ.*
[9] *πολλοῖς* (*μόνον* Manton) *ἐζημίωσαν* nos, to fill a lacuna of 17 letters in E: *-ν οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐζημίωσαν* B.
[10] *Ἡριππίδαν* Bern. (*cf.* textual note on 586 E, *supra*): *ἑρμιππίδαν.* [11] *ἄρκεσον* B[1ss]: *ἄρχεσον* E[c]B[1t]; *ἄρχε τὸν* E[ac].

ON EXILE
(DE EXILIO)

INTRODUCTION

The essay is evidently addressed to an exile from Sardis (*cf.* 600 A, 601 B), probably at the moment in Athens (*cf.* 604 C, 607 E), who has been plausibly identified with the Menemachus of Sardis for whom Plutarch wrote the essay *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae.*[a] Plutarch does not state the terms of exile, except to say that his friend was not banished to one specified area, but could travel freely so long as he did not return home (*cf.* 604 B).[b]

There is no evidence, internal or external, which makes possible a precise dating of the essay. The reference to Sunium, Taenarus, and the Ceraunian mountains as the limits of continental Greece (601 A) may mean that the essay was written at a time when Epeirus, at least in part, was still included in the province of Achaia ; but this gives little help, since it is not known when Epeirus was established as a

[a] *Cf.* G. Siefert, " De Aliquot Plutarchi Scriptorum Moralium Compositione atque Indole," in *Commentationes Philol. Jenenses*, vol. vi (1896), pp. 74-89 ; Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, lxii (1927), p. 296.

[b] It is evident that one of the milder forms of *relegatio* was used here : *cf.* Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, p. 967. Plutarch's suggestion (602 B-C) that his friend should choose a new city indicates that the exile was *in perpetuum.*

separate province.[a] Again, as the very similar words in the *Life of Phocion* (754 F) show, Plutarch may here be taking over an expression from some earlier author. Nor does the remark in 605 B help to fix the date of the work. Throughout the period of Plutarch's literary activity there were many prominent figures —such men as Martial, Quintilian, Juvenal, Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus, Musonius, and Favorinus— who lived for many years away from their native lands. Seneca says that in his time a large part of the persons living in any given city came from elsewhere.[b]

The identification of Plutarch's exiled friend with Menemachus of Sardis has some bearing on the date of the essay. If this identification is correct, it was written some time after the *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae*, which refers to Domitian in a way that suggests that his reign had recently ended : ἔναγχος ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ (815 D). Hence the essay must have been written after the death of Domitian in A.D. 96.

Plutarch has employed in this essay many of the conventional topics which occur also in the consolations on exile written by Teles, Musonius, Seneca, and others.[c] A. Giesecke, who made a study of

[a] J. A. O. Larsen, *Roman Greece* (*An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. iv, Baltimore, 1938), p. 438, note, gives the evidence for the reduction in size of Achaia under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.

[b] Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 6. 4-5 ; *cf.* Favorinus, περὶ φυγῆς col. viii. 41 (G. Vitelli and M. Norsa, *Il Papiro Vaticano Greco* 11. 1, *Studi e Testi*, 53, Vatican City, 1931).

[c] The use of commonplaces in moral essays was a recognized procedure among ancient philosophers, as Cicero has indicated in the *Tusc. Disput.* iii. 34 (81) : "Sunt enim certa quae de paupertate, certa quae de vita inhonorata et ingloria dici soleant ; separatim certae scholae sunt de exilio,

ancient writings on exile,[a] found that the similarities between Plutarch, Musonius, and Teles are especially conspicuous. He concluded that Bion and Ariston of Chios must have provided a common source for these writers.[b] Subsequently, B. Häsler made a comparative study of consolatory topics in connexion with the recently discovered work of Favorinus on exile.[c]

In the initial exhortation to a rational attitude toward exile, Plutarch asserts that the evil of exile lies in opinion only (599 D, 600 D),[d] but that, even assuming that exile itself is an evil, we can abate it by diluting it with the good still remaining to us, as wealth (601 F, 602 A, 604 B),[e] friends, and leisure.

The second main division of the *De Exilio* proceeds from the statement that " no native land is such by nature " (600 E). Plutarch then develops the common theme that the whole universe is our native land. The consequence that he draws from this, however, is not that the particular place where he happens to be is a matter of no importance to a wise man,[f] but rather that the exile would do well to choose for

de interitu patriae, de servitute, de debilitate, de caecitate, de omni casu in quo nomen poni solet calamitatis. Haec Graeci in singulas scholas et in singulos libros dispertiunt ; . . ."

[a] A. Giesecke, *De Philos. Vet. quae ad Exil. Spectant Sententiis* (Leipzig, 1891).

[b] *Op. cit.* p. 94.

[c] B. Häsler, *Favorin über die Verbannung* (Bottrop i. W., 1935).

[d] *Cf.* Seneca's similar statement about grief in *Ad Marc.* 19. 1.

[e] Contrast the attack on wealth as a good in Favorinus, col. xvi. 31, and Seneca's argument that poverty is not an evil in *Ad Helv.* 10.

[f] *Cf.* Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 8. 6 : " Quantum refert mea quid calcem ? "

himself the best spot he can find, and in time it will become his native land (602 c).

In the following discussion of places of exile Plutarch praises at some length the islands of the Aegean. That he is still thinking primarily of external goods is abundantly clear from his portrayal of life on an island (603 E). The advantages of exile are further supported by the example of the many great men who voluntarily departed from home (604 D ff.).[a]

The fourth major division of Plutarch's essay is a refutation of certain charges commonly brought against exile. This division contains many topics in common with the Cynic-Stoic consolations. Plutarch first answers the charges Euripides brings against exile in the *Phoenissae*, a work which was also attacked by Favorinus and Musonius.[b] He also quotes apophthegms of the two famous Cynics, Diogenes and Antisthenes (606 B, 607 B).[c] Toward the end of this section he mentions several mythological instances of exile, and an allusion to the exile of Apollo provides a transition to the Empedoclean teaching that human life on earth is an exile from heaven (607 c). The conclusion of the essay is Platonic in character, containing allusions to the *Phaedrus*, the *Timaeus*, and the *Phaedo* (607 E-F).

Thus the *De Exilio* does not have the severity of the Cynic doctrine, but rather combines in Plutarch's typical manner acceptance of the good things of this life with expectation of a better life to come. Plutarch uses the commonplaces of popular philosophy to

[a] This is also a topic in Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 6. 2 ff., and Favorinus, col. viii. 41.

[b] *Cf.* Musonius, p. 48. 6 ff. (ed. Hense); and Favorinus, col. xv. 35.

[c] See the notes on 606 A ff.

develop his theme, but imposes on them his own distinctive outlook on life.

One translation can be added to those already listed.[a] The essay is No. 101 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text rests on vwβ^2 α. Occasionally AE$\gamma\pi$n are cited.

[a] *Plutarchus de exilio*, Angelo Barbato interprete. Nuremberg, 1517.

(599) ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ

1. *Τῶν λόγων ἀρίστους καὶ βεβαιοτάτους, ὥσπερ
τῶν φίλων, φασὶν εἶναι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς
παρόντας ὠφελίμως καὶ βοηθοῦντας· ἐπεὶ πάρεισί*
B *γε πολλοὶ καὶ προσδιαλέγονται τοῖς ἐπταικόσιν,
ἀλλὰ ἀχρήστως, μᾶλλον δὲ βλαβερῶς, καθάπερ
ἀκόλυμβοι πνιγομένοις ἐπιχειροῦντες βοηθεῖν, περι-
πλεκόμενοι καὶ συγκαταδύοντες*[1]*· δεῖ δὲ τὸν παρὰ
τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν βοηθούντων λόγον παρηγορίαν
εἶναι, μὴ συνηγορίαν, τοῦ λυποῦντος· οὐ γὰρ συν-
δακρυόντων καὶ συνεπιθρηνούντων ὥσπερ χορῶν
τραγικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις χρείαν ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ
παρρησιαζομένων καὶ διδασκόντων ὅτι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι
καὶ τὸ*[2] *ταπεινοῦν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ παντὶ μὲν ἄχρηστόν*
C *ἐστι καὶ γινόμενον κενῶς καὶ ἀνοήτως, ὅπου δ᾽
αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δίδωσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ψηλαφη-
θέντα καὶ ἀνακαλυφθέντα, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰπεῖν*

οὐδὲν πέπονθας δεινόν, ἂν μὴ προσποιῇ,

*κομιδῇ γελοῖόν ἐστι μὴ τῆς σαρκὸς πυνθάνεσθαι
τί πέπονθε, μηδὲ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰ*[3] *διὰ τὸ σύμπτωμα*

[1] *συγκαταδύοντες* v : *συγκαταδύνοντες*.
[2] *τὸ*] omitted by vwβ².
[3] *εἰ* a² : *εἰ δὲ*.

ON EXILE

1. As it is with our friends, so it is with the words we speak: best and most to be depended upon, we are told, are those which appear in adversity to some purpose and give help; for many people visit the unfortunate and talk to them, but their efforts do no good, or rather do harm. These people are like men unable to swim who try to rescue the drowning—they hug them close and help to drag them under. The language addressed to us by friends and real helpers should mitigate, not vindicate, what distresses us [a]; it is not partners in tears and lamentation, like tragic choruses, that we need in unwished-for circumstances, but men who speak frankly and instruct us that grief and self-abasement are everywhere futile, that to indulge in them is unwarranted and unwise, and that where the facts themselves, when reason has groped them out and brought them to light, enable a man to say to himself

> You've not been hurt, unless you so pretend, [b]

it is utterly absurd not to ask the body what it has suffered, or the soul whether it is the worse for this

[a] The distress is due to unfounded opinion: *cf.* 600 D-E, *infra.*

[b] From the *Epitrepontes* of Menander: frag. 9 (vol. i, p. 44 Körte); *cf. Mor.* 475 B.

(599) τοῦτο[1] χείρων γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔξωθεν συναχθομένοις καὶ συναγανακτοῦσι διδασκάλοις χρῆσθαι τῆς λύπης.

2. Ὅθεν αὐτοὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς γινόμενοι τῶν συμπτωμάτων, ὥσπερ φορτίων, ἑκάστου τὸν σταθμὸν ἐξετάζωμεν.[2] τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα πιέζεται τῷ τοῦ
D βαρύνοντος ἄχθει, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τοῖς πράγμασι πολλάκις τὸ βάρος ἐξ αὑτῆς προστίθησιν. ὁ λίθος φύσει σκληρός, ὁ κρύσταλλος φύσει ψυχρός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔξωθεν εἰκῇ ταύτας τὰς ἀντιτυπίας ἐπιφέροντες[3] καὶ τὰς πήξεις· φυγὰς δὲ καὶ ἀδοξίας καὶ τιμῶν ἀποβολάς, ὥσπερ αὖ τἀναντία,[4] στεφάνους καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ προεδρίας, οὐ τὴν αὑτῶν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κρίσιν μέτρον ἔχοντα τοῦ λυπεῖν καὶ εὐφραίνειν, ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα καὶ ῥᾴδια φέρειν ποιεῖ καὶ τοὐναντίον. ἔξεστι δὲ ἀκούειν τοῦ μὲν Πολυνείκους ἀποκρινομένου πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τοῦτο

E — τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἦ κακὸν μέγα;
— μέγιστον· ἔργῳ δ' ἐστὶ μεῖζον ἢ λόγῳ·

τοῦ δὲ Ἀλκμᾶνος, ὡς ὁ γράψας τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον

mischance,[a] but instead to seek instruction in grief from those who come from the outside world to join their vexation and resentment to our own.[b]

2. Let us, therefore, withdraw from the world and taking our calamities one by one examine their weight, as if they were so many loads; for while the burden felt by the body is the actual weight of the thing that presses upon it, the soul often adds the heaviness to circumstances from itself. It is by nature that stone is hard, it is by nature that ice is cold; it is not from outside themselves, fortuitously, that they convey the sensation of rigidity and freezing; but banishment, loss of fame, and loss of honours, like their opposites, crowns, public office, and front-seat privileges, whose measure of causing sorrow and joy is not their own nature, but our judgement, every one makes light or heavy for himself, and easy to bear or the reverse.[c] We can listen on the one hand to Polyneices, when, on being asked

> What is the loss of country? A great ill?

he replies

> The greatest; and no words can do it justice [d];

on the other hand, we can hear what Alcman has to say, as the author of the little epigram has repre-

[a] *Cf.* Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 23. 3.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 610 B-C.
[c] *Cf. Mor.* 475 B and Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 23. 4.
[d] Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 388 f.; quoted 605 F, *infra.*

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[1] τοῦτο] τούτων vw.
[2] σταθμὸν ἐξετάζωμεν Wyttenbach: θυμὸν ἐξετάζομεν.
[3] ἐπιφέροντες vw^{c} a^{1}: φέροντες w^{ac} (ἐπιφέρομεν a^{2ss}).
[4] τἀναντία] τοὐναντίον vw.

(599) πεποίηκε

Σάρδιες, ἀρχαῖος[1] πατέρων νομός, εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν
ἐτρεφόμαν,[2] κέρνας[3] ἦ τις ἂν ἢ[4] μακέλας[5]
χρυσοφόρος, ῥήσσων λάλα[6] τύμπανα· νῦν δέ μοι
'Αλκμάν
οὔνομα, καὶ Σπάρτας εἰμὶ πολυτρίποδος,[7]
καὶ Μούσας ἐδάην Ἑλληνίδας,[8] αἵ με τυράννων
θῆκαν Δασκύλεω κρείσσονα[9] καὶ Γύγεω.

F τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ μὲν εὔχρηστον ἡ δόξα, καθάπερ νόμισμα δόκιμον, τῷ δὲ δύσχρηστον καὶ βλαβερὸν ἐποίησεν.

3. Ἔστω δὲ δεινόν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι καὶ ᾄδουσιν, ἡ φυγή. καὶ γὰρ τῶν βρωμάτων πικρὰ πολλὰ καὶ δριμέα καὶ δάκνοντα τὴν αἴσθησίν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μιγνύντες αὐτοῖς ἔνια τῶν γλυκέων καὶ προσηνῶν τὴν ἀηδίαν ἀφαιροῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ χρώματα λυπηρὰ τῇ ὄψει, πρὸς ἃ γίνεται τὸ συγχεῖσθαι καὶ μαραυγεῖν διὰ σκληρότητα καὶ βίαν
600 ἀνίατον.[10] εἰ τοίνυν ἴαμα τῆς δυσχρηστίας ἐκείνης ἐμίξαμεν τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῖς ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπεστρέψαμεν[11] ἐπί τι τῶν χλοερῶν καὶ προσηνῶν, τοῦτο ἔξεστι ποιεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰ συμπτώματα, κεραννύντας αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν νυνί σοι παρόντων· εὐπορίαν, φίλους, ἀπραγμοσύ-

[1] ἀρχαῖος] ἀρχαῖαι Anth.
[2] ἐτρεφόμαν Anth. : ἐτρεφόμην.
[3] κέρνας Anth. : κέλσας.
[4] ἦν (and so π[2]; ἦ Reiske) τις ἂν ἢ Salmasius : ἦ τις ἀνὴρ (ἤ στισαν ἢ Anth.). [5] μακέλας] βακέλας Ursinus.
[6] λάλα Meineke : καλά. [7] πολυτρίποδος Anth. : πολίτης.
[8] Ἑλληνίδας] Ἑλικωνίδας Anth.
[9] κρείσσονα] μείζονα Anth.

sented him :

Sardis, of old the sojourn of my sires,
Had I been bred in thee, then had I been
Some priest or temple eunuch, tricked in gold,
Smiting the voluble timbrels ; now instead
My name is Alcman,[a] and my country Sparta,
City of many tripods ; I have been taught
The Hellenic Muses, who have raised me high
Above the despots Dascyles and Gyges.[b]

Thus opinion had made the same event useful for the one, as it makes a coin pass current,[c] but useless and harmful to the other.

3. Assume that exile is a calamity, as the multitude declare in speech and song. So too, many foods are bitter and pungent and irritate the taste ; but by combining with them certain sweet and pleasant ingredients we get rid of the disagreeable savour. There are colours too, painful to the sight, and when confronted with them our vision is blurred and dazzled by their harshness and unrelieved intensity.[d] Now if we have found that we could remedy this inconvenience by mingling shadow with them or turning our eyes aside and resting them upon something of a greenish and pleasant shade,[e] the same can be done with misfortunes as well : they can be blended[f] with whatever is useful and comforting in your present circumstances : wealth, friends, freedom

[a] The Greek name Alcman is supposed to have replaced the poet's original Lydian name.

[b] Alexander Aetolus, frag. 9 in *Collectanea Alexandrina* (ed. J. U. Powell).

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 406 B.

[d] A favourite analogy with Plutarch : *cf. Mor.* 469 A with the note in the L.C.L.

[e] *Cf. Mor.* 854 B-C.

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 610 E.

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10 ἀνίατον] ἄκρατον Wilamowitz.

11 ἀπεστρέψαμεν] ἀπεστράψαμεν a.

(600) νην, τὸ μηθὲν ἐνδεῖν τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὸν βίον. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι πολλοὺς εἶναι Σαρδιανῶν οἳ μὴ τὰ σὰ πράγματα, καὶ μετὰ φυγῆς, μᾶλλον ἐθελήσουσιν αὑτοῖς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν ἐπὶ ξένης οὕτω διάγοντες,[1] ἤ,[2] καθάπερ οἱ κοχλίαι, τοῖς
B ὀστράκοις συμφυεῖς ὄντες, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες, τῶν[3] οἴκοι μετέχειν ἀλύπως. (4.) ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ τις ἠτυχηκότα φίλον θαρρεῖν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἀμύνεσθαι[4] παρακαλῶν, ἐρομένου, "τίνα τρόπον;" ἀποκρίνεται, "φιλοσόφως," οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὴν ἀμυνώμεθα φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀξίως·

τὸν Δία δὲ πῶς ὕοντα; τὸν βορέαν δὲ πῶς;

πῦρ ζητοῦμεν, βαλανεῖον, ἱμάτιον, στέγην· καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὑόμενοι καθήμεθα οὐδὲ κλαίομεν. καὶ σοὶ τοίνυν παρ' ὁντιναοῦν ἔστι τὸ κατεψυγμένον τοῦτο τοῦ βίου μέρος ἀναζωπυρεῖν καὶ ἀναθάλπειν, ἑτέρων βοηθημάτων μὴ δεόμενον, ἀλλὰ χρώμενον
C εὐλογίστως τοῖς παροῦσιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰατρικαὶ σικύαι τὸ φαυλότατον ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἀναλαμβάνουσαι κουφίζουσι καὶ σῴζουσι τὸ λοιπόν, οἱ δὲ φιλόλυποι καὶ φιλαίτιοι τῷ τὰ χείριστα τῶν ἰδίων συνάγειν ἀεὶ καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ προστετηκέναι τοῖς ἀνιαροῖς ἄχρηστα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ποιοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καιρῷ βοηθεῖν πέφυκε. τοὺς[5]

[1] διάγοντες W a^2 : διάγοντα vβ^{2ss} a^1.
[2] ἢ W^2 a : οἳ v ; ἢ οἳ W.
[3] τῶν W^{2ss} a : τῷ v ; τοῖς W$^1\beta^{2ss}$.
[4] ἀμύνεσθαι] ἀμύνασθαι vW.
[5] τοὺς Donatus Polus : τό.

from politics, and lack of none of the necessities of life.[a] For I fancy that there are not many Sardians who would not prefer your circumstances,[b] even with exile thrown in, and be content to live on such terms in a foreign land, rather than, like snails, which are of a piece with their shells but enjoy no other blessing, maintain a painless connexion with their homes.[c] (4.) As, then, in the comedy a character who is urging an unfortunate friend to take heart and make a stand against Fortune, when asked, " How ? " replies, " like a philosopher," so let us too make a stand against her by playing the philosopher worthily. But how are we to face

Zeus when he pours down rain ? And how the North Wind ? [d]

Why, we look for a fire, a bath-house, a cloak, a roof : in a rainstorm we do not sit idle or lament. You too, then, are as able as any man to revive this chilled portion of your life and restore it to warmth : you need no further resources ; it is enough to use wisely those you have. For whereas the cupping-glasses [e] of physicians, by drawing out of the body its most worthless elements, relieve and preserve the rest, lovers of grief and fault-finding, by constantly collecting and counting up what is worst in their lot, and by getting absorbed in their troubles, make even the most useful things in it useless for themselves at the moment when these would naturally afford the greatest help. For it is not Zeus, dear friend,

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 469 A.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 611 B and Boëthius, *Philos. Cons.* ii. 4. 17.
[c] *Cf. Mor.* 611 B.
[d] Kock, *C.A.F.* iii, Adespota, 118.
[e] For the analogy of the cupping-glass *cf. Mor.* 469 B and 518 B.

(600) D γὰρ "δοιοὺς πίθους," ὦ φίλε, οὓς Ὅμηρος ἔφη "κηρῶν ἐμπλείους" ἐν οὐρανῷ κεῖσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων, οὐχ ὁ Ζεὺς ταμιεύων κάθηται καὶ μεθιεὶς τοῖς μὲν ἤπια καὶ μεμιγμένα, τοῖς δὲ ἄκρατα ῥεύματα τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν νοῦν ἔχοντες, ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπαρυτόμενοι, τὸν βίον ποιοῦσιν ἡδίω καὶ ποτιμώτερον, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς, ὥσπερ ἠθμοῖς, ἐμμένει καὶ προσίσχεται τὰ φαυλότατα, τῶν βελτιόνων ὑπεκρεόντων.

5. Διὸ κἂν ἀληθῶς κακῷ τινι καὶ λυπηρῷ περιπέσωμεν, ἐπάγεσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἱλαρὸν καὶ τὸ εὔθυμον ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ ὑπολειπομένων ἀγαθῶν, τῷ οἰκείῳ τὸ ἀλλότριον ἐκλεαίνοντας· ὧν δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ἔχει κακόν, ἀλλὰ ὅλον καὶ πᾶν τὸ E λυποῦν ἐκ κενῆς δόξης ἀναπέπλασται, ταῦτα δεῖ, καθάπερ τοῖς δεδοικόσι τὰ προσωπεῖα παιδίοις ἐγγὺς καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιοῦντες καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες ἐθίζομεν καταφρονεῖν, οὕτως ἐγγὺς ἁπτομένους καὶ συνερείδοντας τὸν λογισμόν, τὸ σαθρὸν καὶ τὸ κενὸν καὶ τετραγῳδημένον ἀποκαλύπτειν.

Οἷόν ἐστιν ἡ νῦν σοὶ παροῦσα μετάστασις[1] ἐκ τῆς νομιζομένης πατρίδος. φύσει γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πατρίς, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ οἶκος οὐδὲ ἀγρὸς οὐδὲ χαλκεῖον, ὡς Ἀρίστων ἔλεγεν, οὐδὲ ἰατρεῖον· ἀλλὰ γίνεται, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀνομάζεται καὶ καλεῖται, τού-

[1] μετάστασις Xylander : κατάστασις.

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[a] *Il.* xxiv. 527-532 as quoted and paraphrased by Plato, *Republic*, 379 D; the version of the MSS. of Homer is different. The Platonic version is quoted in *Mor.* 24 B, 369 C and 473 B (where see the notes in the L.C.L.); the Homeric version is

that sits by the "two urns" of Homer,[a] which stand in heaven "brimful," the one of good, the other of evil "dooms," dispensing them, releasing to some a gentle and well-tempered flow, to others, an undiluted stream of misery ; rather, it is ourselves : the wise among us, by drawing from the good and pouring it upon the bad, make their lives more pleasant and potable [b] ; whereas in the multitude, as in filters, the worst remains and adheres as the better flows away and vanishes.

5. If, therefore, we suffer some real and truly painful calamity, we must summon cheerfulness and peace of spirit by drawing upon the store of good still left us, using our own resources to smooth out the roughness of what comes from outside ourselves ; but with things which have no evil in their nature, and whose painfulness is wholly and entirely a figment of unfounded opinion, we must act as we do with little children who are frightened by masks [c] : by bringing the masks close and putting them into their hands and turning them about we accustom the child to make light of them ; so, by coming to close quarters with these things and applying to them the firm pressure of reason, we must expose their unsoundness, their hollowness, and their theatrical imposture.

Such is your present removal from what you take to be your native land. For by nature there is no such thing as a native land, any more than there is by nature a house or farm or forge or surgery, as Ariston [d] said ; but in each case the thing becomes so, or rather

quoted with approval in the *Letter of Condolence to Apollonius* (*Mor.* 105 c).

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 469 c and 610 F.

[c] *Cf.* Arrian, *Epict.* ii. 1. 15.

[d] *Cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 371, p. 85 (ed. von Arnim).

(600) F των ἕκαστον ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν οἰκοῦντα καὶ χρώμενον. ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, ᾗ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, "φυτὸν οὐκ ἔγγειον" οὐδὲ ἀκίνητον, "ἀλλ' οὐράνιόν" ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ ῥίζης τὸ σῶμα τῆς κεφαλῆς ὀρθὸν ἱστώσης,[1] πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεστραμμένον. ὅθεν εὖ μὲν ὁ[2] Ἡρακλῆς εἶπεν[3]

> Ἀργεῖος ἢ Θηβαῖος· οὐ γὰρ εὔχομαι
> μιᾶς· ἅπας μοι πύργος Ἑλλήνων πατρίς.

ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης βέλτιον, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, ἀλλὰ "Κόσμιος" εἶναι φήσας, ὡς ἄν τις "Ῥό-
601 διος" εἶπεν ἢ "Κορίνθιος," ὅτι μηδὲ Σουνίῳ μηδὲ Ταινάρῳ μηδὲ τοῖς Κεραυνίοις ἐνέκλεισεν ἑαυτόν.

> Ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα
> καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν[4] ἀγκάλαις;

οὗτοι τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν ὅροι,[5] καὶ οὐδεὶς οὔτε φυγὰς ἐν τούτοις οὔτε ξένος οὔτε ἀλλοδαπός, ὅπου τὸ αὐτὸ πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀήρ, ἄρχοντες οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ διοικηταὶ καὶ πρυτάνεις· ἥλιος, σελήνη, φωσφόρος· οἱ αὐτοὶ[6] νόμοι πᾶσιν, ὑφ'[7] ἑνὸς προστάγματος καὶ μιᾶς ἡγεμονίας· τροπαὶ βόρειοι, τροπαὶ νότιοι,
B ἰσημερία,[8] Πλειάς, Ἀρκτοῦρος, ὧραι σπόρων, ὧραι φυτειῶν[9]· εἷς δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄρχων, "θεός, ἀρχήν

[1] ἱστώσης] ἱστάσης Bern. [2] εὖ μὲν ὁ Stobaeus : ὁ μέν.
[3] εἶπεν] εἶπεν ἐρωτηθεὶς Stobaeus.
[4] ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 41 : ἔχοντα ὑγραῖς.
[5] Benseler deletes εἰσί after ὅροι.
[6] αὐτοὶ] αὐτοὶ δὲ vw. [7] ὑφ'] ἀφ' vwβ².
[8] ἰσημερία] ἰσημερίαι a² Capps. [9] φυτειῶν] φυτῶν vw.

[a] *Timaeus*, 90 A ; *cf. Mor.* 400 B.
[b] For the notion that the upper parts of plants are "down" and the lower parts "up" (implied in Plato, *Timaeus*, 90 A-B)

is so named and called, with reference to the occupant and user. For man, as Plato [a] says, is " no earthly " or immovable " plant," but a " celestial " one,—the head, like a root, keeping the body erect—inverted to point to heaven.[b] Thus Heracles spoke well when he said

> an Argive I
> Or Theban, for I boast no single city ;
> There is no fort in Greece but is my country [c] ;

whereas the saying of Socrates is still better, that he was no Athenian or Greek, but a " Cosmian " [d] (as one might say " Rhodian " or " Corinthian "), because he did not shut himself up within Sunium and Taenarus and the Ceraunian mountains.[e]

> Seest thou yon boundless aether overhead
> That holds the earth within its soft embrace ? [f]

This is the boundary of our native land, and here no one is either exile or foreigner or alien ; here are the same fire, water, and air ; the same magistrates and procurators and councillors—Sun, Moon, and Morning Star ; the same laws for all, decreed by one commandment and one sovereignty—the summer solstice, the winter solstice, the equinox, the Pleiades, Arcturus, the seasons of sowing, the seasons of planting [g] ; here one king and ruler, " God, holding the

cf. Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii. 4 (416 a 2-5), *De Part. An.* iv. 10 (686 b 34 f.), *De Inc. An.* 4 (705 a 26–b 8).

[c] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 392, imitated by Crates (Frag. 15, Diels, *Poetarum Phil. Frag.* p. 222).

[d] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 37 (108) ; Musonius, p. 42. 1-2 (ed. Hense) ; Arrian, *Epict.* i. 9. 1.

[e] The limits of Greece to the east, south, and north : *cf.* *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxix. 4 (745 F).

[f] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 941. 1-2 ; also quoted in *Mor.* 780 D, 919 B.

[g] The civil months differed in Greece from city to city.

(601) τε καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευτὴν ἔχων τοῦ παντός,[1] εὐθείᾳ περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος· τῷ δὲ ἕπεται[2] Δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός,'' ᾗ χρώμεθα πάντες ἄνθρωποι φύσει πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὥσπερ πολίτας.

6. Τὸ δέ σε μὴ κατοικεῖν Σάρδεις οὐθέν ἐστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες κατοικοῦσι Κολλυτόν,[3] οὐδὲ Κορίνθιοι Κράνειον, οὐδὲ Πιτάνην Λάκωνες. ἆρα οὖν ξένοι καὶ ἀπόλιδές εἰσιν Ἀθηναίων οἱ μεταστάντες ἐκ Μελίτης εἰς Διόμεια,[4] ὅπου καὶ μῆνα Μεταγειτνιῶνα[5] καὶ θυσίαν ἐπώνυμον ἄγουσι
C τοῦ μετοικισμοῦ τὰ Μεταγείτνια, τὴν πρὸς ἑτέρους γειτνίασιν εὐκόλως καὶ ἱλαρῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι, καὶ στέργοντες; οὐκ ἂν εἴποις. τί οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης μέρος, ἢ τῆς γῆς ἁπάσης, ἕτερον ἑτέρου μακράν ἐστιν, ἣν ὑποδεικνύουσιν[6] οἱ μαθηματικοὶ σημείου λόγον ἔχουσαν ἀδιαστάτου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ὥσπερ μύρμηκες ἢ μέλιτται, μυρμηκιᾶς μιᾶς ἢ κυψέλης ἐκπεσόντες, ἀδημονοῦμεν καὶ ξενοπαθοῦμεν, οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μεμαθηκότες[7] οἰκεῖα τὰ[8] πάντα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ ἐστί.

[1] μέσα through παντός] τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων ἔχων Plato. [2] ἕπεται] ἀεὶ συνέπεται Plato.
[3] Κολλυτὸν Dübner : κολυττόν.
[4] Διόμεια Xylander : διωμίδα.
[5] μεταγειτνιῶνα w : μεταγειτνιῶντα.
[6] ὑποδεικνύουσιν] ἀποδεικνύουσιν vw.
[7] οὐδὲ μεμαθηκότες Stobaeus only. [8] τὰ Stobaeus only.

[a] Plato, *Laws*, 715 E—716 A ; quoted *Mor.* 781 F, 1124 F.
[b] For the notion that the whole world is our country *cf. Mor.* 329 C ; Democritus (Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], ii, p. 194. 16 f., Democritus, 247) ; Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 145 ; Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 9. 7, *Ep.* xxviii. 4 ; Arrian, *Epict.* iii. 24. 66 ; Favorinus, col. ix. 23.

beginning, middle, and end of the universe, proceeds directly, as is his nature, in his circuit; upon him follows Justice, who visits with punishment those that fall short of the divine law," [a] the justice which all of us by nature observe toward all men as our fellow-citizens.[b]

6. That you do not live in Sardis is nothing; neither do all Athenians live in Collytus, all Corinthians in Craneion, all Laconians in Pitanê. Are those Athenians foreigners and men without a country who removed from Melitê to the region of Diomeia, where they observe both the month Metageitnion and a festival, "the Metageitnia," [c] named for their migration, accepting this change of neighbours in a serene and joyful spirit, and remaining content with their condition? You would not say so. What part, then, of the inhabited world, or of the whole earth, is remote from another, when astronomers teach that in comparison to the universe the earth is a mere point, without extension? [d] But we, when like ants or bees we have been driven out of one anthill or beehive, are dismayed and feel strange, possessing neither the knowledge nor the instruction that would teach us to take and consider the whole world to be

For the whole topic *cf.* Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 2[5], p. 203, note 5, and W. W. Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xix (1933).

[c] Metageitnios means "of the change of neighbours." *Cf.* L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), p. 202.

[d] *Cf.* Aristarchus, p. 352. 5 (ed. Heath; *cf.* pp. 308-310); Geminus, 16, p. 176. 9 f. (ed. Manitius); Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 7 (40); Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 21. 2; Theo Smyrnaeus, pp. 120, 128 f. (ed. Hiller); Ptolemy, *Syntaxis Mathematica*, i. 6, p. 20. 5 ff. (ed. Heiberg); Cleomedes, i. 11, p. 102. 22 ff. (ed. Ziegler); Chalcidius, chap. lxiv, p. 132. 9 f. (ed. Wrobel).

(601) *καίτοι γελῶμεν τὴν ἀβελτερίαν τοῦ φάσκοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις βελτίονα σελήνην εἶναι τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τρόπον τινὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχοντες ὅταν ἀμφιγνοῶμεν, ἐπὶ ξένης γενόμενοι, τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλατταν, τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἕτερα καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν*
D *συνήθων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἐλευθέρους ἡμᾶς καὶ λελυμένους ἀφίησιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς*[1] *συνδέομεν ἑαυτούς, συστενοχωροῦμεν, ἐγκατοικοδομοῦμεν, εἰς μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα συνελαύνομεν. εἶτα τῶν μὲν Περσῶν βασιλέων καταγελῶμεν, εἴ γε δὴ ἀληθῶς*[2] *τὸ τοῦ Χοάσπου μόνον ὕδωρ πίνοντες ἄνυδρον αὑτοῖς τὴν ἄλλην ποιοῦσιν οἰκουμένην· ὅταν δὲ μεταστῶμεν εἰς ἕτερα χωρία, τοῦ Κηφισοῦ γλιχόμενοι καὶ τὸν Εὐρώταν ἢ τὸ Ταΰγετον*[3] *ἢ τὸν Παρνασὸν ἐπιποθοῦντες, ἄπολιν καὶ ἀοίκητον αὑτοῖς τὴν οἰκουμένην ποιοῦμεν.*

7. *Αἰγυπτίων μὲν οὖν οἱ δι' ὀργήν τινα καὶ*
E *χαλεπότητα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν μετοικιζόμενοι, πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰ αἰδοῖα κυνικώτερον, οὔτε γάμων ἔφασαν οὔτε παίδων ἀπορήσειν ἄχρι οὗ ταῦτα μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχωσιν· εὐπρεπέστερον δέ ἐστι καὶ σεμνότερον εἰπεῖν ὡς ὅπου καὶ ὅτῳ μετρίων*[4] *πρὸς τὸν βίον εὐπορεῖν συμβέβηκεν, ἐνταῦθα οὗτος οὔτ' ἄπολις οὔτ' ἀνέστιος οὔτε ξένος*

[1] *αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς* Stobaeus : *ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοί.*
[2] *ἀληθῶς*] *ἀληθὲς a.*
[3] *τὸ Ταΰγετον* nos : *τὸν ταΰγετον a*[2] ; *τὸν τηΰγετον.*
[4] *μετρίων*] *μετρίων τῶν* Castiglioni.

[a] *Cf.* Teles, p. 23. 3 f. (ed. Hense) ; Arrian, *Epict.* i. 25. 28.
[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, i. 188.

our own, as indeed it is. Yet we laugh at the stupidity of the man who asserts that at Athens there is a better moon than at Corinth, although we are in a sense in the same case as he, when, on coming to a foreign land, we fail to recognize the earth, the sea, the air, the sky, as though they were distinct and different from those familiar to us. For nature leaves us free and untrammelled; it is we who bind ourselves, confine ourselves, immure ourselves, herd ourselves into cramped and sordid quarters.[a] And then we scoff at the Persian kings, if in truth, by drinking no water but that of the Choaspes,[b] they turn the rest of the inhabited world for themselves into a waterless waste; but when we move to other lands, in our attachment to the Cephisus and our longing for the Eurotas or Taÿgetus or Parnassus, we make the inhabited world empty of cities for ourselves and unfit for habitation.

7. The Egyptians indeed, who because of some outburst of anger and severity on the part of their king, were migrating to Ethiopia, replied to those who entreated them to return to their children and wives by pointing with Cynic licence to their private parts and remarking that they would be at no loss for either marriage or children so long as they had these with them.[c] One can, however, with greater decency and decorum, say that wherever a man happens to find a moderate provision for his livelihood,[d] there that man lacks neither city nor hearth

[c] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 30; Diodorus, i. 57. Plutarch, perhaps intentionally, represents the Egyptians as migrating because of their king's "anger and severity;" in Herodotus and Diodorus they migrate from resentment at being slighted by him.

[d] *Cf.* Musonius, p. 44, 16 (ed. Hense).

(601) ἐστί. μόνον ἔχειν δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις νοῦν καὶ λογι-
F σμόν, ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν κυβερνήτην ἵνα παντὶ χρῆσθαι λιμένι προσορμισθεὶς δύνηται. πλοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ἀποβαλόντα ῥᾳδίως καὶ ταχέως οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον[1] συναγαγεῖν, πατρὶς δὲ γίνεται πᾶσα πόλις εὐθὺς ἀνθρώπῳ χρῆσθαι μεμαθηκότι καὶ ῥίζας ἔχοντι πανταχοῦ ζῆν τε καὶ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παντὶ τόπῳ[2] προσφύεσθαι δυναμένας, οἵας εἶχε Θεμιστοκλῆς, οἵας Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν πρῶτος ὢν τῶν Πτολεμαίου φίλων, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δωρεὰς ἔπεμπεν,
602 Θεμιστοκλῆς δέ, χορηγίᾳ βασιλικῇ πρυτανευόμενος, εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας· "ἀπωλόμεθα ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα." διὸ καὶ Διογένης ὁ κύων, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "Σινωπεῖς σου φυγὴν ἐκ Πόντου κατέγνωσαν," "ἐγὼ δέ," εἶπεν, "ἐκείνων ἐν Πόντῳ μονὴν"—

ἄκραις ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖσιν ἀξένου[3] πόρου.[4]

Στρατόνικος δὲ τὸν ἐν Σερίφῳ ξένον ἠρώτησεν ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῶν ἀδικημάτων φυγὴ τέτακται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίμιον· ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τοὺς ῥᾳδιουργοὺς φυγαδεύουσι, "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐρᾳδιούργησας
B ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στενοχωρίας ταύτης μεταστῇς;" ὅπου

[1] ῥᾳδίως καὶ ταχέως οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον Stobaeus: ῥᾷον οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ταχέως.
[2] τόπῳ Donatus Polus: τρόπῳ.
[3] ἀξένου Hercher (from Eur.): εὐξείνου (with a papyrus of Eur.).
[4] πόρου Salmasius: πόντου.

nor is an alien. Only he must also have good sense and reason, as a skipper needs an anchor that he may moor in any haven and make use of it. For while loss of wealth cannot easily and quickly be repaired, every city at once becomes a native city to the man who has learned to make use of it and has roots which can live and thrive everywhere and take hold in any region, roots such as Themistocles and Demetrius of Phalerum had. For Demetrius was after his banishment first among the friends of Ptolemy at Alexandria, and not only lived in plenty himself, but even used to send largesse to the Athenians; while Themistocles, when royally maintained by the King's bounty, is reported to have said to his wife and children: "It would have been our undoing not to have been undone."[a] For this reason, to the one who remarked: "The Sinopians condemned you to banishment from Pontus," Diogenes the Cynic replied: "But I condemned them to stay there,"[b]—

> Out where meet the shore
> The breakers of the Inhospitable Sea.[c]

Stratonicus[d] asked his host in Seriphos what crime was punished there with banishment; when told that persons guilty of fraud were expelled, he said: "Then why not commit fraud and escape from this confinement?"—where the comic poet[e] says that

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 185 F and the note; Teles, p. 22. 14 f. (ed. Hense); Aristeides, *Or.* xx. 9, vol. ii, p. 19 (ed. Keil).

[b] *Cf.* Diogenes Laert. vi. 49.

[c] Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 253.

[d] A celebrated Athenian *citharoedus* and wit of the fourth century.

[e] Kock, *C.A.F.*, Adespota, 812; perhaps from the *Seriphioi* of Cratinus: *cf.* Meineke, *Frag. Com. Graec.* iv, p. 672, frag. com. anon. CCXCV c.

(602) φησὶν ὁ κωμικὸς τὰ σῦκα ταῖς σφενδόναις τρυγᾶσθαι καὶ πάντα ἔχειν ὅσα μὴ[1] δεῖ τὴν νῆσον.

8. Ἂν γὰρ σκοπῇς ἄνευ κενῆς δόξης τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὁ μίαν πόλιν ἔχων ξένος ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπασῶν καὶ ἀλλότριος· οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ καλὸν οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι καταλιπόντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νέμειν ἑτέραν·

Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν[2] κόσμει

κἂν ἄδοξος ᾖ, κἂν νοσώδης, κἂν ταράττηται στάσεσιν ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ πράγμασι μὴ ὑγιαίνουσιν. οὗ δὲ ἡ τύχη τὴν ἰδίαν ἀφῄρηται, τούτῳ δίδωσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρέσασαν. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐκεῖνο παράγ-
C γελμα τῶν Πυθαγορείων, "ἑλοῦ βίον τὸν[3] ἄριστον, ἡδὺν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ συνήθεια ποιήσει," κἀνταῦθα σοφόν ἐστι καὶ χρήσιμον· "ἑλοῦ πόλιν τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ ἡδίστην, πατρίδα δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ χρόνος ποιήσει," καὶ πατρίδα μὴ περισπῶσαν, μὴ ἐνοχλοῦσαν, μὴ προστάττουσαν· "εἰσένεγκαι,"[4] "πρέσβευσον εἰς Ῥώμην," "ὑπόδεξαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα," "λειτούργησον." ἂν γὰρ τούτων τις μνημονεύῃ φρένας ἔχων καὶ μὴ παντάπασι τετυφωμένος, αἱρήσεται καὶ νῆσον οἰκεῖν, φυγὰς γενόμενος, Γύαρον ἢ Κίναρον,

σκληράν, ἄκαρπον, καὶ φυτεύεσθαι κακήν,

οὐκ ἀθυμῶν οὐδὲ ὀδυρόμενος οὐδὲ λέγων ἐκεῖνα

[1] ὅσα μὴ nos (ὅσων οὐ Cobet; ὅσ' οὐ ?) : ὅσων.
[2] ταύταν Eur. : ταύτην.
[3] τὸν (*cf. Mor.* 123 c)] omitted in *a*.

the figs are gathered in with slings, and remarks that the island is well provided with every incommodity.

8. Indeed, if you lay aside unfounded opinion and consider the truth, the man who has a single city is a stranger and an alien to all the rest; for it is felt he can neither in decency nor in justice forsake his own city to inhabit another:

> Your lot is Sparta: look to Sparta then,[a]

whether it be obscure, or unhealthy, or a prey to faction and turbulence. But Fortune grants possession of what city he pleases to the man she has deprived of his own. For that excellent precept of the Pythagoreans, "choose the best life, and familiarity will make it pleasant,"[b] is here too wise and useful: "choose the best and most pleasant city, and time will make of it your native land"—a native land that does not distract you, is not importunate, does not command: "pay a special levy," "go on an embassy to Rome," "entertain the governor," "undertake a public service at your own expense." For if a person in his senses and not utterly infatuated bears this in mind, he will choose, if exiled, to live even on an island, Gyaros or Cinaros,

> Rocky, unfit for corn or vine or tree,[c]

not downcast or lamenting or uttering the words of

[a] From the *Telephus* of Euripides: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 723; *cf. Mor.* 472 D and note.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 123 C and 466 F, and the *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, 461 (ed. Sternbach, *Wiener Stud.* xi, 1889, pp. 209 f.) with the parallels noted there.

[c] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 393; Kock, *C.A.F.*, Adespota, 1238.

[4] *εἰσένεγκαι*] *εἰσένεγκε* Cobet, but see Lysias, *Or.* 19. 43, p. 155.

(602) τὰ τῶν παρὰ Σιμωνίδῃ γυναικῶν,

D ἴσχει δέ με πορφυρέας ἁλὸς ἀμφιταρασσομένας
ὀρυμαγδός,[1]

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου λογιζόμενος· πεσὼν γὰρ ἐν παλαίστρᾳ καὶ μεταστραφείς, ὡς εἶδε τοῦ σώματος τὸν τύπον, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπεν, "ὡς μικροῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς φύσει μετέχοντες ὅλης ἐφιέμεθα τῆς οἰκουμένης."

9. Οἶμαί σε τῆς Νάξου γεγονέναι θεατήν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῆς γ' Ὑρίας,[2] ἐνταῦθα πλησίον οὔσης· ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ἐχώρει τὸν Ἐφιάλτην καὶ τὸν Ὦτον, αὕτη δὲ τοῦ Ὠρίωνος ἦν οἰκητήριον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαίων ἰλὺν νεοπαγῆ τοῦ Ἀχελῴου προσχωννύντος E ἐπῴκησεν ὑποφεύγων τὰς Εὐμενίδας, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ κἀκεῖνον εἰκάζω, φεύγοντα πολιτικὰς ταραχὰς[3] καὶ στάσεις καὶ συκοφαντίας ἐριννώδεις, ἑλέσθαι βραχὺ χωρίον ἀπραγμόνως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατοικεῖν. Τιβέριος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν Καπρίαις[4] ἑπτὰ ἔτη διῃτήθη μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονικὸν μόριον,[5] ὥσπερ εἰς καρδίαν

[1] ὀρυμαγδός β : ὀρυγμαδός.
[2] γ' Ὑρίας L. Holstenius, Dübner : θουρίας.
[3] ταραχὰς Emperius : ἀρχὰς.
[4] καπρίαις γ[2] : κεστρίαις.
[5] μόριον Kronenberg (Wilamowitz deletes) : ἱερὸν.

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*, Simonidès, 51 ; Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* ii. 28.

[b] Plutarch is doubtless writing from Chaeroneia.

[c] These are the Aloadae, who when nine years old were nine cubits broad and nine fathoms high : *cf.* Homer, *Od.* xi. 305-310. For their stay at Naxos *cf.* Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, iv. 88 f., and Diodorus, v. 52.

[d] Orion was yet huger than the Aloadae (*cf.* Homer, *Od.*

the women in Simonides [a]

> The clamour of the blue salt sea
> Tossing about me, hems me in,

but he will rather reason as Philip did, who said, on being thrown in wrestling, as he turned about and saw the imprint of his body: "Good God! How small a portion of the earth we hold by nature, yet we covet the whole world!"

9. You have, I think, seen Naxos, if not, Hyria, which is not far from here [b]; yet Naxos had room for Ephialtes and Otus [c]; Hyria was the habitation of Orion.[d] When Alcmaeon was fleeing before the Eumenides, he settled, as poets tell, on newly hardened silt built up by the Acheloüs [e]; but my conjecture is that he too, fleeing from the tumults, factions, and fiendish legal blackmail of his countrymen, chose to dwell on a small plot unharassed and in peace. Tiberius Caesar passed the last seven years of his life at Capri; and the ruling part of the inhabited world, as if gathered up into a heart,[f] made

xi. 309 f.); for his birth at Hyria *cf.* Strabo, ix. 2. 12 (p. 404).

[e] Eriphylê, the wife of Amphiaraüs, was bribed by a necklace to betray her husband, who in consequence took part in the war of the Seven against Thebes, and disappeared from among the living, but not until he had ordered their son, Alcmaeon, to avenge him. After slaying his mother Alcmaeon was told by the Delphic oracle that he could escape the Furies by finding a country that had not existed when his mother uttered her dying curse. He found such a land in the alluvial deposits at the mouth of the Acheloüs. *Cf.* Thucydides, ii. 102; Pausanias, viii. 24. 8-9; and Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* pp. 379-380.

[f] An allusion to the Stoic doctrine that man's soul has a ruling part situated in the heart: *cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 837-839, p. 228 (ed. von Arnim).

(602) *συνηγμένον, οὐδαμοῦ μετέστη τοσοῦτον χρόνον. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ τῆς ἡγεμονίας φροντίδες, ἐπιχεόμεναι καὶ προσφερόμεναι πανταχόθεν, οὐ καθαρὰν παρεῖχον οὐδὲ ἀκύμονα τὴν νησιῶτιν ἡσυχίαν·*
F *ᾧ δὲ ἔξεστιν, εἰς μικρὰν ἀποβάντι νῆσον, οὐ μικρῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν, οὗτος ἄθλιός ἐστι μὴ προσλαλῶν ἑαυτῷ τὰ Πινδαρικὰ μηδὲ ἐπᾴδων πολλάκις,*

ἔα, φρήν, κυπάρισσον,
ἔα δὲ νομὸν περιδάϊον.[1]
ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον δέδοται μὲν γᾶς,[2] *ὅθεν ἁ δρῦς,*[3]
οὐ πενθέων δ' ἔλαχον, οὐ στασίων,[4]

οὐδὲ προσταγμάτων ἡγεμονικῶν, οὐδὲ ὑπουργιῶν ἐν πολιτικαῖς χρείαις καὶ λειτουργιῶν δυσπαραιτήτων. (10.) *ὅπου γὰρ οὐ φαύλως δοκεῖ λέγειν ὁ Καλλίμαχος τό*

μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τὴν σοφίην,

ἤπου τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν σχοίνοις καὶ παρασάγγαις
603 *μετροῦντες, ἐὰν νῆσον οἰκῶμεν διακοσίων σταδίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν, ὥσπερ ἡ Σικελία, περίπλουν ἔχουσαν, ὀδυνᾶν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ θρηνεῖν ὀφείλομεν ὡς κακοδαιμονοῦντες; τί γὰρ ἡ πλατεῖα*

[1] *εα φρην κυπαρισσον· εαν δε νόμον περιδαϊον* Papy. Oxyr. v. 841 : *ἐλαφρὰν κυπάρισσον φιλέειν ἐὰν* (*ἐᾶν* a²) *δὲ νομὸν κρήτας περιδαίων.*
[2] *δέδοται μὲν γᾶς* Housman : *μὲν γᾶς δέδοται.*
[3] *ἁ δρῦς* Reiske : *ἄδρυς* (*ἄρδυς* w).
[4] *οὐ πενθέων δ' ἔλαχον οὐ στασίων* Grenfell and Hunt : *πενθέων δὲ οὐκ ἔλαχον στασίων.*

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[a] *Paeans*, iv. 50 ff., partly preserved in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, v. 841 ; *cf.* Sandys, *Pindar*, pp. 530 ff. in the L.C.L. The words are spoken by the hero Euxantius of Ceos ; he had

not the slightest change in its abode for all that time. Yet in his case the cares of state, pouring in upon him and brought in from everywhere, made the island repose not unmixed and not free from storms ; whereas the man who finds that by disembarking on a small island he can be rid of no small troubles, is pitiful indeed if he does not recite to himself the words of Pindar [a] and often repeat them as a spell [b] :

> Forgo, my heart, the cypress ;
> Forgo the contested land ;
> To me but little earth is given, where grows the oak ;
> But to my lot has fallen no sorrow, no discord,

or commands from the governor or ministrations to the needs of countrymen and public services that are difficult to decline. (10.) For when Callimachus [c] is applauded for saying,

> Use not a Persian rope to measure art,

are we to measure felicity by " ropes " and parasangs, and if we dwell on an island of two hundred stades' circumference, and not, like Sicily, four days' sail in circuit,[d] are we to torment ourselves and lament our wretched plight ? For what has breadth of land to

been offered land in Crete, but preferred to remain on his little island. The text and translation of this fragment are in places uncertain.

[b] For chanting words over oneself as a spell *cf.* Plato, *Phaedo*, 114 D, *Republic*, 608 A, and *Laws*, 665 C.

[c] Callimachus, *Aetia*, Frag. 1. 18 (ed. Pfeiffer, Oxford, 1949). Callimachus doubtless had in mind the largest of the figures given for the *schoinos* or " rope," sixty stades (Herodotus, ii. 6), which would be nearly seven miles.

[d] Thucydides (vi. 1. 2) says that for a merchant vessel the voyage around the island required not much less than eight days ; Ephorus (quoted by Strabo, vi. 2. 1, p. 266) says that the trip required five days and nights.

(603) χώρα πρὸς τὸν ἄλυπον βίον; οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ Ταντάλου λέγοντος ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ,

> σπείρω δ' ἄρουραν δώδεχ' ἡμερῶν ὁδόν,
> Βερέκυνθα[1] χῶρον,

εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγον λέγοντος·

> οὑμὸς δὲ πότμος[2] οὐρανῷ κυρῶν ἄνω
> ἔραζε πίπτει καί με προσφωνεῖ τάδε·
> γίνωσκε τἀνθρώπεια μὴ σέβειν ἄγαν;

ὁ δὲ Ναυσίθοος τὴν εὐρύχωρον Ὑπέρειαν καταλιπὼν διὰ τὸ γειτνιᾶν τοὺς Κύκλωπας αὐτῇ καὶ
B μεταστὰς εἰς νῆσον " ἑκὰς ἀνδρῶν[3] ἀλφηστάων " καὶ κατοικῶν ἀνεπίμικτος ἀνθρώπων " ἀπάνευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ," τὸν ἥδιστον παρεσκεύασε βίον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις. τὰς δὲ Κυκλάδας πρότερον μὲν οἱ Μίνω παῖδες, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ Κόδρου καὶ Νείλεω, κατῴκησαν, ἐν αἷς τὰ νῦν οἱ ἀνόητοι φυγάδες οἴονται κολάζεσθαι. καίτοι ποία φυγαδικὴ νῆσος οὐκ ἔστι πλατυτέρα τῆς Σκιλλουντίας χώρας, ἐν ᾗ Ξενοφῶν μετὰ τὴν στρατείαν τὸ " λιπαρὸν " εἶδε " γῆρας "; ἡ δ' Ἀκαδημία, τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν χωρίδιον ἐωνημένον, οἰκητήριον ἦν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ξενοκράτους καὶ Πολέμω-

[1] βερεκύνθα A²E : ἐρεκύνθα (ἐρεκάνθα β²ˢˢ).
[2] οὑμὸς δὲ πότμος Porson : θυμὸς δέ ποθ' ἁμὸς (ἀμνὸς vw).
[3] ἀνδρῶν Homer : ἄλλων.

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[a] From the *Niobê* of Aeschylus: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aesch. 158; *cf. Mor.* 778 B and note.
[b] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aesch. 159.
[c] Homer, *Od.* vi. 4.
[d] Homer, *Od.* vi. 8.

do with the life free from pain? Have you not heard the words of Tantalus in the tragedy? He says,

> The field I sow is twelve days' journey long,
> The Berecynthian land [a]

and then says a little later:

> My fate, while reaching upward to the skies,
> Falls to the earth, and speaks these words to me:
> Learn not to honour human things too much.[b]

Nausithoüs, by leaving "the broad land of Hypereia"[c] because the Cyclopes were its neighbours, moving to an island "far from industrious men,"[d] and dwelling apart from human traffic "far off in the stormy seas,"[e] provided his countrymen with the most pleasant of lives. It was first the children of Minos, and later the children of Codrus and Neileus, that settled the Cyclades, where at present the thoughtless exiles fancy they are punished. Yet what island of exile is not more spacious than the district of Scillus, where Xenophon after his campaign lived to see a "comfortable old age"?[f] The Academy, a little plot of ground bought for three thousand drachmas, was the dwelling of Plato and Xenocrates

[e] Homer, *Od.* vi. 204 f.

[f] *Cf.* Homer, *Od.* iv. 210, xi. 136, xix. 368, xxiii. 283. After taking part in the expedition of the Ten Thousand, in the Spartan campaigns in Asia, and in the battle of Coroneia, Xenophon was exiled and settled at Scillus, a district in Elis south of Olympia. Here, according to Diogenes Laertius (ii. 52), he composed his histories: *cf.* 605 c, *infra*. By "campaign" Plutarch doubtless means the march of the Ten Thousand, as Xenophon's participation in this expedition was thought to have led to his banishment (*cf.* Diogenes Laert. ii. 58; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* viii. 1; Pausanias, v. 6. 5).

(603) νος, αὐτόθι σχολαζόντων καὶ καταβιούντων τὸν
C ἅπαντα χρόνον πλὴν μίαν[1] ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ Ξενοκράτης καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος εἰς ἄστυ κατῄει, Διονυσίων καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς, ἐπικοσμῶν, ὡς ἔφασαν, τὴν ἑορτήν. Ἀριστοτέλη[2] δὲ καὶ λελοιδόρηκε Θεόκριτος ὁ Χῖος ὅτι τὴν παρὰ[3] Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δίαιταν ἀγαπήσας

εἵλετο ναίειν
ἀντ' Ἀκαδημείας Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς

(ἔστι γὰρ ποταμὸς περὶ Πέλλαν[4] ὃν Μακεδόνες Βόρβορον καλοῦσι). τὰς δὲ νήσους ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ὑμνῶν καὶ συνιστὰς ἡμῖν ὁ ποιητής—

Λῆμνον δ' εἰσαφίκανε, πόλιν θείοιο Θόαντος

καί

D ὅσσον[5] Λέσβος ἄνω, μακάρων[6] ἕδος, ἐντὸς ἐέργει

καί

Σκῦρον ἑλὼν αἰπεῖαν, Ἐνυῆος πτολίεθρον

καί

οἳ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίοιο Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων
νήσων αἳ ναίουσι πέρην ἁλὸς Ἤλιδος ἄντα—

καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν νῆσον οἰκεῖν φησι[7] τὸν θεοφιλέστατον Αἰόλον, τὸν σοφώτατον Ὀδυσσέα, τὸν ἀνδρειότατον Αἴαντα, τὸν φιλοξενώτατον Ἀλκίνουν.

11. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζήνων, πυθόμενος ἣν ἔτι λοιπὴν εἶχε ναῦν μετὰ τῶν φορτίων καταπεπομένην ὑπὸ

[1] μίαν] τὴν μίαν Capps. [2] Ἀριστοτέλη] -ης v ; -ην a.
[3] παρὰ] περὶ Laur. Conv. Soppr. 57.

and Polemon, who taught and spent their lives there, except for the one day every year when Xenocrates went down to the city for the new tragedies at the Dionysia, and graced the festival, as people said. Theocritus [a] of Chios went so far as to abuse Aristotle, because he had conceived a taste for the style of living at the court of Philip and Alexander, and

> preferred to Academe
> A dwelling in the flow of Slime,—

there being a river near Pella which the Macedonians call Borborus.[b] Homer, who praises the islands and recommends them to us as though by design—

> To Lemnos came she, town of godlike Thoas,[c]

and

> All that Lesbos bounds toward the sea,
> Seat of the blest,[d]

and

> Taking steep Scyros, fortress of Enyeus,[e]

and

> Men from Dulichium and the sacred isles
> Echinae, facing Elis over the sea [f]—

also says that of famous men Aeolus the dearest to the gods, Odysseus the wisest, Ajax the bravest, and Alcinoüs the most hospitable, dwelt on islands.

11. Zeno indeed, when he learned that his only remaining ship had been engulfed with its cargo by

[a] Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* i. 1³, p. 127.
[b] That is, "Slime."
[c] *Il.* xiv. 230.
[d] *Il.* xxiv. 544.
[e] *Il.* ix. 668.
[f] *Il.* ii. 625 f.

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[4] Πέλλαν nos : πέλλην (πόλιν w). [5] ὅσσον Homer : ὅσα.
[6] μακάρων] Μάκαρος most MSS. of Homer.
[7] φησὶ Donatus Polus : φασί.

(603) τῆς θαλάσσης, " εὖγε," εἶπεν, " ὦ τύχη, ποιεῖς,
εἰς τρίβωνα " καὶ βίον φιλόσοφον " συνελαύνουσα
E ἡμᾶς·" ἀνὴρ δὲ μὴ τετυφωμένος παντάπασι μηδὲ
ὀχλομανῶν οὐκ ἄν, οἶμαι, μέμψαιτο τὴν τύχην[1]
συνελαυνόμενος εἰς νῆσον, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσειεν ὅτι τὸν
πολὺν ἄλυν καὶ ῥέμβον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ πλάνας ἐν
ἀποδημίαις, καὶ κινδύνους ἐν θαλάσσῃ, καὶ θορύ-
βους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, πέριελοῦσα, μόνιμον καὶ σχολαῖον
καὶ ἀπερίσπαστον καὶ ἴδιον βίον ὡς ἀληθῶς δίδωσι,
κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι περιγράψασα τὴν τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων χρείαν. ποία γὰρ νῆσος οἰκίαν οὐκ ἔχει,
περίπατον, λουτρόν, ἰχθῦς, λαγωούς, ἄγρᾳ καὶ
παιδιᾷ χρῆσθαι βουλομένοις; τὸ δὲ[2] μέγιστον,
ἡσυχίας, ἧς διψῶσιν ἕτεροι, σοὶ πολλάκις τυχεῖν
F ἔνεστιν. ἀλλὰ πεττεύοντας καὶ ἀποκρυπτομένους
οἴκοι συκοφάνται καὶ πολυπράγμονες ἐξιχνεύοντες
καὶ διώκοντες ἐκ τῶν προαστίων καὶ τῶν κήπων
εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ εἰς αὐλὴν βίᾳ κατάγουσιν, εἰς δὲ
νῆσον οὐκ ἐνοχλῶν τις, οὐκ αἰτῶν, οὐ δανειζόμενος,
οὐκ ἐγγυήσασθαι παρακαλῶν, οὐ συναρχαιρεσιάσαι,
604 δι' εὔνοιαν δὲ καὶ πόθον οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων καὶ οἰκείων πλέουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος βίος ἄσυλος
καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνεῖται τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ μεμαθηκότι
σχολάζειν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς περιτρέχοντας ἔξω καὶ τοῦ
βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν πανδοκείοις καὶ πορθμείοις[3]
ἀναλίσκοντας εὐδαιμονίζων ὅμοιός ἐστι τῷ τοὺς
πλάνητας οἰομένῳ τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων πράττειν

[1] μέμψαιτο τὴν τύχην vw : τὴν τύχην μέμψαιτο.
[2] δὲ added by Bern. [3] πορθμείοις w : πορθμίοις.

the sea, exclaimed: "Well done, Fortune! thus to confine me to a threadbare cloak" and a philosopher's life[a]; while a man not wholly infatuated or mad for the mob would not, I think, on being confined to an island, reproach Fortune, but would commend her for taking away from him all his restlessness and aimless roving, wanderings in foreign lands and perils at sea and tumults in the market place, and giving him a life that was settled, leisurely, undistracted, and truly his own, describing with centre and radius a circle containing the necessities that meet his needs.[b] For what island is there that does not afford a house, a walk, a bath, fish and hares for those who wish to indulge in hunting and sport? And best of all, the quiet for which others thirst, you can repeatedly enjoy. But at home, as men play at draughts and retire from the public eye, informers and busybodies track them down and hunt them out of their suburban estates and parks and bring them back by force to the market place and court; whereas it is not the persons who plague us, who come to beg or borrow money, to entreat us to go surety for them or help in canvassing an election, that sail to an island, it is the best of our connexions and intimates that do so out of friendship and affection, while the rest of life, if one desires leisure and has learned to use it, is left inviolate and sacred. He that calls those persons happy who run about in the world outside and use up most of their lives at inns and ferry-stations is like the man who fancies that the planets enjoy greater

[a] *Cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 277, p. 64 (ed. von Arnim); *Mor.* 87 A and notes; and the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (ed. Sternbach, *Wiener Stud.* x, 1888, pp. 243 f.). Plutarch amplifies the quotation here, as in *Mor.* 467 D.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 513 C and note.

(604) ἄμεινον. καίτοι τῶν πλανήτων ἕκαστος, ἐν μιᾷ σφαίρᾳ, καθάπερ ἐν νήσῳ, περιπολῶν, διαφυλάττει τὴν τάξιν· "ἥλιος γὰρ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα," φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος· "εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν, Δίκης ἐπίκουροι, ἐξευρήσουσιν."

B 12. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὦ φίλε, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους λέγωμεν κἀκείνοις ἐπᾴδωμεν οἷς εἰς νῆσον ἀπῳκισμένοις ἀνεπίμικτα ποιεῖ τὰ ἄλλα

πόντος ἁλὸς πολιῆς,[1] ὃ πολεῖς ἀέκοντας ἐρύκει·

σοὶ δέ, οὐχ ἑνὸς δεδομένου μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἀπειρημένου τόπου, πασῶν ἐστιν ἐξουσία πόλεων ἢ μιᾶς κώλυσις. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῷ "οὐκ ἄρχομεν οὐδὲ βουλεύομεν οὐδὲ ἀγωνοθετοῦμεν" ἀντίθες[2] τὸ "οὐ στασιάζομεν, οὐκ[3] ἀναλίσκομεν οὐδὲ προσηρτήμεθα[4] θύραις ἡγεμόνος· οὐδὲν[5] μέλει νῦν ἡμῖν[6] ὅστις ὁ κεκληρωμένος τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐστίν, εἰ ἀκράχολος, C εἰ ἐπαχθὴς ἄλλως." ἀλλ'[7] ἡμεῖς, καθάπερ Ἀρχίλοχος, τῆς Θάσου τὰ καρποφόρα καὶ οἰνόπεδα παρορῶν διὰ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ἀνώμαλον, διέβαλε τὴν νῆσον εἰπὼν

ἥδε δ'[8] ὥστ' ὄνου ῥάχις
ἕστηκεν ὕλης ἀγρίης[9] ἐπιστεφής,

οὕτως τῆς φυγῆς πρὸς ἓν μέρος τὸ ἄδοξον ἐντει-

[1] πολιῆς added from Homer.
[2] ἀντίθες Emperius : ἂν ἀντιθῇς. [3] οὐκ] οὐδ' Stegmann.
[4] προσηρτήμεθα] προσαρτώμεθα Capps.
[5] οὐδὲν Reiske : οὐδὲ.
[6] μέλει νῦν ἡμῖν nos : νῦν μέλλει ἡμῖν (νῦν ἡμῖν μέλει Benseler ; νῦν μέλει Sieveking).
[7] ἄλλως, ἀλλ' Reiske (ἀλλ' Basle ed. of 1542 ; ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς Castiglioni) : ἀλλ' ὡς.
[8] ἥδε δὲ a^2 : ἡ δὲ. [9] ἀγρίης Bergk : ἀγρίας.

felicity than the fixed stars. And yet each planet, revolving in a single sphere, as on an island, preserves its station; for "the Sun[a] will not transgress his bounds," says Heracleitus[b]; "else the Erinyes, ministers of Justice, will find him out."

12. But, my dear friend, let us address the preceding remarks and the like and repeat them as a spell to those others who have been banished to an island and are cut off from the rest of the world by

> The grey salt sea, that bars the way to many
> Against their will[c];

but for you, to whom one solitary spot is not appointed. but forbidden, the exclusion from one city is the freedom to choose from all. Further, set off against the consideration "I do not hold office or sit in the council or preside at games" the other consideration: "I am not involved in faction; I am not exhausting my fortune; I wait upon no governor; I care not now who has obtained the province, whether he is quick to anger or in other ways oppressive." But we are like Archilochus.[d] As he, overlooking the fruitful fields and vineyards of Thasos, because of its steep and rugged surface maligned it, saying

> This island, like the backbone of an ass,
> Stands up beneath its cover of wild wood,

so we, intent upon one part of exile, lack of fame,

[a] In Greek astronomy the sun is a planet.

[b] Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], i, p. 172, Heracleitus, B 94; quoted also in *Mor.* 370 D.

[c] Homer, *Il.* xxi. 59.

[d] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii, p. 389, Archilochus, 21; or Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.*[3] fasc. 3, frag. 18.

(604) *νόμενοι, παρορῶμεν τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. καίτοι τούς γε Περσῶν βασιλέας ἐμακάριζον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὸν χειμῶνα διάγοντας, ἐν δὲ Μηδίᾳ τὸ θέρος ἐν δὲ Σούσοις τὸ ἥδιστον τοῦ ἔαρος. ἔξεστι δήπου καὶ τῷ μεθεστῶτι*[1] *μυστηρίοις ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι διατρίβειν, Διονυσίοις ἐν ἄστει*[2] *πανηγυρίζειν,*[3] *Πυθίων ἀγομένων εἰς Δελφοὺς παρελθεῖν, Ἰσθμίων εἰς Κόρινθον,*
D *ἄνπερ ᾖ φιλοθέωρος· εἰ δὲ μή, σχολή, περίπατος, ἀνάγνωσις, ὕπνος ἀθορύβητος, τὸ τοῦ Διογένους "Ἀριστοτέλης ἀριστᾷ ὅταν δοκῇ Φιλίππῳ, Διογένης, ὅταν Διογένει," μήτε πραγματείας, μήτε ἄρχοντος, μήτε ἡγεμόνος τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν περισπῶντος.*

13. *Διὰ τοῦτο τῶν φρονιμωτάτων καὶ σοφωτάτων ὀλίγους ἂν εὕροις ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσι κεκηδευμένους, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι, μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, αὐτοὶ*[4] *τὸ ἀγκύριον*[5] *ἀράμενοι, μεθωρμίσαντο τοὺς βίους καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ μὲν εἰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. τίς γὰρ εἴρηκε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἐγκώμιον τοιοῦτον οἷον Εὐριπίδης;*

ᾗ πρῶτα μὲν λεὼς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν,
E *αὐτόχθονες δ᾽ ἔφυμεν· αἱ δ᾽ ἄλλαι πόλεις,*
πεσσῶν ὁμοίως[6] *διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαῖς,*[7]

[1] *μεθεστῶτι*] *μεγεστῶτι* w ; *μετέξοντι* β^{2ss}.
[2] *ἄστει* Reiske : *ἄργει*.
[3] *πανηγυρίζειν*] *συμπανηγυρίζειν* Capps.
[4] *αὐτοὶ* β^{2ss} $A^{2ss}E$: *αὐτό*.
[5] *ἀγκύριον* a^{2ss} : *ἀργύριον* a ; *ἀργύρια* vw.
[6] *ὁμοίως*] *ὁμοίαις* Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 100, p. 161.

overlook its lack of politics, its leisure, and its freedom. Yet the kings of the Persians were called happy for spending the winter in Babylon, the summer in Media, and the most pleasant part of spring in Susa.[a] Surely the exile too is free to sojourn in Eleusis during the Mysteries, to keep holiday in the city[b] at the Dionysia, and to visit Delphi for the Pythian and Corinth for the Isthmian games, if he is fond of spectacles; if not, he has at his command leisure, walking, reading, undisturbed sleep, and what Diogenes expressed when he said: "Aristotle lunches at Philip's pleasure, Diogenes at his own,"[c] since no politics or magistrate or governor disrupts the customary tenor of his life.

13. On this account you will find that few men of the greatest good sense and wisdom have been buried in their own country,[d] and that most of them, under compulsion from no one, weighed anchor of their own accord and found a new haven for their lives, removing some to Athens, some from Athens. For who has pronounced such an encomium on his native land as Euripides?

> Where, first, the people are no immigrants
> But native to the soil; all other cities,
> Disrupted once, as in the game, have been

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 499 A-B and note, and Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* vi. 1-7.

[b] That is, Athens.

[c] *Cf.* Diogenes Laert. vi. 45.

[d] Plutarch here answers the complaint that the exile is not buried in his country: *cf.* Teles, p. 29. 1 (ed. Hense) and Favorinus, col. xxix. 1.

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[7] διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαῖς] διαφοραῖς ἐκτισμέναι Lycurgus.

(604) ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλων εἰσὶν εἰσαγώγιμοι.[1]
εἰ δὴ[2] πάρεργον χρή τι κομπάσαι, γύναι,[3]
οὐρανὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἔχομεν εὖ κεκραμένον,[4]
ἵν' οὔτ' ἄγαν πῦρ οὔτε χεῖμα συμπίτνει[5]·
ἃ δ' Ἑλλὰς Ἀσία τ' ἐκτρέφει[6] κάλλιστα, γῆν
δέλεαρ[7] ἔχοντες τήνδε,[8] συνθηρεύομεν.

ἀλλ' ὁ ταῦτα γράψας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ᾤχετο καὶ παρ' Ἀρχελάῳ κατεβίωσεν. ἀκήκοας δέ που[9] καὶ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον·

F Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας·

καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ Σιμωνίδης πρότερον. τὸ δὲ "Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασέως[10] ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις τόδε"[11] πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσιν "Ἡροδότου Θουρίου"· μετῴκησε γὰρ εἰς Θουρίους[12] καὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐκείνης μετέσχε. τὸ δὲ
605 ἱερὸν καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐν μούσαις πνεῦμα,

Φρυγίας κοσμήτορα μάχας,

Ὅμηρον, οὐ τοῦτο πεποίηκε πολλαῖς ἀμφισβητήσι-

[1] εἰσαγώγιμοι Lycurgus : ἀγώγιμοι.
[2] δὴ Xylander (δ' οὖν Dobree ; καὶ Emperius) : δὲ.
[3] γύναι Stephanus, Ald.[2] : γυναῖκες.
[4] κεκραμένον Xylander : συγκεκραμένον (-μμ- vw).
[5] συμπίτνει Nauck : συμπιτνεῖ.
[6] τ' ἐκτρέφει Musgrave : τε τρέφει.
[7] γῆν δέλεαρ Lobeck : τῆσδε ἔλεαρ.
[8] τήνδε added by Lobeck.
[9] δέ που Emperius (δὲ δήπου Wyttenbach) : δι' ἐπῶν.
[10] ἁλικαρνασέως] ἀλικαρνασέως a (-ασσέως v ; -ασσῆος w).
[11] ἀπόδειξις τόδε] ἀπόδεξις ἥδε w.

Pieced out by importation from abroad.[a]
If, madam, you permit a passing boast,
The sky above our land is temperate,
Where neither comes excess of heat nor cold,
And all the fairest fruits of Greece and Asia
With Attica as bait entice we hither.[b]

Yet the writer of these lines went off to Macedonia and spent his remaining years at the court of Archelaüs. You have doubtless also heard this little poem :

The Athenian, Aeschylus, Euphorion's son,
This grave conceals in Gela's fields of corn.[c]

For he also sailed away to Sicily, as Simonides did before him. The statement "This is the setting forth of the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus"[d] is altered by many to read "Herodotus of Thurii," as the author migrated to Thurii and joined in the settlement of that colony. Take that spirit of poetry, holy and inspired,

Who glorified the Phrygian fray,[e]

Homer : what else has made many cities contend

[a] From the *Erechtheus* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 360. 7-10. There was a game in which a compact body of pieces was called a "city." *Cf.* Adam on Plato, *Republic*, 422 E (Cambridge, 1902).

[b] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 981. Plutarch, no doubt relying on his notes (*cf. Mor.* 464 F), has here combined two different passages.

[c] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii, p. 241, Aeschylus, no. 4 ; or Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* i. 1^3, p. 78.

[d] Herodotus, i. 1. For the "change," which may be what Herodotus actually wrote, see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. ii. 205-213, and J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 63 f.

[e] Pindar, frag. 345 (ed. Snell).

12 Θουρίους Xylander : θούρους.

(605) μον πόλεσιν, ὅτι μὴ μιᾶς ἐστιν ἐγκωμιαστής; καὶ ξενίου Διὸς πολλαὶ τιμαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.

14. Εἰ δὲ φήσει τις ὅτι δόξαν οὗτοι καὶ τιμὰς ἐθήρευον, ἐπὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐλθὲ καὶ τὰς σοφὰς Ἀθήνησι σχολὰς καὶ διατριβάς· ἀναπέμπασαι τὰς ἐν Λυκείῳ, τὰς ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τὴν Στοάν, τὸ Παλλάδιον, τὸ Ὠιδεῖον. εἰ τὴν Περιπατητικὴν ἀσπάζῃ μάλιστα καὶ τεθαύμακας, Ἀριστοτέλης ἦν B ἐκ Σταγείρων, Θεόφραστος ἐξ Ἐρέσου,[1] Στράτων ἐκ Λαμψάκου, Γλύκων[2] ἐκ Τρῳάδος, Ἀρίστων ἐκ Κέω, Κριτόλαος Φασηλίτης· εἰ[3] τὴν Στωικήν, Ζήνων Κιτιεύς, Κλεάνθης Ἄσσιος,[4] Χρύσιππος Σολεύς, Διογένης Βαβυλώνιος, Ἀντίπατρος Ταρσεύς, ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀρχέδημος, εἰς τὴν Πάρθων[5] μεταστάς, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Στωικὴν διαδοχὴν ἀπέλιπε. τίς οὖν τούτους ἐδίωξεν; οὐδείς· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ διώκοντες ἡσυχίαν,[6] ἧς οὐ πάνυ μέτεστιν οἴκοι τοῖς ἡντιναοῦν δόξαν ἢ δύναμιν ἔχουσι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα λόγοις τοῦτο δὲ ἔργοις ἡμᾶς[7] διδάσκουσι. καὶ γὰρ νῦν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ κράτιστοι ζῶσιν ἐπὶ ξένης, C οὐ μετασταθέντες, ἀλλὰ μεταστάντες, οὐδὲ φυγαδευθέντες, ἀλλὰ φυγόντες αὐτοὶ πράγματα καὶ περισπασμοὺς καὶ ἀσχολίας, ἃς αἱ πατρίδες φέρουσι.

[1] Ἐρέσου Victorius : ἐρεσίου Stobaeus : ἐφέσου.
[2] Γλύκων] γλαύκων δὲ Stobaeus ; Λύκων Xylander.
[3] εἰ n Par. 2076 : εἰς.
[4] Ἄσσιος Leonicus : λύσιος.
[5] πάρθων a² : πάρθον.
[6] ἡσυχίαν] ἡσυχίαν καὶ σπουδήν Stobaeus.
[7] ἔργοις ἡμᾶς] ἡμᾶς ἔργῳ Stobaeus.

[a] That is, the god of strangers.

for him, but the fact that he eulogizes no single one ? So too the honours of Zeus Xenios [a] are numerous and great.

14. If it is objected that these men went in quest of fame and honours, go to the wise men and to the schools and resorts of wisdom at Athens ; pass in review those in the Lyceum, in the Academy ; the Porch, the Palladium,[b] the Odeum.[c] If it is the Peripatetic school you favour and admire most, Aristotle was from Stageira, Theophrastus from Eresus, Straton from Lampsacus, Glycon [d] from the Troad, Ariston from Ceos, Critolaüs from Phaselis ; if the Stoic, Zeno was from Citium, Cleanthes from Assos, Chrysippus from Soli, Diogenes from Babylon, Antipater from Tarsus, and the Athenian Archedemus removed to the country of the Parthians and left a Stoic succession at Babylon. Who, then, pursued these men ? No one ; it was they who pursued peace, which at home is hardly the portion of those who have any fame or power, and thus, while teaching the rest of their doctrines by what they said, teach us this lesson by what they did. So too at present those men who are of most approved and surpassing merit live abroad, not forced to depart, but departing of themselves, and not put to flight, but themselves fleeing the cares, distractions, and press of business that are the product of their native lands.[e] Indeed the

[b] For Cleitomachus' lectures in the Palladium *cf.* S. Mekler, *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculanensis*, coll. xxiv. 36, xxv. 8, xxx. 9.

[c] Chrysippus is said to have taught in the Odeum : *cf. Mor.* 1033 E, Diogenes Laert. vii. 184, and Athenaeus, 336 E.

[d] More commonly known as Lycon : *cf.* Diogenes Laert. v. 66.

[e] *Cf.* Musonius, p. 43. 8 ff. (ed. Hense).

(605) καὶ γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἱ Μοῦσαι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν συνταγμάτων καὶ δοκιμώτατα φυγὴν λαβοῦσαι συνεργὸν ἐπετέλεσαν. "Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος συνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων" ἐν Θρᾴκῃ περὶ τὴν Σκαπτὴν Ὕλην, Ξενοφῶν ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι τῆς Ἠλείας, Φιλίστος[1] ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, Τίμαιος ὁ Ταυρομενείτης ἐν
D Ἀθήναις, Ἀνδροτίων Ἀθηναῖος ἐν Μεγάροις, Βακχυλίδης ὁ ποιητὴς[2] ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. πάντες οὗτοι καὶ πλέονες ἄλλοι, τῶν πατρίδων ἐκπεσόντες, οὐκ ἀπέγνωσαν οὐδὲ ἔρριψαν ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς εὐφυΐαις, ἐφόδιον παρὰ τῆς τύχης τὴν φυγὴν λαβόντες, δι' ἣν πανταχοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότες μνημονεύονται· τῶν δὲ ἐκβαλόντων καὶ καταστασιασάντων[3] οὐδὲ εἷς λόγος οὐθενὸς[4] ἀπολέλειπται.

15. Διὸ καὶ γελοῖός ἐστιν ὁ νομίζων ἀδοξίαν τῇ φυγῇ προσεῖναι. τί λέγεις; ἄδοξός ἐστι Διογένης, ὃν ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἡλίῳ καθήμενον ἐπιστὰς ἠρώτησεν εἴ τινος δεῖται, τοῦ δὲ μηθὲν ἀλλ' ἢ
E σμικρὸν ἀποσκοτίσαι κελεύσαντος, ἐκπλαγεὶς τὸ φρόνημα, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤμην, Διογένης ἂν ἤμην;" ἠδόξει δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλαυνόμενος, ἧς δεύτερος κτίστης νῦν ἀναγορεύεται; καὶ μὴν Θεμιστοκλῆς οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξαν φυγὼν ἀπέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις προσέλαβε· καὶ οὐδείς

[1] Φιλίστος Leonicus: φίλιππος.
[2] ποιητὴς] Ἰουλιήτης Cobet; Κεῖος ποιητὴς Capps.
[3] καταστασιασάντων Emperius: στασιασάντων.
[4] οὐθενὸς] οὐδενὸς a.

[a] Thucydides, i. 1.
[b] For the fame of exiles cf. Favorinus, col. iii. 24 ff., where Diogenes, Heracles, and Odysseus are cited as examples.

Muses, it appears, called exile to their aid in perfecting for the ancients the finest and most esteemed of their writings. "Thucydides of Athens composed the history of the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians"[a] in Thrace at Scaptê Hylê; Xenophon wrote at Scillus in Elis, Philistus in Epeirus, Timaeus of Tauromenium at Athens, Androtion of Athens at Megara, and the poet Bacchylides in the Peloponnese. All these and many more, when driven from their country, did not despair or lie prostrate in grief, but put their native abilities to use, accepting their exile as a provision granted by Fortune for this end, an exile that has made them everywhere remembered even in death; while of those who banished them and triumphed over them in the struggle of factions not one enjoys at present the slightest recognition.

15. He, therefore, who thinks that loss of fame is attendant upon exile is ridiculous.[b] What nonsense! Is Diogenes lacking in fame? Why, Alexander, seeing him sitting in the sun, stopped to ask whether he wanted anything; and when Diogenes merely requested him to stand a bit out of his light,[c] the king, struck with such high spirit, said to his friends: "Were I not Alexander, I should be Diogenes."[d] Was Camillus deprived of fame when he was banished from Rome, of which he is now acclaimed the second founder?[e] Indeed Themistocles after his banishment did not lose his fame among the Greeks, but won new fame among the barbarians[f]; and no one

[c] *Cf.* Diogenes Laert. vi. 38; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 32 (92).

[d] *Cf. Life of Alexander*, chap. xiv. 2 (671 D-E), and *Mor.* 331 E-F and 782 A.

[e] *Cf. Life of Camillus*, chap. i. 1 (129 B), and Livy, vii. 1. 10.

[f] *Cf.* Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 26. 3.

(605) ἐστιν οὕτως ἀφιλότιμος οὐδὲ ἀγεννής, ὃς μᾶλλον ἂν ἐβούλετο Λεωβώτης[1] ὁ γραψάμενος ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ φυγαδευθεὶς εἶναι, καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ ἐκ-
F βαλὼν ἢ Κικέρων ὁ ἐκβληθείς, καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ κατηγορήσας ἢ Τιμόθεος ὁ μεταστὰς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος.

16. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς τὰ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου κινεῖ, δυνατῶς τῆς φυγῆς κατηγορεῖν δοκοῦντος, ἴδωμεν ἃ λέγει καθ' ἕκαστον ἐρωτῶν καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος·

— τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἦ κακὸν μέγα;
— μέγιστον· ἔργῳ δ' ἐστὶ μεῖζον ἢ λόγῳ.
— τίς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ; τί φυγάσιν[2] τὸ δυστυχές;[3]
— ἓν μὲν μέγιστον· οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.
— δούλου τόδ' εἶπας, μὴ λέγειν ἅ τις φρονεῖ.
606 — τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίαν[4] φέρειν χρεών.

ταῦτα πρώτως[5] οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ ἀληθῶς ἀξιοῦται. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ δούλου τὸ "μὴ λέγειν ἅ τις φρονεῖ," ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐν καιροῖς καὶ πράγμασιν ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς δεομένοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀλλαχόθι βέλτιον εἴρηκε

σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἵν' ἀσφαλές·

ἔπειτα "τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίαν" οὐχ ἧττον οἴκοι μένοντας ἢ φεύγοντας ἀνάγκη φέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον πολλάκις οἱ μένοντες τῶν ἀπαλλαγέντων τοὺς ἰσχύοντας ἐν πόλεσιν ἀδίκως τῷ συ-

[1] Λεωβώτης Kontos : λεωβάτης (λεωκράτης β²).
[2] φυγάσιν Eur. : φυγάσι. [3] δυστυχές] δυσχερές Eur.
[4] τὴν . . . ἀμαθίαν] τὰς . . . ἀμαθίας Eur.
[5] πρώτως] ὁρᾷς ὡς Reiske ; πρῶθ' ὁρᾷς ὡς Pohlenz.

is so indifferent to fame or so ignoble that he would rather have been Leobotes,[a] who brought the indictment, than Themistocles, who was condemned to exile, Clodius the banisher than Cicero the banished, or Aristophon, who made the accusation, than Timotheüs, who withdrew from his native land.

16. But since many are stirred by the words of Euripides,[b] who is thought to arraign exile very forcibly, let us see what he has to say on the several counts of his indictment, as he presents them in the form of question and answer :

Joc. What is the loss of country ? A great ill ?
Pol. Surpassing great ; no words can do it justice.
Joc. What is it like ? What ills beset the banished ?
Pol. One greater than the rest : speech is not free.
Joc. That is a slave's part—not to speak one's mind.
Pol. The folly of the mighty must be borne.

These initial assumptions are wrong and untrue. In the first place it is not a slave's part " not to speak one's mind," but that of a man of sense on occasions and in matters that demand silence and restraint of speech, as Euripides [c] himself has elsewhere put it better :

Silence in season, speech where speech is safe.

In the next place we are compelled to bear " the folly of the mighty " no less at home than in exile ; indeed, those who remain behind are often in even greater terror of men who wield unjust power in cities through chicane or violence than those who

[a] *Cf. Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxiii. 1 (123 c).
[b] *Phoenissae*, 388-393 ; *cf.* Musonius, p. 48. 6 ff. (ed. Hense). Jocasta asks the questions, Polyneices answers.
[c] From the *Ino* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 413. 2 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 506 c.

(606) B κοφαντεῖν ἢ βιάζεσθαι δεδίασι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ ἀτοπώτατον εἰ παρρησίαν τῶν φυγάδων ἀφαιρεῖται· θαυμαστὸν γὰρ εἰ Θεόδωρος ἀπαρρησίαστος ἦν, ὃς[1] Λυσιμάχου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτόν, "ἡ πατρίς σε τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἐξέβαλε;" "ναί," εἶπε, "μὴ δυναμένη φέρειν, ὥσπερ ἡ Σεμέλη τὸν Διόνυσον." ἐπιδείξαντος δὲ αὐτῷ Τελεσφόρον[2] ἐν γαλεάγρᾳ, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορωρυγμένον καὶ περικεκομμένον τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν[3] ἐκτετμημένον, καὶ εἰπόντος, "οὕτως ἐγὼ διατίθημι τοὺς κακῶς με ποιοῦντας"· "τί δὲ Θεοδώρῳ μέλει," ἔφη, "πότερον ὑπὲρ γῆς
C ἢ ὑπὸ γῆς σήπεται;"[4] τί δέ; Διογένης οὐκ εἶχε παρρησίαν, ὃς εἰς τὸ[5] Φιλίππου στρατόπεδον παρελθὼν ὁπηνίκα μαχούμενος[6] ἐχώρει τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχθεὶς ὡς κατάσκοπος, "ναί," κατάσκοπος ἔφη ἀφῖχθαι τῆς ἀπληστίας[7] αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀφροσύνης, ἥκοντος ἐν βραχεῖ καιρῷ διακυβεῦσαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ σώματος; τί δέ; Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος οὐκ ἐχρῆτο παρρησίᾳ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον, ὄντα βασιλέα[8] φυγὰς ὤν, ὁπηνίκα, καιροῦ διδόντος, ἐκέλευεν[9] αὐτὸν ἐπιχει-

[1] ὃς Laur. Conv. Soppr. 57[2] : ὁ.
[2] Τελεσφόρον] Τελέσφορον (*cf.* Athenaeus, 616 c)?
[3] γλῶτταν] γλῶσσαν vw.
[4] τί δέ through σήπεται supplied by Bern. from *Mor.* 499 D.
[5] τὸ] τὸ τοῦ a.
[6] μαχούμενος] μαχόμενος (-ον w) vw.
[7] ἀφῖχθαι τῆς ἀπληστίας] τῆς ἀπληστίας ἀφῖχθαι a.
[8] ὄντα βασιλέα Bern. : βασιλέα ὄντα.
[9] ἐκέλευεν] ἐκέλευσεν v.

[a] *Cf.* Musonius, p. 48. 19 ff. (ed. Hense).

have taken their departure.[a] But the last and greatest absurdity is that banishment should deprive the exile of free speech: it is astonishing if Theodorus[b] was without free speech, the man who, when King Lysimachus said to him: "Did your country cast out a man of your qualities?" replied: "Yes; I was too much for it, as Dionysus was for Semelê."[c] And when the king showed him Telesphorus[d] in a cage, his eyes gouged out, his nose and ears lopped off, his tongue cut out, and said: "To this plight I bring those who injure me," Theodorus replied: "What cares Theodorus whether he rots above the ground or under it?"[e] And did Diogenes lack freedom of speech—Diogenes who appeared at the camp of Philip as the king was advancing to join battle with the Greeks, was brought before him as a spy, and answered that he had come to spy indeed—on Philip's insatiable greed and folly in coming to stake on the cast of the dice in a few decisive moments both his empire and his person?[f] Did Hannibal the Carthaginian mince his words to Antiochus, an exile to a king, on that occasion when he urged him to

[b] Theodorus of Cyrenê, surnamed "the atheist" or "the god," a philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, lived in the fourth and third centuries.

[c] *Cf.* Diogenes Laert. ii. 102; Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 129 f.; Philodemus, *On Death*, col. xxxii. 23 f. Semelê, when big with Dionysus, asked to see Zeus in his full glory; Zeus complied, and Semelê was consumed in flames. Zeus took the unborn child and sewed it in his thigh, and thus Dionysus was born a second time.

[d] *Cf.* Athenaeus, 616 c, and Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 17. 2-4.

[e] *Cf. Mor.* 499 D with the note, and Stobaeus, vol. iii, pp. 316 f. (ed. Hense).

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 70 C; *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xx. 3 (855 B); Diogenes Laert. vi. 43.

(606) ρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοῦ δὲ θυσαμένου καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κωλύειν φάσκοντος, ἐπετίμησεν εἰπών· "σὺ τί κρέας λέγει ποιεῖς,[1] οὐ τί νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος;" ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γεωμετρῶν φυγὴ παρρησίαν οὐδὲ γραμματικῶν[2] ἀφαιρεῖται, περὶ ὧν ἴσασι καὶ D μεμαθήκασι διαλεγομένων, πόθεν γε δὴ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπων; ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγεννὲς πανταχοῦ τὴν φωνὴν "ἐμφράττει, τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀποστρέφει, ἄγχει, σιωπᾶν ποιεῖ."

Τὰ δ' ἑξῆς τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ποῖά τινά ἐστιν;

— αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι φυγάδας, ὡς λόγος.
— καλοῖς βλέπουσί[3] γ' ὄμμασιν,[4] μέλλουσι δέ.

καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἀβελτερίας ἔγκλημα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς φυγῆς ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ μαθόντες οὐδὲ ἐπιστάμενοι χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀεὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐκκρεμάμενοι καὶ γλιχόμενοι τῶν ἀπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ E σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, κἂν μηδέποτε τοῦ τείχους ἐκτὸς προέλθωσι.

— φίλοι δὲ πατρὸς καὶ ξένοι σ' οὐκ ὠφέλουν;
— εὖ πρᾶσσε· τὰ φίλων δ' οὐδέν, ἤν τις δυστυχῇ.[5]
— οὐδ' ηὑγένειά σ' ἦρεν εἰς ὕψος μέγα;
— κακὸν τὸ μὴ ἔχειν· τὸ γένος[6] οὐκ ἔβοσκέ με.

[1] ποιεῖς] σκοπεῖς Pflugk (but for τίς=ὅς *cf.* Mayser, *Gramm. d. griech. Pap. aus d. Ptolemäerzeit*, ii. 1, p. 80 and note 1). Hannibal's Greek is colloquial.
[2] γραμματικῶν w: γραμμικῶν.
[3] βλέπουσί] βλέπουσαί a scholium on Eur.
[4] ὄμμασιν a[2]: ὄμμασι.
[5] ἤν τις δυστυχῇ] ἤν τι δυστυχῇς Elmsley.
[6] γένος some MSS. of Eur.: γένος δ'.

[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Div.* ii. 24 (52), copied by Valerius

seize a favourable chance to attack the enemy, and when the king resorted to sacrifice and said that the entrails opposed such a course, Hannibal rebuked him with the words: "You defer to a piece of meat, and not a man of sense"?[a] Nay, exile does not even destroy freedom of speech in geometers and grammarians, when they converse about the subjects they know and have been taught; how, then, could exile destroy it in good and worthy men?[b] It is meanness of spirit that everywhere "stops up the voice, ties the tongue, chokes, imposes silence."[c]

What are we to say of the next words of Euripides?[d]

> Joc. 'Tis said that exiles live upon their hopes.
> Pol. Their eyes hold promise, but they tarry ever.

This too is rather a charge against stupidity than against exile.[e] For it is not those who have learned and know how to put the present to good use, but those who are ever hanging upon the future and longing for what they do not have, that are tossed about on hope as on a raft, though they never go beyond the city wall.

> Joc. Did not your father's friends and hosts avail you?
> Pol. Prosper: your friends are naught when trouble comes.
> Joc. Nor yet did noble lineage raise you high?
> Pol. To have not is a curse; birth would not feed me.[f]

Maximus, ii. 7, ext. 6. Here the king is Prusias, not Antiochus.

[b] *Cf.* Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 48-50. Teles (p. 21. 2-5 Hense) cites flute-players and actors—notorious migrants—as examples.

[c] Demosthenes, *Or.* xix (*De Falsa Leg.*). 208 (p. 406); quoted also in *Mor.* 88 c. [d] *Phoenissae*, 396-397.

[e] *Cf.* Musonius, p. 50. 15 ff. (ed. Hense).

[f] Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 402-405.

(606) *ταῦτα ἤδη καὶ ἀχάριστα, τοῦ Πολυνείκους ἀτιμίαν μέν*[1] *εὐγενείας, ἀφιλίαν δὲ τῆς φυγῆς κατηγοροῦντος, ὃς διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἠξιώθη μὲν φυγὰς ὢν γάμων βασιλικῶν, φίλων δὲ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει*
F *τοσαύτῃ πεφραγμένος ἐστράτευσεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μετὰ μικρὸν ὁμολογεῖ·*

> *πολλοὶ δὲ*[2] *Δαναῶν καὶ Μυκηναίων ἄκροι πάρεισι, λυπρὰν χάριν, ἀναγκαίαν δ', ἐμοὶ διδόντες.*

ὅμοια δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρός, ὀλοφυρομένης

> *ἐγὼ δέ σοι οὔτε πῦρ ἀνῆψα*[3]
> *νόμιμον*[4] *ἐν γάμοις,*[5]
> *ἀνυμέναια δ' Ἱσμηνὸς*[6] *ἐκηδεύθη*
> *λουτροφόρου χλιδᾶς.*

ταύτην ἔδει χαίρειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν πυνθανομένην[7] *ναίοντα*[8] *βασίλεια τηλικαῦτα τὸν υἱόν· ἡ δὲ θρηνοῦσα τὴν οὐκ ἀναφθεῖσαν λαμπάδα καὶ τὸν οὐ παρα-*
607 *σχόντα λουτρὸν Ἱσμηνόν, ὡς ἐν Ἄργει μήτε ὕδωρ τῶν γαμούντων μήτε πῦρ ἐχόντων, τὰ τοῦ τύφου κακὰ καὶ τῆς ἀβελτερίας τῇ φυγῇ περιτίθησιν.*

17. *Ἀλλ' ἐπονείδιστον ὁ φυγάς ἐστι. παρά γε τοῖς ἄφροσιν, οἳ καὶ "τὸν πτωχὸν" λοιδόρημα*

[1] *μὲν*] *μὲν τῆς* Capps.
[2] *δὲ* added from Eur.
[3] *ἐγὼ* through *ἀνῆψα*] *ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς* Eur.
[4] *νόμιμον* Eur. : *γόνιμον*.
[5] *γάμοις*] *γάμοις ὡς πρέπει ματέρι μακαρίᾳ* Eur.
[6] *ἀνυμέναια δ' Ἱσμηνὸς*] *ἀνυμεναία δ' Ἰσμηνοῦ χωρὶς* Capps. For Plutarch's aspiration of *Ἱσμηνός* *cf.* W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 393.
[7] *πυνθανομένην*] omitted in vw.
[8] *ναίοντα* a[2] : *καίοντα*.

These words of Polyneices now smack of ingratitude, when he charges noble birth with depriving him of honours and banishment with robbing him of friends ; for he, an exile, won a princess in marriage by his noble birth, and when he took the field had that great and powerful alliance of friends to defend him, as he himself admits a few lines later :

> And many Danaan chiefs and Mycenaean
> Are here to do me kindness—sorry kindness,
> But sorry though it be, I need it sore.[a]

In the same vein are his mother's words, when she laments :

> But I have lighted
> No ritual torch to celebrate thy nuptials ;
> No hymeneal pride of soft ablution
> Attended this alliance of Hismenus.[b]

She should have rejoiced and been content when she learned that her son dwelt in so great a palace ; instead, bewailing the unlit torch and Hismenus, who had provided no ablution, as though in Argos bridegrooms had neither water nor fire, she imputes to exile the miseries arising from infatuation and stupidity.

17. But " exile " is a term of reproach.[c] Yes, among fools, who make terms of abuse out of

[a] Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 430-432.

[b] Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 344 f., 347 f. Hismenus was the river in Thebes from which the water for the bridegroom's ritual bath was taken. Jocasta appears to speak of the river as if it were a kinsman of the bridegroom and had thus become allied to the bride. Text and interpretation have both been disputed.

[c] This charge is also presented and answered by Teles (p. 25. 8-10 Hense), Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 13. 4 ff., and Favorinus, col. xxv. 13 ff.

(607) ποιοῦνται[1] καὶ "τὸν φαλακρὸν" καὶ "τὸν μικρὸν" καὶ νὴ Δία "τὸν ξένον" καὶ "τὸν μέτοικον." ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ μὴ τούτοις ὑποφερόμενοι θαυμάζουσι τοὺς ἀγαθούς, κἂν πένητες ὦσι, κἂν ξένοι, κἂν φυγάδες. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁρῶμεν, ὥσπερ τὸν Παρθενῶνα καὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον ἅπαντας προσκυνοῦντας; καὶ μὴν ἔφυγε Θησεὺς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, δι' ὃν οἰκοῦσι νῦν[2] Ἀθήνας ἄνθρωποι, καὶ
B πόλιν ἀπέβαλεν ἣν οὐκ ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. τῇ δὲ Ἐλευσῖνι τί λείπεται καλόν, ἂν αἰσχυνώμεθα[3] τὸν Εὔμολπον, ὃς ἐκ Θρᾴκης μεταστὰς ἐμύησε καὶ μυεῖ τοὺς Ἕλληνας; Κόδρος δὲ τίνος ὢν ἐβασίλευσεν; οὐ Μελάνθου, φυγάδος ἐκ Μεσσήνης; τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀντισθένους οὐκ ἐπαινεῖς πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι "Φρυγία σού[4] ἐστιν ἡ μήτηρ"· "καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν θεῶν"; τί οὖν οὐ καὶ σύ, λοιδορούμενος "φυγάς," ἀποκρίνῃ, "καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ καλλινίκου πατὴρ φυγὰς ἦν, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου πάππος, ὡς ἐξεπέμφθη τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀνευρεῖν,[5] οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθε, 'Φοῖνιξ πεφυκώς, ἐκ δ''
C ὁρίζεται 'γένος' εἰς τὰς Θήβας παραγενόμενος

[1] ποιοῦνται a²: ποιοῦντα.
[2] εἰς after νῦν deleted by Dübner.
[3] αἰσχυνώμεθα Stephanus: ᾐσχυνόμεθα (ᾐσχυνώμεθα vw).
[4] σού] omitted in vw.
[5] ἀνευρεῖν] ἐξευρεῖν a¹; ἀνδρεῖν v; ἀνελεῖν w.

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[a] *Cf.* Diogenes Laert. vi. 1. Plutarch calls Antisthenes' mother a Phrygian; Diogenes Laertius and Seneca (*De Const. Sap.* 18. 5) call her a Thracian.

"pauper," "bald," "short," and indeed "foreigner" and "immigrant." But those who are not carried away by such considerations admire good men, even if they are poor or foreigners or exiles. Nay, do we not observe that like the Parthenon and the Eleusinium, so the Theseum is saluted with reverence by all? Yet Theseus was banished from Athens, though it is because of him that Athens is now inhabited; and that city was lost to him which he did not take possession of, but himself created. What glory remains to Eleusis, if we are to be ashamed of Eumolpus, who, a migrant from Thrace, initiated and still initiates the Greeks into the mysteries? Whose son was Codrus, who became king? Was it not of Melanthus, an exile from Messenê? Do you not commend Antisthenes' retort to the man who remarked, "Your mother is a Phrygian:" "So too is the Mother of the Gods"? [a] Why then do not you, when "exile" is cast in your teeth, make a similar reply: "So too the father of Heracles the victorious was an exile, so too the grandsire [b] of Dionysus, when sent out to find Europa, like her, did not return, though 'Phoenician born,' but by coming to Thebes expatriated his 'descendant,' [c]

[b] That is, Cadmus. For Cadmus as an exile held in honour *cf.* Teles, p. 28. 4 (ed. Hense).

[c] Adapted by Plutarch from the *Phrixus* of Euripides: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 819. 3:

> Φοῖνιξ πεφυκώς, ἐκ δ' ἀμείβεται γένος
> Ἑλληνικόν

> "Phoenician born, his race he did exchange
> For Greek."

Plutarch uses the word *genos* ("race" in Euripides) in the sense of "descendant," and substitutes "expatriated" for "did exchange."

(607) εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα[1]
μαινομέναις Διόνυσον[2]
ἀνθέοντα[3] τιμαῖς "[4];

Καὶ περὶ μὲν ὧν Αἰσχύλος ᾐνίξατο καὶ ὑπεδήλωσεν εἰπών,

ἁγνόν τ' Ἀπόλλω[5] φυγάδ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θεόν,

"εὔστομά μοι κείσθω" καθ' Ἡρόδοτον· ὁ δ' Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς φιλοσοφίας προαναφωνήσας,

ἔστιν[6] ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν,
εὖτέ τις ἀμπλακίῃσι φόνῳ[7] φίλα γυῖα μιήνῃ,[8]
δαίμονες οἵ τε μακραίωνος λελάχασι[9] βίοιο,
τρίς μιν μυρίας ὥρας ἀπὸ μακάρων ἀλάλησθαι,[10]
D τὴν[11] καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν εἶμι,[12] φυγὰς θεόθεν καὶ ἀλήτης,

οὐχ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντας ἀποδείκνυσι μετανάστας ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξένους καὶ φυγάδας ἡμᾶς ὄντας. "οὐ γὰρ αἷμα," φησίν, "ἡμῖν οὐδὲ πνεῦμα συγκραθέν, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ψυχῆς οὐσίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν παρέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων τὸ σῶμα συμπέπλασται, γηγενὲς καὶ θνητόν," τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀλλαχόθεν

[1] εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα *Mor.* 389 B, 671 C: εὐήνορσι γυναῖκα.
[2] μαινομέναις (μαινομένας v) διόνυσον vw *Mor.* 389 B: διόνυσον μαινομέναις (διόνυσον is put after τιμαῖσι in *Mor.* 671 C).
[3] ἀνθέοντα *Mor.* 389 B, 671 C: θύοντα.
[4] τιμαῖς] τιμαῖσι *Mor.* 671 C.
[5] Ἀπόλλω Aesch.: ἀπόλλωνος.
[6] ἔστιν Simplicius: ἔστι τι.
[7] φόνῳ Hippolytus: φόβῳ.
[8] μιήνῃ Hippolytus: μιν.
[9] μακραίωνος λελάχασι Hippolytus: μακραίωνες λελόγχασι.
[10] ἀλάλησθαι Stephanus: ἀλάλησθε (ἐλάλησθε v).
[11] τὴν (σὺν w): τῶν Hippolytus.
[12] εἶμι Bern.: εἰμι.

Euhius Dionysus,
Rouser of women,
Him that is adored in frenzy " ? [a]

Now as to the matters at which Aeschylus [b] hinted darkly when he said

And pure Apollo, god exiled from heaven

" let my lips " in the words of Herodotus [c] " be sealed " ; Empedocles,[d] however, when beginning the presentation of his philosophy, says by way of prelude :

A law there is, an oracle of Doom,
Of old enacted by the assembled gods,
That if a Daemon—such as live for ages—
Defile himself with foul and sinful murder,
He must for seasons thrice ten thousand roam
Far from the Blest : such is the path I tread,
I too a wanderer and exile from heaven,

indicating that not he himself merely, but all of us, beginning with himself, are sojourners here and strangers and exiles. " For," he says, " no commingling of blood or breath, O mortals, gave our souls their being and beginning ; it is the body, earth-born and mortal, that has been fashioned out of these," [e] and as the soul has come hither from else-

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*, Adespota, 131 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 389 B and 671 C.

[b] *Supplices*, 214 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 417 E.

[c] ii. 171. 1 and 2. The phrase is also used in *Mor.* 417 C and 636 E.

[d] From the Καθαρμοί : *cf.* Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], i, pp. 357 f., Empedocles, B 115. 1, 3, 5, 6, 13. *Cf.* also *Mor.* 418 E.

[e] This is Plutarch's interpretation, not a direct quotation or paraphrase.

(607) ἡκούσης δεῦρο, τὴν γένεσιν ἀποδημίαν ὑποκορίζεται τῷ πραοτάτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων. τὸ δὲ ἀληθέστατον, φεύγει καὶ πλανᾶται, θείοις ἐλαυνομένη δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις, εἶτα, ὥσπερ ἐν νήσῳ σάλον ἐχούσῃ[1] πολύν, καθάπερ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, "ὀστρέου
E τρόπον" ἐνδεδεμένη[2] τῷ σώματι διὰ τὸ μὴ μνημονεύειν μηδὲ ἀναφέρειν[3]

ἐξ οἵης τιμῆς τε καὶ ὅσσου[4] μήκεος ὄλβου

μεθέστηκεν, οὐ Σάρδεων Ἀθήνας, οὐδὲ Κορίνθου Λῆμνον ἢ Σκῦρον, ἀλλ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ σελήνης γῆν ἀμειψαμένη καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς βίον, ἂν[5] μικρὸν ἐνταῦθα τόπον ἐκ τόπου παραλλάξῃ, δυσανασχετεῖ καὶ ξενοπαθεῖ, καθάπερ φυτὸν ἀγεννὲς ἀπομαραινομένη. καίτοι φυτῷ μὲν ἔστι τις χώρα μᾶλλον ἑτέρας ἑτέρα πρόσφορος, ἐν ᾗ τρέφεται καὶ βλαστάνει βέλτιον, ἀνθρώπου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται
F τόπος εὐδαιμονίαν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ φρόνησιν. ἀλλ' Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὸν τοῦ κύκλου τετραγωνισμὸν ἔγραφε, Σωκράτης δέ, φάρμακον πίνων, ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ παρεκάλει φιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς συνήθεις, εὐδαιμονιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν· τὸν δὲ Φαέθοντα καὶ τὸν Τάνταλον, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβάντας, οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην.

[1] ἐχούσῃ] ἐχούσης vw.
[2] ἐνδεδεμένη] δεδεμένη Stobaeus (δεδεσμευμένοι Plato).
[3] μνημονεύειν μηδὲ ἀναφέρειν] ἀναφέρειν μηδὲ μνημονεύειν Stobaeus.
[4] ὅσσου Ald.[2] : ὅσου.
[5] ἂν Stobaeus : ἵνα.

[a] This is apparently Plutarch's interpretation of "that path is mine."
[b] *Phaedrus*, 250 c.

where, he euphemistically calls birth a "journey," [a] using the mildest of terms. But it is truest to say that the soul is an exile and a wanderer, driven forth by divine decrees and laws; and then, as on an island buffeted by the seas, imprisoned within the body "like an oyster in its shell," as Plato [b] says, because it does not remember or recall

What honour and what high felicity [c]

it has left, not leaving Sardis for Athens or Corinth for Lemnos or Scyros, but Heaven and the Moon for earth and life on earth, if it shifts but a short distance here from one spot to another, it is resentful and feels strange, drooping like a base-born plant.[d] And yet for a plant one region is more favourable than another for thriving and growth, but from a man no place can take away happiness, as none can take away virtue or wisdom [e]; nay, Anaxagoras in prison was busied with squaring the circle,[f] and Socrates, when he drank the hemlock, engaged in philosophy and invited his companions to do the same, and was by them deemed happy [g]; whereas Phaëthon and Tantalus, as poets tell, when they had ascended to heaven, met with the most grievous disasters through their folly.[h]

[c] From Empedocles' Καθαρμοί: *cf.* Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], i. p. 359, Empedocles, B 119. 1.

[d] *Cf.* Plato's description of man as a "celestial plant" quoted 600 F, *supra*, and note.

[e] *Cf. Life of Aristeides*, chap. xii. 2 (326 B); Musonius, p. 42. 6 (ed. Hense); Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 26. 2; Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 150.

[f] *Cf.* Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[6], ii, p. 14, Anaxagoras, A 38.

[g] *Cf. Mor.* 499 B and Plato, *Phaedo*, 58 E.

[h] Socrates and Phaëthon are also contrasted in *Mor.* 466 E-F.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE

(CONSOLATIO AD UXOREM)

INTRODUCTION

The *Consolatio ad Uxorem* is the letter written by Plutarch to his wife on receiving news of the death of their daughter Timoxena (611 D), who died at the age of two (610 E). She was named after her mother, and her birth had been preceded by that of four boys (608 C). Of Plutarch's children two had already died, the eldest and "fair Charon" (609 D). It has been supposed that the four sons and Timoxena were Plutarch's only children. But this means that θυγατριδῆ (608 B)—literally "daughter's daughter"—and γαμβρός—literally "son-in-law"—must be taken in some other sense. The passage cited by R. Volkmann [a] (Dionysius, *Lysias*, 27) does not establish the sense of "niece" for θυγατριδῆ, as the person in question was both niece (on her father's side) and granddaughter (on her mother's) of the same man. Three persons are mentioned in the *Moralia* as "sons-in-law," [b] which would imply at least one other

[a] *Leben, Schriften, und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea* (Berlin, 1869), i, p. 29.

[b] Craton (*Mor.* 620 A); Firmus (*Mor.* 636 A); and Patrocleas (*Mor.* 642 C). R. Volkmann, *op. cit.* i, pp. 57 f., Wilamowitz, *Commentariolum Grammaticum*, iii, pp. 23 f., and W. Christ, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.*[5], ii. 1, p. 368, suppose that γαμβρός, as applied to these three, does not mean "son-in-law." Volkmann thinks it may mean "brother-in-law," while Wilamowitz takes it to mean "niece's husband" and asks what other name Plutarch could have given to such a relation.

daughter. There has been some reluctance to admit the existence of such a daughter because of a passage that might be taken to indicate that Plutarch was married but once,[a] and because the other known children of Plutarch—Soclarus, Autobulus, and Plutarchus—can all be accounted for among the four sons mentioned in the letter.[b]

Plutarch must have written the letter in the interval between receiving the news at Tanagra and rejoining his wife at Chaeroneia, which is somewhat over forty miles distant as the crow flies—a journey of one or two days. Presumably the letter was written at Tanagra and sent on in advance. Several of Plutarch's writings are judged from their incomplete state to have been draughts found among his papers after his death; this letter, then, may not have been published by Plutarch himself, but given to the world by the piety of his literary heirs.[c] Yet consolations in epistolary form were often, like other letters, written for publication.[d]

Traditional topics are common in all literary genres, and especially so in consolations, which must be produced within a limited time if they are to have

[a] *Life of Cato the Younger*, chap. vii. 3 (762 E); *cf.* K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi 1 (1951), coll. 648 f.

[b] For Soclarus *cf. Mor.* 15 A; for Autobulus and Plutarchus, *Mor.* 1012 A. It is conjectured that the eldest child who had died (609 D) was Soclarus, as his name does not appear with those of Autobulus and Plutarchus in the dedication of the *De Animae Procreatione in Timaeo* (1012 A).

[c] The title varies in the MSS. It is not unlikely, then, that it does not come from Plutarch. In spite of the haste in which the letter was probably written, it contains only one serious hiatus, ἐχέτω ὡς (608 B)—and here the text is doubtless corrupt.

[d] The epistolary form is frequent in consolations; it is the natural form for conveying a message of comfort at a distance.

their fullest effect. Consequently the writer has all the more reason to avail himself of traditional arguments, modifying them to suit the particular circumstances. In this essay Plutarch's selection and adaptation of these topics is in part influenced by the particular circumstances (the death of their infant daughter) and in part by his Platonic philosophy.

A comparison with other ancient consolations, such as the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, the Pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*, Seneca's *Ad Polybium de Consolatione* and *Ad Marciam de Consolatione*, the first book of Cicero's *Tusculans*, and the third of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, reveals these constantly recurring themes. For example, some answer must be given to the question, What becomes of the soul after death? In the *Axiochus* and the *Tusculans* it is argued that whether the soul survives or perishes, death is in neither case an evil. Lucretius maintains that death is no evil because the soul perishes; Plutarch, because the soul survives.

The pattern for the philosophical consolations of the Hellenistic age was set by Crantor.[a] Behind Crantor there was a long literary tradition, extending from Homer through tragedy and the public funeral orations at Athens. Plutarch treats traditional themes with great freedom. For example, it is a commonplace that the state of man after death is comparable to that before birth. Plutarch refers this topic, not to the child who died, but to the grieving

[a] *Cf.* C. Buresch, "Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica," in *Leipziger Studien*, ix (1886); J. van Wageningen, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der 'Consolatio mortis' bij Grieken en Romeinen," in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde (Amsterdam, 1918), pp. 175-197.

mother, exhorting her to turn her mind back to the time before the child was born (610 D). The conventional device of giving comfort by dwelling on the losses of others, equally or more grievous,[a] here takes the form of reminding the mother of her earlier bereavements (609 D). The warning against the irritation of grief by ill-timed consolations becomes in this essay a reproof to the person who "allows anyone who happens to pass by to meddle with his suffering as with a rheumatic sore" (610 C). The calculation of the good and evil in life, which in most consolations leads to the reflection that life is mostly evil and death an escape,[b] here results in a favourable balance, and Plutarch reminds his wife of the many blessings she still enjoys (610 E ff.). Finally, the traditional topic that the manner of burying the body is of no importance to the soul[c] gives place in this essay to the observation that the traditional manner of burying children indicates their freedom from earthly things and their departure to a better dispensation (612 A).[d]

The date of the essay cannot be fixed with precision, but the mention of a granddaughter indicates at least that Plutarch was no longer very young. If the identification of the deceased eldest child with Soclarus is correct, then this letter must have been

[a] *Cf.* Pseudo-Plutarch, *Mor.* 118 D ff.; Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 2. 3; *Consolatio ad Liviam*, 429 ff.

[b] *E.g. Axiochus*, 366 D ff.; Pseudo-Plutarch, *Mor.* 113 E, 115 E, 117 E; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 34 (83); i. 36 (87); Seneca, *Ad Polyb.* 4. 2 f.; 9. 4; *Ad Marc.* 22.

[c] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 43 (104).

[d] In making this interpretation of the burial customs Plutarch substitutes for the notion of ritual purity that of purity or freedom from error.

composed after the essay *Quomodo Adolescens Poetas Audire Debeat,* in which Soclarus' education is discussed.

A few translations of the letter can be added to those listed earlier.[a]

The work is No. 112 in the catalogue of Lamprias, where two other consolations, now lost, are mentioned: *παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην* (No. 111) and *πρὸς Φηστίαν παραμυθητικός* (No. 157).

The text is based on LC *α* v. AE*π*n are occasionally cited.

[a] *La Mesnagerie de Xenophon ; les Règles de mariage de Plutarque ; Lettre de consolation de Plutarque à sa femme ;* le tout traduict de grec en françois par M. Estienne de La Boétie . . . (Paris, 1571–1572).

" A Consolatory Epistle from Plutarch to his Wife, on the Death of their Daughter, translated into English by E. Goodwin," *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. liv, no. 6 (June 1785), pp. 425-428.

B. Snell, *Plutarch Von der Ruhe des Gemütes und andere philosophische Schriften* (Zürich, 1948), pp. 1-8.

M. Hadas, *On Love, the Family, and the Good Life. Selected Essays of Plutarch* (New York, 1957), pp. 93-100.

(608) ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΗΤΙΚΟΣ[1] ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ[2]

Πλούταρχος τῇ γυναικὶ εὖ πράττειν

B 1. Ὃν ἔπεμψας ἀπαγγελοῦντα περὶ[3] τῆς τοῦ παιδίου τελευτῆς ἔοικε διημαρτηκέναι καθ' ὁδὸν εἰς Ἀθήνας πορευόμενος· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς Τάναγραν ἐλθὼν ἐπυθόμην παρὰ[4] τῆς θυγατριδῆς.[5] τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ἤδη νομίζω γεγονέναι, γεγονότα δὲ ἐχέτω[6] ὥς σοι μέλλει καὶ νῦν ἀλυπότατα καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἕξειν. εἰ δέ τι βουλομένη μὴ πεποίηκας ἀλλὰ μένεις τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, οἴει δὲ κουφότερον οἴσειν γενομένου, καὶ τοῦτο ἔσται[7] δίχα πάσης περιεργίας καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας, ὧν ἥκιστά σοι μέτεστι.

C 2. Μόνον, ὦ γύναι, τήρει κἀμὲ τῷ πάθει καὶ σεαυτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καθεστῶτος.[8] ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸ[9] μὲν οἶδα καὶ ὁρίζω[10] τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἡλίκον ἐστίν· ἂν δὲ σὲ τῷ δυσφορεῖν ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὕρω, τοῦτό μοι μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσει τοῦ γεγονότος. καίτοι γε[11] οὐδ'

[1] παραμυθητικὸς] παραμυθητικὴ C (?).
[2] πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα v Lamprias : εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς τελευτήν C ; πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα.
[3] περὶ] τὰ περὶ C^1.
[4] παρὰ C v $n^1\pi$: περὶ.
[5] θυγατριδῆς] θυγατριδοῦς C^1.
[6] ἐχέτω] omitted by C^1.
[7] ἔσται] ἐστι C^1 ; ἔστω A^2.
[8] καθεστῶτος] γεγονότος C^1.
[9] αὐτὸ] αὐτὸς Reiske.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE

Plutarch to his wife, best wishes [a]

1. The messenger you sent to report the death of our little child seems to have missed me on the way as he travelled to Athens; but when I reached Tanagra I learned of it from my granddaughter. Now the funeral, I suppose, has already been held—and my desire is that it has been so held as to cause you the least pain, both now and hereafter; but if you want something done that you are leaving undone while you await my decision, something that you believe will make your grief easier to bear, that too you shall have, so it be done without excess or superstition, faults to which you are not at all prone.

2. Only, my dear wife, in your emotion keep me as well as yourself within bounds. For I know and can set a measure to the magnitude of our loss, taken by itself; but if I find any extravagance of distress in you, this will be more grievous to me than what has happened. Yet neither was I born "from oak

[a] Literally "do well" or "prosper." Plutarch uses no other form of salutation: *cf. Mor.* 138 A, 464 E, and 1012 A. For his motives *cf.* the third Epistle ascribed to Plato, 315 A-C, and the remarks of L. A. Post, *Thirteen Epistles of Plato* (Oxford, 1925), p. 145, and F. Novotný, *Platonis Epistulae* (Brno, 1930), pp. 98-101.

[10] ὁρίζω] ὡρίζω Post. [11] γε added by Stegmann.

(608) αὐτὸς "ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης" ἐγενόμην· οἶσθα δὲ καὶ[1] αὐτή, τοσούτων μοι τέκνων[2] ἀνατροφῆς κοινωνοῦσα,[3] πάντων ἐκτεθραμμένων οἴκοι δι' αὐτῶν ἡμῶν.[4] ταύτῃ[5] δέ, ὅτι καὶ σοὶ ποθούσῃ θυγάτηρ μετὰ τέσσαρας υἱοὺς ἐγεννήθη κἀμοὶ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα θέσθαι παρέσχεν ἀφορμήν, οἶδα ἀγαπητὸν[6] διαφερόντως γενόμενον.[7] πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ δριμύτης ἰδία τις[8] τῷ πρὸς τὰ τηλικαῦτα φιλοστόργῳ, τὸ[9] εὔφραῖνον αὐτοῦ[10] καθαρόν τε ὂν ἀτεχνῶς[11] καὶ πάσης ἀμιγὲς ὀργῆς καὶ μέμψεως·
D αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ φύσει θαυμαστὴν ἔσχεν εὐκολίαν[12] καὶ πραότητα, καὶ τὸ ἀντιφιλοῦν καὶ χαριζόμενον αὐτῆς ἡδονὴν ἅμα[13] καὶ κατανόησιν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου παρεῖχεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον βρέφεσιν ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκεύεσιν οἷς ἐτέρπετο καὶ παιγνίοις[14] τὴν τίτθην διδόναι καὶ προσφέρειν τὸν μαστὸν προεκαλεῖτο[15] καθάπερ πρὸς[16] τράπεζαν ἰδίαν, ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας μεταδιδοῦσα τῶν καλῶν ὧν εἶχε καὶ[17] τὰ ἥδιστα κοινουμένη τοῖς εὐφραίνουσιν αὐτήν.

3. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁρῶ, γύναι, διὰ τί ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζώσης μὲν ἔτερπεν ἡμᾶς, νυνὶ δὲ ἀνιάσει καὶ συνταράξει λαμβάνοντας ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ[18]

[1] καὶ] omitted by C¹.
[2] τέκνων] παίδων C¹.
[3] κοινωνοῦσα] κοινωνήσασα C¹.
[4] αὐτῶν ἡμῶν] ἡμῶν αὐτῶν C E¹n.
[5] ταύτῃ] τοῦτο Meziriacus ; τούτοις C¹.
[6] παρέσχεν ἀφορμὴν οἶδα ἀγαπητὸν] παρέσχεν ἀφορμήν, ἀγαπητὸν Wilamowitz ; ποιούμενον ἐν αὐτῆι παρέσχεν ἀγαπητοῦ C¹.

or rock " [a]; you know this yourself, you who have reared so many children in partnership with me, all of them brought up at home under our own care. And I know what great satisfaction lay in this—that after four sons the longed-for daughter was born to you, and that she made it possible for me to call her by your name. Our affection for children so young has, furthermore, a poignancy all its own: the delight it gives is quite pure and free from all anger or reproach. She had herself, moreover, a surprising natural gift of mildness and good temper, and her way of responding to friendship and of bestowing favours gave us pleasure while it afforded an insight into her kindness. For she would invite the nurse to offer the breast and feed with it not only other infants, but even the inanimate objects and play-things she took pleasure in, as though serving them at her own table, dispensing in her kindness what bounty she had and sharing her greatest pleasures with whatever gave her delight.

3. But I do not see, my dear wife, why these things and the like, after delighting us while she lived, should now distress and dismay us as we take thought of

[a] Homer, *Il.* xxii. 126; *Od.* xix. 163.

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[7] γενόμενον] μοι γενομένου C¹.
[8] τις] omitted by C¹.
[9] τὸ] κατὰ τὸ Post; καὶ τὸ C.
[10] αὐτοῦ nos (αὐτῶν Stegmann): αὐτὸν C¹; αὐτῆς.
[11] τε ὂν ἀτεχνῶς] ἐστι C¹. [12] εὐκολίαν C¹: ἀσχολίαν.
[13] ἅμα] ἀλλὰ C¹.
[14] παιγνίοις] παιγνίοις, ἐκέλευε C.
[15] προεκαλεῖτο] καὶ προσεκαλεῖτο C.
[16] L (folio 40^{rv}) begins with πρὸς.
[17] μεταδιδοῦσα τῶν καλῶν ὧν εἶχε καὶ] ὥσπερ (ὧνπερ Bern.) ἐγίνωσκε καὶ εἶχε LC¹. [18] ἀλλὰ] ἀλλὰ καὶ LC.

(608) δέδια πάλιν[1] μὴ συνεκβάλωμεν τῷ λυποῦντι τὴν
E μνήμην, ὥσπερ ἡ Κλυμένη λέγουσα

> μισῶ[2] δ' ἀγκύλον[3]
> τόξον κρανείας,[4] γυμνάσιά τ'[5] οἰχοίατο,[6]

ἀεὶ φεύγουσα καὶ τρέμουσα τὴν ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ παιδός, ὅτι συμπαροῦσαν λύπην[7] εἶχε· πᾶν γὰρ ἡ φύσις φεύγει τὸ δυσχεραινόμενον. δεῖ[8] δέ,[9] ὥσπερ αὐτὴ πάντων ἥδιστον ἡμῖν ἄσπασμα καὶ θέαμα καὶ ἄκουσμα παρεῖχεν[10] ἑαυτήν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν
F αὐτῆς ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι καὶ συμβιοῦν ἡμῖν πλέον ἔχουσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλάσιον,[11] τὸ εὐφραῖνον ἢ τὸ λυποῦν (εἴπερ ἄρα τι τῶν λόγων οὓς πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν πρὸς ἑτέρους[12] εἰκός ἐστι καὶ ἡμῖν ὄφελος ἐν καιρῷ γενέσθαι),[13] καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι μηδ' ἐγκεκλεῖσθαι[14] πολλαπλασίας[15] ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκείναις λύπας ἀνταποδιδόντας.[16]

4. Καὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν οἱ παραγενόμενοι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν,[17] ὡς οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον ἀνείληφας πένθιμον[18] οὐδὲ σαυτῇ τινα προσήγαγες ἢ θεραπαινίσιν ἀμορ-

[1] πάλιν] omitted in LC¹.
[2] μισῶ] μιμῇ LC¹.
[3] ἀγκύλον Salmasius : εὐάγκαλον.
[4] κρανείας] κρανείης LC n.
[5] τ' Keil : δ'.
[6] οἰχοίατο Emperius : οἴχετ' LC¹ ; οἴχοιτο.
[7] λύπην Emperius : αὐτήν.
[8] δεῖ] ἀεὶ LC¹.
[9] δὲ] γὰρ LC.
[10] παρεῖχεν] παρέχειν LC¹.
[11] πολλαπλάσιον LC v : πολυπλάσιον.
[12] ἑτέρους] τῆς ἑταίρους LC¹.
[13] The punctuation is due to Schömann.
[14] ἐγκεκλεῖσθαι LC¹ : ἐγκαλεῖσθαι.
[15] πολλαπλασίας] πολλαπλασίαις LC¹.
[16] ἀνταποδιδόντας] ἀντιδιδόντας LC¹.

them. Rather I fear on the contrary that while we banish painful thoughts we may banish memory as well, like Clymenê, who said

> I hate the crooked bow of cornel wood,
> I hate the sports of youth : away with them ! [a]

ever shunning and shrinking from what reminded her of her son,[b] because it was attended with pain ; for nature shuns everything unpleasant.[c] But rather, just as she was herself the most delightful thing in the world to embrace, to see, to hear, so too must the thought of her live with us and be our companion, bringing with it joy in greater measure, nay in many times greater measure, than it brings sorrow (if indeed it is reasonable that the arguments we have often used to others should be of seasonable aid to ourselves as well [d]), and we must not sit idle and shut ourselves in, paying for those pleasures with sorrows many times as great.

4. This also those who were present report—with amazement—that you have not even put on mourning,[e] that you did not subject yourself or your women

[a] From the *Phaëthon* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 785. *Cf.* the contrasted cases of Octavia and Livia in Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 2-3 ; *cf.* also *Ad Polyb.* 18. 7.

[b] Phaëthon.

[c] *Cf.* Epicurus, Frag. 398 (ed. Usener) ; Seneca, *Ad Polyb.* 18. 7 : ". . . naturale est enim ut semper animus ab eo refugiat ad quod cum tristitia revertitur."

[d] *Cf.* Pseudo-Plutarch, *Mor.* 118 B-C, and the letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero (*Fam.* iv. 5. 5) : "sed potius quae aliis tute praecipere soles ea tute tibi subiace atque apud animum propone."

[e] *Cf. Mor.* 356 D.

[17] *θαυμάζουσιν*] *θαυμάζοντες* LC[1].
[18] *ἀνείληφας πένθιμον*] *ἤλλαξας* LC[1].

(608) φίαν καὶ αἰκίαν[1] οὐδὲ ἦν παρασκευὴ[2] πολυτελείας πανηγυρικῆς[3] περὶ τὴν ταφήν, ἀλλ' ἐπράττετο κοσμίως πάντα καὶ σιωπῇ μετὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων.
609 ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμαζον, εἰ μηδέποτε καλλωπισαμένη περὶ θέατρον ἢ πομπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἄχρηστον ἡγησαμένη τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ἐν τοῖς σκυθρωποῖς διεφύλαξας τὸ ἀσφαλὲς[4] καὶ λιτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασι δεῖ μόνον τὴν[5] σώφρονα μένειν ἀδιάφθορον, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἧττον οἴεσθαι[6] τὸν[7] ἐν πένθεσι σάλον καὶ τὸ κίνημα τοῦ πάθους ἐγκρατείας δεῖσθαι διαμαχομένης οὐ πρὸς τὸ φιλόστοργον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλαστον[8] τῆς ψυχῆς. τῷ μὲν γὰρ φιλοστόργῳ χαριζόμεθα τὸ ποθεῖν καὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν
B ἀπογενομένων, ἡ δὲ θρήνων ἄπληστος ἐπιθυμία καὶ πρὸς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐξάγουσα καὶ κοπετοὺς αἰσχρὰ μὲν οὐχ ἧττον τῆς περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκρασίας, λόγῳ δὲ συγγνώμης ἔτυχεν ὅτι τὸ λυπηρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πικρὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ τερπνοῦ τῷ αἰσχρῷ πρόσεστι. τί γὰρ ἀλογώτερον ἢ τὸ γέλωτος μὲν ὑπερβολὰς καὶ περιχαρείας ἀφαιρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ κλαυθμῶν καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ῥεύμασιν, ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς φερομένων,[9] εἰς ἅπαν

[1] ἀμορφίαν καὶ αἰκίαν] ἐπιμέλειαν LC[1].
[2] C breaks off after πα|. [3] πανηγυρικῆς] omitted in L.
[4] ἀσφαλὲς] ἀφελὲς Reiske.
[5] τὴν] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πένθεσι τήν τε (γε nos) L.
[6] ἧττον οἴεσθαι n : οἴεσθαι ἧττον L *a* v.
[7] τὸν] omitted in L.
[8] After ἀκόλαστον two folios of L are lost.
[9] φερομένων] ἐκφερομένων v.

[a] *Cf.* Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 16. 3 f.

to any uncomeliness or ill-usage, and that there was no sumptuous display, like that of a festival, at the burial, but that everything was done with decorum and in silence, in the company of our nearest kin. But this was no surprise to me, that you, who have never decked yourself out [a] at theatre or procession, but have regarded extravagance as useless even for amusements, should have preserved in the hour of sadness the blameless simplicity of your ways; for not only "in Bacchic riot" [b] must the virtuous woman remain uncorrupted; but she must hold that the tempest and tumult of her emotion in grief requires continence no less, a continence that does not resist maternal affection, as the multitude believe, but the licentiousness of the mind.[c] For it is yielding to a parent's love to long for and honour and remember the departed; whereas the never-sated passion for lamentation, a passion which incites us to transports of wailing and of beating the breast, is no less shameful than incontinence in pleasures, although it finds an excuse—more apparent than real—in the circumstance that its shamefulness is attended with pain and bitterness instead of delight. For what is more unreasonable than to do away with excess of laughter and jubilation, and yet allow free course to the torrents of weeping and wailing that burst forth from the same source? Or more

[b] *Cf.* Euripides, *Bacchae*, 317 f.:

καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν
οὖσ' ἥ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται

"For even in Bacchic riot
The virtuous woman will not be corrupted."

[c] *Cf.* Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 3. 4: "Quam in omni vita servasti morum probitatem et verecundiam, in hac quoque re praestabis; est enim quaedam et dolendi modestia."

(609) ἐφιέναι; καὶ περὶ μύρου μὲν ἐνίους καὶ πορφύρας
διαμάχεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξί, κουρὰς δὲ συγχωρεῖν
πενθίμους καὶ βαφὰς ἐσθῆτος μελαίνας[1] καὶ καθί-
C σεις ἀμόρφους καὶ κατακλίσεις ἐπιπόνους; καί,
ὃ δὴ πάντων ἐστὶ χαλεπώτατον, ἂν οἰκέτας ἢ
θεραπαινίδας κολάζωσιν ἀμέτρως καὶ ἀδίκως,
ἐνίστασθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτάς, ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν δὲ ὠμῶς
κολαζομένας καὶ πικρῶς περιορᾶν ἐν πάθεσι καὶ
τύχαις[2] ῥᾳστώνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας δεομέναις;

5. Ἀλλὰ ἡμῖν γε, γύναι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὔτ'
ἐκείνης ἐδέησε τῆς μάχης οὔτε ταύτης οἶμαι δεή-
σειν. εὐτελείᾳ μὲν γὰρ τῇ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ
ἀθρυψίᾳ τῇ περὶ δίαιταν οὐδείς ἐστι τῶν φιλοσόφων
ὃν οὐκ ἐξέπληξας ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ γενόμενον
ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ[3] τῶν πολιτῶν[4] ᾧ μὴ θέαμα παρέχεις
D ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ θεάτροις τὴν σεαυτῆς
ἀφέλειαν· ἤδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλὴν
εὐστάθειαν ἐπεδείξω τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν τέκνων
ἀποβαλοῦσα καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ Χάρωνος[5]
ἡμᾶς προλιπόντος. μέμνημαι γὰρ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
ξένους μοι συνοδεύσαντας ἀπηγγελμένης τῆς τοῦ
παιδίου τελευτῆς καὶ συνελθόντας ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις
εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὴν κατάστασιν ἑώρω
καὶ ἡσυχίαν, ὡς ὕστερον διηγοῦντο καὶ πρὸς ἑτέ-
ρους, ᾤοντο μηδὲν εἶναι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ κενὸν ἄλλως
E ἐξενηνέχθαι λόγον· οὕτω σωφρόνως κατεκόσμησας
τὸν οἶκον ἐν καιρῷ πολλὴν ἀκοσμίας ἐξουσίαν

[1] μελαίνας Emperius : μελαίνης.
[2] τύχαις] δυστυχίαις Capps, who compares Thucydides, vi. 55. 4 ; but *cf.* 611 E, *infra*.
[3] οὐδὲ Stegmann : οὔτε.
[4] πολιτῶν] συμπολιτῶν Capps.

unreasonable than for husbands to quarrel, as some do, with their wives about scented unguent for the hair and the wearing of purple, but to permit them to crop their heads in mourning, to dye their clothes black, to sit in an uncomely posture and lie in discomfort? And worst of all, if they punish their manservants or maidservants excessively and unjustly, to resist and oppose them, but to pay no heed when they savagely and cruelly punish themselves in the midst of passions and misfortunes that require gentle and kindly treatment?

5. But we, my dear wife, in our relations with each other have had no occasion for the one quarrel, nor, I think, shall we have any for the other. For, on the one hand, your plainness of attire and sober style of living has without exception amazed every philosopher who has shared our society and intimacy, neither is there any townsman of ours to whom at religious ceremonies, sacrifices, and the theatre you do not offer another spectacle—your own simplicity. On the other hand, you have already shown great steadfastness in circumstances like the present, when you lost your eldest child and again when the fair Charon left us. For I remember that strangers accompanied me in my journey from the sea and gathered at our house with the rest at the news of the little child's death; and observing great composure and quiet, as they later recounted to others, they thought that no tragedy had occurred, and that a false report had got abroad—such was the self-possession with which you kept order in your household at a time that gave full scope to disorderly

[5] *Χάρωνος*] *Χαίρωνος* Xylander, after the eponymous hero of Chaeroneia.

(609) διδόντι, καίτοι τῷ σεαυτῆς ἐκεῖνον[1] ἐξέθρεψας μαστῷ[2] καὶ τομῆς ἠνέσχου, τῆς θηλῆς περίθλασιν λαβούσης· γενναῖα γὰρ[3] ταῦτα καὶ φιλόστοργα.

6. Τὰς δὲ πολλὰς ὁρῶμεν μητέρας, ὅταν ὑπ' ἄλλων τὰ παιδία καθαρθῇ καὶ γανωθῇ, καθάπερ παίγνια λαμβανούσας εἰς χεῖρας, εἶτ' ἀποθανόντων ἐκχεομένας εἰς κενὸν καὶ ἀχάριστον πένθος, οὐχ ὑπ' εὐνοίας (εὐλόγιστον γὰρ εὔνοια καὶ καλόν), ἀλλὰ μικρῷ τῷ φυσικῷ πάθει πολὺ συγκεραννύ-
F μενον τὸ πρὸς κενὴν δόξαν ἄγρια ποιεῖ καὶ μανικὰ καὶ δυσεξίλαστα τὰ[4] πένθη. καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται μὴ λαθεῖν Αἴσωπον· ἔφη γὰρ οὗτος ὅτι τοῦ Διὸς τὰς τιμὰς διανέμοντος τοῖς θεοῖς ᾔτει καὶ τὸ Πένθος· ἔδωκεν οὖν αὐτῷ, παρὰ τοῖς αἱρουμένοις δὲ μόνοις καὶ θέλουσιν. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν οὕτω τοῦτο γινόμενόν ἐστιν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος εἰσάγει τὸ πένθος ἐφ' ἑαυτόν. ὅταν δὲ ἱδρυνθῇ χρόνῳ καὶ γένηται σύντροφον καὶ σύνοικον, οὐδὲ πάνυ[5] βουλομένων ἀπαλλάττεται. διὸ δεῖ μάχεσθαι περὶ θύρας αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ προσίεσθαι[6] φρουρὰν δι' ἐσθῆτος ἢ
610 κουρᾶς ἤ τινος ἄλλου τῶν τοιούτων ἃ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπαντῶντα καὶ δυσωποῦντα μικρὰν καὶ στενὴν καὶ

[1] ἐκεῖνον v : ἐκείνω a¹ ; ἐκείνην n ; ἐκεῖνο a².
[2] ἐξέθρεψας μαστῷ Benseler : μασθῷ (μαστῷ v n) ἐξέθρεψας.
[3] γὰρ] γε Pohlenz ; Wilamowitz would omit.
[4] τὰ added by Reiske.
[5] πάνυ A²E : πάλιν.
[6] προσίεσθαι] προΐεσθαι Reiske.

[a] *Cf. Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xxii. 3 (855 F).
[b] *Cf.* Seneca, *Ep.* xcix. 4.
[c] *Cf. Life of Solon*, chap. vii. 5 (82 A) ; Diogenes Laert.

confusion, and yet you had nursed him at your own breast and had submitted to surgery when your nipple was bruised. For such conduct was noble, and it showed true mother love.[a]

6. But we observe that most mothers, after others have cleansed and prettied up their children, receive them in their arms like pets; and then, at their death, give themselves up to an unwarranted and ungrateful[b] grief, not out of good will toward them —for good will is rational and right[c]—but because the combination with a little natural feeling of a great deal of vain opinion[d] makes their mourning wild, frenzied, and difficult to calm. And this appears not to have escaped Aesop,[e] who said that when Zeus was apportioning honours among the gods, Grief asked for a share, which Zeus accordingly granted, but only from such as should choose and so desire. At the outset indeed this is true; for each person takes grief in of his own accord. But once it has fixed itself with the passing of time and become his companion and household intimate, it will not quit him even at his earnest desire. We must, therefore, resist it at the door and must not let it in to be quartered on us by wearing mourning or cropping the hair or by any other manifestations of the kind that, confronting the mind daily and shaming it into submission, make it dispirited, cramped, shut in,

vii. 116; and Arius Didymus in Stobaeus, vol. ii, p. 73. 19 (ed. Wachsmuth).

[d] *Cf. Mor.* 102 C-D and Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 7. 1; 19. 1; *Ad Polyb.* 18. 4.

[e] *Cf. Mor.* 112 A, where the story is ascribed to an "ancient philosopher" who used it to comfort Queen Arsinoê. Sotion (Stobaeus, iii, p. 972. 7 Hense) ascribes a shortened version to an unnamed woman.

(610) ἀνέξοδον καὶ ἀμείλικτον καὶ ψοφοδεῆ ποιεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς οὔτε γέλωτος αὐτῇ μετὸν οὔτε φωτὸς οὔτε φιλανθρώπου τραπέζης τοιαῦτα περικειμένῃ καὶ μεταχειριζομένῃ διὰ τὸ πένθος. ἀμέλειαι δὲ σώματος ἕπονται τῷ κακῷ τούτῳ καὶ διαβολαὶ πρὸς ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν· ὧν πᾶν τοὐναντίον ἔδει τὴν ψυχὴν πονοῦσαν αὐτὴν[1] βοηθεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐρρωμένου. πολὺ γὰρ ἀμβλύνεται καὶ χαλᾶται[2] τοῦ λυποῦντος, ὥσπερ
B ἐν[3] εὐδίᾳ κῦμα,[4] τῇ γαλήνῃ τοῦ[5] σώματος διαχεόμενον,[6] ἐὰν δὲ αὐχμὸς ἐγγένηται καὶ τραχύτης ἐκ φαύλης διαίτης καὶ μηδὲν εὐμενὲς[7] μηδὲ χρηστὸν ἀναπέμπῃ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ πλὴν ὀδύνας καὶ λύπας, ὥσπερ τινὰς[8] πικρὰς καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἀναθυμιάσεις, οὐδὲ βουλομένοις[9] ἔτι ῥᾳδίως ἀναλαβεῖν ἐστιν· τοιαῦτα λαμβάνει πάθη τὴν[10] ψυχὴν οὕτω κακωθεῖσαν.

7. Καὶ μὴν ὅ γε μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ καὶ φοβερώτατόν ἐστιν οὐκ[11] ἂν φοβηθείην, " κακῶν γυναικῶν εἰσόδους " καὶ φωνὰς καὶ συνεπιθρηνήσεις αἷς ἐκτρίβουσι καὶ παραθήγουσι τὴν λύπην, οὔθ' ὑπ'
C ἄλλων οὔτε αὐτὴν ἐφ'[12] ἑαυτῆς[13] ἐῶσαι μαρανθῆναι. γινώσκω γὰρ ποίους[14] ἔναγχος ἀγῶνας ἠγωνίσω τῇ Θέωνος ἀδελφῇ βοηθοῦσα καὶ μαχομένῃ[15] ταῖς μετὰ

[1] αὐτὴν] αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτὴν Sieveking.
[2] L (folios 131^{rv} and 124^{rv}, an unbroken series) resumes with |ται.
[3] van Herwerden would delete ἐν.
[4] κῦμα] omitted in L.
[5] τοῦ] omitted in L.
[6] διαχεόμενον L (as Pohlenz had conjectured): διαχεομένου.
[7] εὐμενὲς] εὐγενὲς L.
[8] πλὴν through τινὰς omitted in L and v.
[9] οὐδὲ βουλομένοις L a^2: οὐδὲ βουλόμενος a^1 π; οὐδὲ βουλόμενον n; omitted in v.

deaf to all soothing influences, and a prey to vain terrors, in the feeling that it has no part in laughter or the light of day or the friendly board, since it has adopted such habiliments and engages in such practices because of its grief. This unhappy state leads to widespread neglect of the body and aversion to ointment, the bath, and the other usages of our daily life. Quite the contrary should happen; in its own suffering the soul should be helped by a vigorous condition of the body. For its distress loses much of its keenness and intensity when dissipated in the calm of the body, as waves are dispersed in fair weather; whereas if the body is in the interval allowed to become squalid and unkempt from a mean way of life, and if it sends up to the soul nothing benign or good, but only pains and sorrows, like acrid and noisome exhalations, the sufferings that take possession of the soul when it has undergone such ill-usage are so serious that an easy recovery is no longer possible even if desired.

7. On the other hand, what is most grave and to be dreaded in such a case holds no terrors for me: "the visits of pernicious women"[a] and their cries and their chiming in with lamentations, whereby they polish and whet the keen edge of pain, and do not allow our grief to subside either from other influences or of itself[b]; for I know what struggles you recently sustained when you went to the aid of Theon's sister

[a] Euripides, *Andromachê*, 930; quoted more fully in *Mor.* 143 E.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 599 A ff.

[10] λαμβάνει πάθη τὴν] λαμβάνουσαν πάθη L (λαμβάνοντα πάθη τὴν or λαμβάνει πάθη καὶ τὴν Capps).
[11] οὐκ] apparently omitted in L.
[12] ἐφ'] ὑφ' L (?) n.
[13] ἑαυτῆς] αὐτῆς L (?).
[14] ποίους] οἵους L.
[15] μαχομένη] μεμφομένη L.

(610) ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ ἀλαλαγμῶν[1] ἔξωθεν ἐπιούσαις, ὥσπερ ἀτεχνῶς πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ φερούσαις.[2] τὰς μὲν γὰρ οἰκίας τῶν φίλων ὅταν καιομένας ἴδωσι[3] σβεννύουσιν ὡς ἔχει τάχους ἕκαστος[4] ἢ δυνάμεως, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς φλεγομένοις[5] αὐτοῖς προσφέρουσιν ὑπεκκαύματα. καὶ τῷ μὲν ὀφθαλμιῶντι τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐῶσι προσάγειν τὸν βουλόμενον οὐδὲ ἅπτονται τοῦ φλεγμαίνοντος, ὁ δὲ πενθῶν κάθηται παντὶ τῷ προσ-
D τυχόντι παρέχων ὥσπερ ῥεῦμα κινεῖν καὶ διαγριαίνειν τὸ πάθος, ἐκ μικροῦ τοῦ γαργαλίζοντος καὶ κνῶντος[6] εἰς πολλὴν καὶ δυσχερῆ κάκωσιν ἀναξαινόμενον.[7] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι φυλάξῃ.

8. Πειρῶ δὲ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ μεταφέρουσα σεαυτὴν ἀποκαθιστάναι πολλάκις εἰς[8] ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ μηδέπω τοῦ παιδίου τούτου[9] γεγονότος μηδὲν[10] ἔγκλημα πρὸς τὴν τύχην εἴχομεν, εἶτα τὸν νῦν καιρὸν[11] τοῦτον ἐκείνῳ συνάπτειν,[12] ὡς[13] ὁμοίων πάλιν τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς γεγονότων. ἐπεὶ τὴν γένεσιν, ὦ γύναι, τοῦ τέκνου δυσχεραίνειν δόξομεν ἀμεμπτό-

[1] ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ ἀλαλαγμῶν] στεναγμῶν καὶ ὀλοφυρμῶν L.
[2] φερούσαις] ἐπιφερούσαις L.
[3] καιομένας ἴδωσι] ἴδωσι καιομένας L.
[4] σβεννύουσιν through ἕκαστος] σβεννύουσι βοηθοῦντες ἕκαστος ὡς ἔχει τάχους L.
[5] φλεγομένοις L : φλεγομένας.
[6] κνῶντος Kronenberg : κλῶντος L ; κινοῦντος.
[7] ἀναξαινόμενον Reiske : ἀναξηραινόμενον.
[8] εἰς] omitted in L.
[9] τούτου] τοῦδε L.
[10] μηδὲν] οὐδὲν L.
[11] καιρὸν] omitted in L.
[12] συνάπτειν] συναλλάττειν Capps.
[13] ὡς] omitted in L.

[a] A favourite proverb : *cf. Mor.* 61 A, 123 E, 143 F, 919 D,

and fought off the assaults of the women who came from the world outside with wailing and screaming, as if they were in very truth adding " fire to fire." [a] For when people see the houses of their friends in flames, they put the fire out with all the speed or power at their command; but when those friends are themselves ablaze with fire in their hearts, they bring more fuel. And whereas men refuse to permit anyone who so desires to lay his hands on a sufferer from ophthalmia, and do not touch the inflammation, the person who mourns sits patiently and allows anyone who happens to pass by to meddle with his suffering as with a rheumatic sore [b] and to envenom it, a little tickling and scratching making it break out into a far-reaching and troublesome affliction. This thing, then, I know you will guard against.

8. Do, however, try to carry yourself back in your thoughts and return again and again to the time when this little child was not yet born and we had as yet no complaint against Fortune; next try to link this present time with that as though our circumstances had again become the same.[c] For, my dear wife, we shall appear to be sorry that our child was ever born [d] if our conduct leads us to regard the state

Life of Artaxerxes, chap. xxviii. 1 (1025 E); *cf.* also Plato, *Laws*, 666 A.

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 102 A, where a delay in consoling a bereaved person is justified by a comparison with the treatment of a rheumatic sore or " fluxion." *Cf.* also Chrysippus, quoted by Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 29 (63), with Pohlenz's remarks in *Hermes*, vol. xli (1906), p. 336; *Letter of Theano*, v. 7 (*Epist. Gr.* p. 605 Hercher); Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 1. 2 f. Plutarch has modified the topic.

[c] *Cf.* Teles, p. 61. 2-4 (ed. Hense²).

[d] *Cf.* Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 19. 7: ". . . id agas ne quis te putet partus tui paenitere."

(610) τερα ποιοῦντες αὑτοῖς τὰ πρὶν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι
E πράγματα. τὴν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ διετίαν ἐξαιρεῖν μὲν
οὐ δεῖ τῆς μνήμης, ὡς δὲ χάριν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν
παρασχοῦσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ τίθεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὸ μικρὸν
ἀγαθὸν μέγα νομίζειν κακόν, μηδὲ ὅτι τὸ ἐλπιζό-
μενον οὐ προσέθηκεν ἡ τύχη καὶ περὶ τοῦ δοθέντος
ἀχαριστεῖν. ἀεὶ μὲν γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐφημία
καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἵλεων καὶ ἀμεμφὲς καλὸν
καὶ ἡδὺν ἀποδίδωσι καρπόν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις
ὁ μάλιστα τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπαρυτόμενος
καὶ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ μετα-
στρέφων καὶ μεταφέρων ἐκ τῶν σκοτεινῶν καὶ
F ταρακτικῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ παντάπασιν ἔσβεσε τὸ
λυποῦν ἢ τῇ πρὸς τοὐναντίον μίξει μικρὸν καὶ
ἀμαυρὸν ἐποίησεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μύρον ἀεὶ μὲν
εὐφραίνει τὴν ὄσφρησιν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δυσώδη[1] φάρ-
μακόν ἐστιν, οὕτως[2] ἡ ἐπίνοια τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τοῖς
κακοῖς καὶ βοηθήματος ἀναγκαίου παρέχεται
χρείαν τοῖς μὴ φεύγουσι τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν χρηστῶν
μηδὲ πάντα καὶ πάντως μεμφομένοις τὴν τύχην.
ὅπερ ἡμῖν παθεῖν οὐ προσήκει, συκοφαντοῦσι τὸν
611 ἑαυτῶν βίον εἰ μίαν ἔσχηκεν, ὥσπερ βιβλίον,
ἀλοιφὴν ἐν πᾶσι καθαροῖς καὶ ἀκεραίοις τοῖς ἄλ-
λοις.[3] (9.) ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὀρθῶν ἐπιλογισμῶν εἰς
εὐσταθῆ διάθεσιν τελευτώντων ἤρτηται τὸ μακά-
ριον, αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης τροπαὶ μεγάλας οὐ

[1] δυσώδη] λυσσώδη L.
[2] οὕτως] ὃς (ὡς nos) L.

of things before her birth as preferable to the present. Yet we must not obliterate the intervening two years from our memory ; rather, since they afforded us delight and enjoyment of her, we should credit them to the account of pleasure ; and we should not consider the small good a great evil, nor, because Fortune did not add what we hoped for, be ungrateful for what was given.[a] For reverent language toward the Deity and a serene and uncomplaining attitude toward Fortune never fail to yield an excellent and pleasant return ; while in circumstances like these he who in greatest measure draws upon his memory of past blessings and turns his thought toward the bright and radiant part of his life, averting it from the dark and disturbing part, either extinguishes his pain entirely, or by thus combining it with its opposite, renders it slight and faint.[b] For just as perfume, while always a delight to the smell, serves on occasion to counteract foul odours, so the thought of our blessings has in time of trouble a further, necessary, use : it is an antidote in the hands of those who do not shun the remembrance of happiness and do not insist on reproaching Fortune in everything. It ill becomes us to fall into this state by cavilling at our own life for receiving, like a book, a single stain, while all the rest is clean and unspoiled. (9.) For you have often heard that felicity depends on correct reasoning resulting in a stable habit, and that the changes due to fortune

[a] *Cf.* Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 12. 1 : ". . . oportet te non de eo quod detractum est queri, sed de eo gratias agere quod contigit" ; *Ad Polyb.* 10. 2 : ". . . avidus, qui non lucri loco habet quod accepit, sed damni quod reddidit."

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 469 A, 600 D.

[3] Capps reads ὃς after βίον and μέρεσι τοῖς ἄλλοις μιαίνεται for τοῖς ἄλλοις.

(611) ποιοῦσιν ἀποκλίσεις[1] οὐδὲ ἐπιφέρουσι[2] συγχυτικὰς[3] ὀλισθήσεις τοῦ[4] βίου, πολλάκις ἀκήκοας.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ[5] καὶ ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοί, τοῖς ἔξωθεν κυβερνᾶσθαι πράγμασι καὶ τὰ παρὰ[6] τῆς τύχης ἀπαριθμεῖν καὶ κριταῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς[7] εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν[8] ἀνθρώποις, μὴ σκόπει τὰ
B νῦν δάκρυα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθρηνήσεις τῶν εἰσιόντων, ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ περαινομένας[9] πρὸς ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' ἐννόει μᾶλλον ὡς ζηλουμένη διατελεῖς ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τέκνοις καὶ οἴκῳ καὶ βίῳ. καὶ δεινόν ἐστιν ἑτέρους μὲν ἡδέως ἂν ἑλέσθαι τὴν σὴν τύχην, καὶ τούτου προσόντος ἐφ' ᾧ νῦν ἀνιώμεθα, σὲ δὲ ἐγκαλεῖν καὶ δυσφορεῖν παρούσης,[10] καὶ μηδὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δάκνοντος αἰσθάνεσθαι πηλίκας ἔχει τὰ σῳζόμενα χάριτας ἡμῖν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἀκεφάλους καὶ μειούρους Ὁμήρου στίχους ἐκλέγοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν πεποιημένων ὑπέρευ παρορῶντες, οὕτως ἐξακριβοῦν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν τοῦ βίου τὰ φαῦλα, τοῖς δὲ χρηστοῖς ἀνάρθρως καὶ
C συγκεχυμένως ἐπιβάλλουσαν,[11] ὅμοιόν τι τοῖς ἀνελευθέροις καὶ φιλαργύροις πάσχειν, οἳ πολλὰ συνάγοντες οὐ χρῶνται παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ θρηνοῦσι καὶ δυσφοροῦσιν ἀπολομένων. εἰ δὲ ἐκείνης ἔχεις

[1] οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἀποκλίσεις L : ἀποκλίσεις οὐ ποιοῦσιν.
[2] ἐπιφέρουσι] ἀποφέρουσι L.
[3] συγχυτικὰς L (as Reiske had conjectured) : συντυχικάς.
[4] τοῦ] τοιούτου του Capps.
[5] δεῖ] μὴ δεῖ Capps.
[6] παρὰ L v : περὶ.
[7] κριταῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς] χρῆσθαι κριταῖς πρὸς τὴν L.
[8] ἐπιτυχοῦσιν] παρατυχοῦσιν L.
[9] Folio 124^{v} of L ends after περαινομένας. The next two folios are lost.
[10] παρούσης] παρούσῃ Schwartz.
[11] ἐπιβάλλουσαν] ἐπιβάλλουσάν τιν' Capps.

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 499 A-D ; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, i. 10

occasion no serious departure from it and do not bring with them a falling away that destroys the character of our lives.[a]

But if, like the multitude, we too are to be guided by external circumstances, to reckon up the dispensations of fortune, and to take any chance persons as our judges of felicity, you must not dwell upon the present tears and lamentations of your visitors, a performance dictated by a pernicious custom and rehearsed to every sufferer; you must rather bear in mind how enviable you still appear in their eyes for your children, home, and way of life. And it is unreasonable, when others would gladly choose your lot,[b] even with our present grief thrown in, for you, whose lot it actually is, to complain and be disconsolate; nor yet to be taught by the very bitterness of your grief how great is the delight for us in what is still left, but instead, like the critics who pick out the "headless" and "docked" lines of Homer,[c] overlooking the many splendid passages of flawless execution, to keep a strict account of the shortcomings of your life and cavil at them, and by noting its advantages without particularity or discrimination, to resemble in your attitude the illiberal and miserly, who make no use of the great wealth they accumulate when it is in their possession, but lament and are disconsolate when it is lost. If you pity her for

(1101 a 6-8); Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 5. 1: ". . . unusquisque facere se beatum potest. Leve momentum in adventiciis rebus est et quod in neutram partem magnas vires habeat; . . ."

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 600 A and Boëthius, *Philos. Cons.* ii. 4. 17.

[c] *Cf.* Athenaeus, 632 d ff.; Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Metris*, chap. ii (vol. vii, p. 468 Bern.); K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache*, p. 43; W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*, pp. 374 ff.

(611) *οἶκτον ἀγάμου καὶ ἄπαιδος οἰχομένης, αὖθις ἔχεις
ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἡδίω σεαυτὴν ποιεῖν, μηδενὸς τούτων
ἀτελῆ μηδὲ ἄμοιρον γενομένην· οὐ γάρ ἐστι ταῦτα
μεγάλα μὲν τοῖς στερομένοις ἀγαθά, μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς
ἔχουσιν. ἐκείνη δ' εἰς τὸ ἄλυπον ἥκουσα λυπεῖν
ἡμᾶς οὐ δεῖται· τί γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κακόν, εἰ
μηδὲν ἐκείνῃ νῦν ἐστι λυπηρόν; καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν*
D *μεγάλων στερήσεις ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ λυποῦν εἰς τὸ
μὴ δεῖσθαι παραγενόμεναι.*[1] *Τιμοξένα δὲ ἡ σὴ
μικρῶν μὲν ἐστέρηται, μικρὰ γὰρ ἔγνω καὶ μικροῖς
ἔχαιρεν· ὧν δὲ οὔτε αἴσθησιν ἔσχεν οὔτε εἰς ἔννοιαν*[2]
ἦλθεν οὔτ' ἔλαβεν ἐπίνοιαν,[3] *πῶς ἂν στέρεσθαι λέ-
γοιτο;*

10. *Καὶ μὴν ἃ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις οἳ πείθουσι
πολλοὺς λέγοντες ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ τῷ διαλυθέντι
κακὸν οὐδὲ λυπηρόν ἐστιν, οἶδα ὅτι κωλύει σε
πιστεύειν ὁ πάτριος λόγος καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ σύμ-
βολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν, ἃ σύνισμεν
ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοινωνοῦντες. ὡς οὖν ἄφθαρτον οὖσαν*
E *τὴν ψυχὴν διανοοῦ ταὐτὸ ταῖς ἁλισκομέναις ὄρνισι
πάσχειν· ἂν μὲν γὰρ πολὺν ἐντραφῇ τῷ σώματι*

[1] *παραγενόμεναι*] *περιγενόμεναι* Reiske.
[2] *ἔννοιαν* nos (*cf. Mor.* 763 B *ὅσα μὴ δι' αἰσθήσεως ἡμῖν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἥκει*) : *ἐπίνοιαν.*
[3] Reiske would either delete *οὔτ' ἔλαβεν ἐπίνοιαν* or read *ἐπιθυμίαν* for *ἐπίνοιαν.*

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[a] This remark usually introduces the consideration that the dead person has escaped all the miseries connected with marriage and children : *cf. Mor.* 115 E-F.
[b] *Cf. Mor.* 469 F.
[c] *Cf.* Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus*, 327 A : *ψυχὴ ἅπασα ἀθάνατος, ἡ δὲ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου μετασταθεῖσα καὶ ἄλυπος.*
[d] The Epicureans. The first set were the " pernicious women " who added " fire to fire " : *cf.* chap. 7, *supra.*

departing unmarried and childless,[a] you can find comfort for yourself in another consideration, that you have lacked fulfilment of and participation in neither of these satisfactions; for these are not great blessings for those deprived of them, but small for their possessors.[b] That she has passed to a state where there is no pain [c] need not be painful to us; for what sorrow can come to us through her, if nothing now can make her grieve? For even great deprivations lose their power to cause pain when they reach the point where the want is no longer felt; and your Timoxena has been deprived of little, for what she knew was little, and her pleasure was in little things; and as for those things of which she had acquired no perception, which she had never conceived, and to which she had never given thought, how could she be said to be deprived of them?

10. Furthermore, I know that you are kept from believing the statements of that other set,[d] who win many to their way of thinking when they say that nothing is in any way evil or painful to "what has undergone dissolution,"[e] by the teaching of our fathers [f] and by the mystic formulas of the Dionysiac rites,[g] the knowledge of which we who are participants share with each other. Consider then that the soul, which is imperishable, is affected like a captive bird: if it has long been reared in the body and has become

[e] *Cf.* Epicurus, *Ad Menoeceum*, 124, and Κύριαι δόξαι, ii (quoted in *Mor.* 1103 D and 1105 A): Ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. "Death is nothing to us; for what has suffered dissolution has no perception, and what has no perception has nothing to do with us."

[f] *Cf. Mor.* 756 B.

[g] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 13 (29): "reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae tradantur mysteriis: . . ."

(611) χρόνον καὶ γένηται τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ τιθασὸς ὑπὸ πραγμάτων πολλῶν καὶ μακρᾶς συνηθείας, αὖθις καταίρουσα πάλιν ἐνδύεται καὶ οὐκ ἀνίησιν οὐδὲ λήγει τοῖς ἐνταῦθα συμπλεκομένη πάθεσι καὶ τύχαις διὰ τῶν γενέσεων. μὴ γὰρ οἴου λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν τὸ γῆρας διὰ τὴν ῥυσότητα καὶ τὴν πολιὰν καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ, τὸ χαλεπώτατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι
F τὴν ψυχὴν ἕωλόν τε ποιεῖ ταῖς μνήμαις τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ λιπαρῆ περὶ ταῦτα καὶ κάμπτει καὶ πιέζει, τὸν σχηματισμὸν ὃν ἔσχεν ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῷ προσπεπονθέναι[1] διαφυλάττουσαν.[2] ἡ δὲ ληφθεῖσα μὲν . . .[3] ὑπὸ κρειττόνων ἔρχεται,[4] καθάπερ ἐκ καμπῆς[5] ὑγρᾶς καὶ μαλθακῆς[6] ἀναχαιτίσασα[7] πρὸς ὃ πέφυκεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ πῦρ, ἄν τις ἀποσβέσας εὐθὺς ἐξάπτῃ, πάλιν ἀναρριπίζεται καὶ ἀναλαμβάνει ταχέως . . .[8]

[1] προσπεπονθέναι Reiske : πεπονθέναι.
[2] διαφυλάττουσαν Reiske : διαφυλάττουσα.
[3] There is a lacuna here in a of 86 letters. In v the lacuna includes ἡ δὲ ληφθεῖσα μὲν and is of 79 letters. Wyttenbach supplies μένουσα δὲ βραχὺν ἐν τῷ σώματι χρόνον ἐλευθερωθεῖσα.
[4] ἔρχεται Wyttenbach : ἔχεται.
[5] καμπῆς] κάμπης Pearson.
[6] ὑγρᾶς καὶ μαλθακῆς] ὑγρῶς καὶ μαλθακῶς ?
[7] ἀναχαιτίσασα Wyttenbach (ἀνακαίνισμα ? Post) : ἀναχαίτισμα.
[8] There is a lacuna here in a of 162 letters ; in v of 129. Sieveking, combining supplements proposed by Wyttenbach and Bernardakis, suggests the following reading : ἂν δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἀποσβεσθὲν μείνῃ, χαλεπωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ἀναζωπύρωσιν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἄριστα πράττουσιν, αἷς συμβέβηκε κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν.

[a] The supplement and translation of this passage are uncertain.

tamed to this life by many activities and long familiarity, it alights again and re-enters the body, and does not leave off or cease from becoming entangled in the passions and fortunes of this world through repeated births. For do not fancy that old age is vilified and ill spoken of because of the wrinkles, the grey hairs, and the debility of the body ; no, its most grievous fault is to render the soul stale in its memories of the other world and make it cling tenaciously to this one, and to warp and cramp it, since it retains in this strong attachment the shape imposed upon it by the body. Whereas the soul that tarries after its capture but a brief space in the body before it is set free by higher powers [a] proceeds to its natural state as though released from a bent position with flexibility and resilience unimpaired.[b] For just as a fire flares up again and quickly recovers, if a person who has extinguished it immediately lights it again, but is harder to rekindle if it remains extinguished for some time, so too those souls fare best whose lot it is, according to the poet,[c]

[b] *Cf. Mor.* 591 B and *De Anima*, Frag. 6 (vol. vii, p. 22. 5 Bern.) : λόγον ἔχει καθάπερ ἐκ καμπῆς (Dübner : εἰ κάμπης) τινος ἀνείσης οἷον ἐξᾴττειν (Koenius : ἐξάπτειν) καὶ ἀναθεῖν (Gesner : ἀναθεῖναι) τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποπνέοντος τοῦ σώματος ἀναπνέουσαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναψύχουσαν. For the general idea *cf.* Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 23. 1 : ". . . facillimum ad superos iter est animis cito ab humana conversatione dimissis ; minimum enim faecis, ponderis traxerunt. Ante quam obdurescerent et altius terrena conciperent liberati leviores ad originem suam revolant et facilius quicquid est illud obsoleti inlitique eluunt" ; *cf.* Menander, περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν (vol. iii, p. 414. 21-23 Spengel ; p. 122 Bursian) : καὶ τάχα που καὶ μέμφεται τοῖς θρηνοῦσιν· συγγενὴς γὰρ οὖσα τοῦ θείου ἡ ψυχὴ κἀκεῖθεν κατιοῦσα σπεύδει πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸ συγγενές· . . .

[c] There is a long lacuna in the MSS. here, but the general sense is clear.

(611) ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι

πρὶν[1] ἔρωτα πολὺν ἐγγενέσθαι τῶν αὐτόθι πραγμάτων καὶ μαλαχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ συντακῆναι καθάπερ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων.

612 11. Τοῖς δὲ πατρίοις καὶ παλαιοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις ἐμφαίνεται μᾶλλον ἡ περὶ τούτων ἀλήθεια. τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν νηπίοις ἀποθανοῦσιν οὔτε χοὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν οὔτ' ἄλλα δρῶσι περὶ αὐτὰ[2] οἷα εἰκὸς ὑπὲρ θανόντων ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους[3]· οὐ γὰρ μέτεστι γῆς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ[4] τῶν περὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς· οὐδ' αὐτοῦ[5] περὶ ταφὰς καὶ μνήματα καὶ προθέσεις νεκρῶν φιλοχωροῦσι καὶ παρακάθηνται τοῖς σώμασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐῶσιν οἱ νόμοι[6] τοὺς τηλικούτους, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον εἰς βελτίονα καὶ θειοτέραν μοῖραν ἅμα καὶ χώραν[7] μεθεστηκότας . . .[8] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ[9] ἀπιστεῖν χαλεπώτερόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἢ τὸ πιστεύειν, τὰ μὲν
B ἐκτὸς οὕτως ὡς οἱ νόμοι προστάσσουσιν ἔχωμεν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀμίαντα καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ σώφρονα.[10]

[1] πρὶν Reiske : πλὴν.
[2] αὐτὰ] αὐτοὺς v n.
[3] Wilamowitz would omit τοὺς ἄλλους.
[4] οὐδὲ Stegmann : οὔτε.
[5] αὐτοῦ] αὖ Wilamowitz.
[6] νόμοι] νόμοι περὶ Wilamowitz.
[7] Folio 39r of L begins with χώραν. Hardly a word is distinctly legible.
[8] There is here a lacuna of 40 letters in α, 16 in v (in v the lacuna includes the ἐ of ἐπεὶ). In L we can make out χώραν and after an interval of some 85 letters οἱ νόμοι. The lacuna would thus correspond to some 6 letters in L. Tentative

Soon as they may to pass through Hades' gates [a]

before much love of the business of our life here has been engendered in them, and before they have been adapted to the body by becoming softened and fused with it as by reagents.

11. It is rather in our ancestral and ancient usages and laws that the truth of these matters is to be seen ; for our people do not bring libations to those of their children who die in infancy, nor do they observe in their case any of the other rites that the living are expected to perform for the dead, as such children have no part in earth or earthly things ; nor yet do they tarry where the burial is celebrated, at the graves, or at the laying out of the dead, and sit by the bodies. For the laws forbid us to mourn for infants, holding it impiety to mourn for those who have departed to a dispensation and a region too [b] that is better and more divine.[c] And since this is harder to disbelieve than to believe, let us keep our outward conduct as the laws command, and keep ourselves within yet freer from pollution and purer and more temperate.[d]

[a] Theognis, 427.

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, 904 c–d, where the region tenanted by a soul is associated with the lot it obtains.

[c] The text in one ms. is illegible here ; in the rest there is a lacuna. The supplement and translation are uncertain.

[d] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 45 (108 f.).

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supplements are : *πενθεῖν* nos ; *καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μέν, ὅτι ταῦτα πολλὰς ἔχει ἀπορίας* Wyttenbach. [9] *τὸ*] omitted in v.

[10] *σώφρονα*] *σωφρονοῦντα φυλάττωμεν* + L (?) ; *σώφρονα διαφυλάττωμεν* Wyttenbach.

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